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PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

of the

ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

SEVENTEENTH SESSION

AHMEDABAD

October-November 1953

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Published by
The Local Secretary, 17th All India Oriental Conference
GUJARAT VIDYASABHA, AHMEDABAD-1

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स्टाक प्रमाणीकरण १९८४-१९८५

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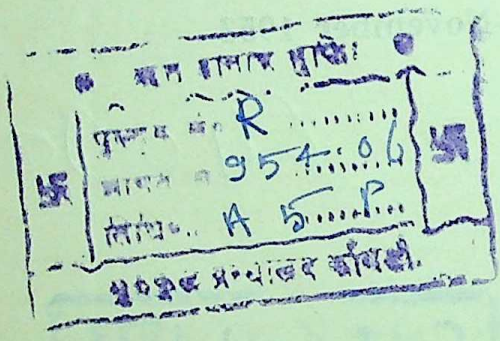

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. LOCAL ORGANIZATION pp. 1–47

(i) A Brief Report p. 1; (ii) Local Executive Committee p. 4; (iii) Reception Committee Members from Ahmedabad p. 5; (iv) Reception Committee Members from outside Ahmedabad p. 7; (v) Appendix A: Vijnapti p. 9; (vi) Appendix B: Bulletin No. 1 p. 11; (vii) Appendix C: Bulletin No. 2 p. 16; (viii) Appendix D: Bulletin No. 3 p. 19; (ix) Appendix E: Speech of Lady Vidyagauri Ramanbhai Nilkanth, Honorary Secretary, Gujarat Vidya Sabha p. 21; (x) Inauguration Address by Sheth Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai: p. 24; (xi) Speech of Muni Punyavijayaji p. 29.

II. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SESSION pp. 48–105

(i) Presidents and Secretaries p. 48; (ii) Life Members p. 49; (iii) Local Members p. 70; (iv) Student Members p. 71; (v) Papers accepted for different sections p. 73; (vi) Programme p. 87; (vii) Minutes of the Meetings: A. Old Executive Committee p. 89; B. Council p. 93; C. New Executive Committee p. 96; D. Opening Session p. 98; E. Concluding Session p. 99; (viii) Appendix I: Receipts and Payments Account (1951-1952) p. 102; Appendix II: Statement of Receipts and Payments Account (up to 30-11-1954).

III ADDRESSES pp. 1–60

(i) Inaugural Address by Hon'ble Shri G. V. Mavalankar p. 1; (ii) Welcome Speech by Shri H. V. Divetia p. 5; (iii) Presidential Address by Shri S. K. Chatterji p. 15.

IV ADDRESSES OF SECTIONAL PRESIDENTS pp. 61–226

Section I Vedic p. 61; Section II Iranian p. 67; Section III Classical Sanskrit p. 86; Section IV Islamic Culture p. 93; Section VI Pali & Buddhism p. 98; Section VII Prakrit & Jainism p. 105; Section VIII History p. 119; Section IX Archaeology p. 133; Section X Indian Linguistics p. 141; Section XI Dravidian Languages and Culture p. 161; Section XII Religion and Philosophy p. 177; Section XIII Technical Sciences and Fine Arts p. 191; Section XV Gujarat History and Culture p. 195.

V. SELECT PAPERS pp. 227–438

Section I: 1. The Allegorical Significance of the word for 'Cows' in the Ṛgveda p. 227; 2. Panini's Rules and Vedic Interpretation p. 231; Section

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II : 3. The Pahlavi Word ꭵꭴꭷ Sun p. 241; Section III : 4. Śramaṇera Ṭīkā p. 243; 5 An Indonesian Birth-story of Hanuman p. 247; 6. An Episode in Siddhicandra's Life similar to the Yavani affair of Jagannath p. 252; 7. The Importance of Tradition and Aśvaghoṣa in determining the date of Kālidāsa p. 257; Section IV : 8. Bijapur Caligraphy p. 261; Section V : 9. Insha-writing and Hindu Insha-writers of Gujarat p. 266; Section VI : 10. Buddhist Approach to the Universe p. 274; 11 A rare manuscript of 'Abhidharma-deepa-Vibhāṣa Prabhā-vṛtti' p. 284; Section VII : 12. Mohanagṛha in Mallijnātā, Kautilya's Arthaśāstra and other Prakrit Literature p. 290; 13. Some Common Terms in Jainism and Buddhism p. 299; Section VIII : 14. Eastern Ganga Inscriptions in the Tamil Country p. 309; 15. Notes on the Eran Stone Inscription of Samudragupta p. 314; 16. The Vedic Gaṇa and the Origin of the Republics p. 318; 17. The Ancient kings mentioned in the VIth Ucchvāsa of the 'Harṣacarita' p. 325; Section IX : 18 Excavations at Maheshvar p. 330; 19. A Brief Account of Recent Archaeological Exploration in Maharashtra p. 337; 20. Recent Exploration in Gujarat and Kathiawad p. 342; Section X : 21. A Glimpse into the Kāśakṛtsna School of Sanskrit Grammar p. 349; 22. Indo-Aryan Sibilants in Gujrati p. 356; 23. Some Interesting Features of the Junctional Prosodies relating to the Nasals in Bhojpuri p. 364; Section XII : 24. Fundamental Mimamsa Rules of Interpretation p. 368; 25. A Neglected work of Philosophy in Sanskrit p. 376; 26. The Concept of Time according to Bhartṛhari p. 379; 27. Some Lost Nyāya Works and Authors p. 385; Section XIII : 28. Farukh Husain the Royal Artist at the Court of Ibrahim Adil Shah II and his painting p. 395; 29. Some Economic Concepts in Kautilya's Arthaśāstra p. 401; 30. Ketkar's Attempts for the Discovery of Pluto and the Probable Place of an Undiscovered Planet p. 409; Section XIV; 31. Vivāhalo aur Mangala sanjnaka Kāvyoṇ ki Paramparā p. 412; Section XV; 32. The Problem of the Chronology of the Chāvaḍā kings p. 425; 33. The Sun-Cult in Gujarat and Saurashtra p. 429; 34. Gujaratī Kāvya meṇ Dvārakā—Rāsa p. 437.

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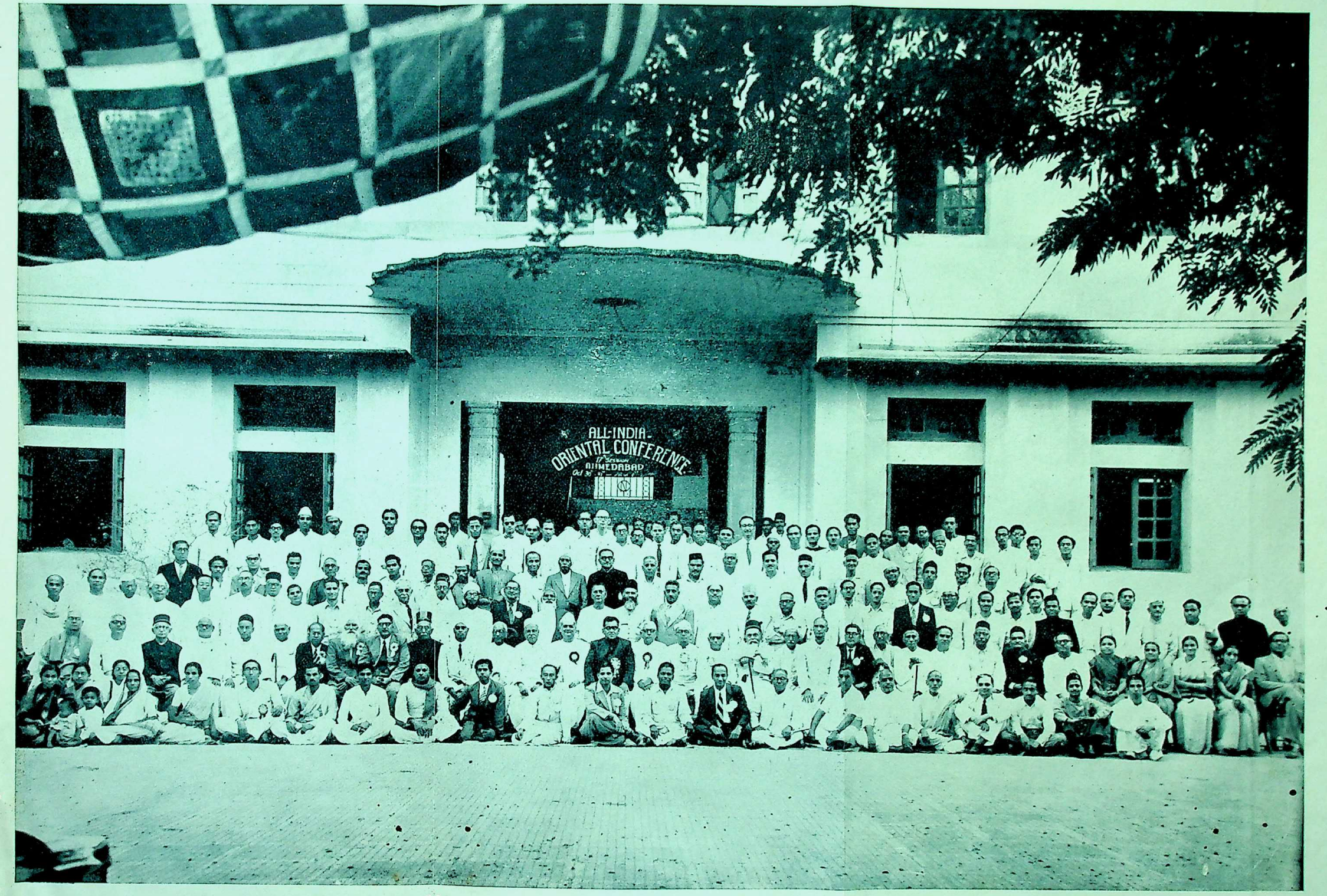
THE ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

17th Session, Ahmedabad

1955



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All India Oriental Conference
SEVENTEENTH SESSION
Ahmedabad 1953
PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

I. Local Organisation

(i) A Brief Report

At the Sixteenth Session of the All India Oriental Conference held at Lucknow in 1951, Pandit Sukhalalji Sanghavi of the Gujarat Vidya Sabha gave, on behalf of the Gujarat University, the Gujarat Vidya Sabha and the Ahmedabad Education Society, an invitation to the authorities of the Conference to hold the Seventeenth Session at Ahmedabad in 1953. The invitation was accepted and in course of time, these institutions nominated Prof. Rasiklal C. Parikh of the Gujarat Vidya Sabha as the Local Secretary for the Seventeenth Session. The nomination being accepted by the authorities of the All India Oriental Conference, a Local Executive Committee was formed with Shri H. V. Divetia, the Vice-Chancellor of the Gujarat University, as the Chairman of the Committee. A meeting was called at the residence of Shri H. V. Divetia, where these appointments were confirmed and Hon'ble Shri G. V. Mavalanker, the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, was appointed as the President of the Local Executive Committee.

It was also resolved in the same meeting to request the President of the All India Oriental Conference to add two more sections of Gujarat-History and Culture and Rajasthan-History and Culture to the usual sections of the Conference in view of the fact that the Conference was taking place in Gujarat and the history and culture of Gujarat and Rajasthan were closely linked up. The names of Prof. Ramnarayan V. Pathak and Shri Jinvijayaji Muni were recommended as the Chairmen for the Gujarat and Rajasthan Sections respectively. These recommendations were accepted by the President of the Conference. However, Prof. Ramnarayan Pathak resigned his chairmanship of the Gujarat-History and Culture Section on account of his indifferent health and the President of the Conference appointed Shri Ratnamanirao Jhote in his place, as the Chairman of that section.

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On the 31st of July 1953 the Local Executive Committee by a special resolution converted itself into the Reception Committee and all the Office-bearers of the Local Executive Committee were henceforth to be deemed to be the respective Office-bearers of the Reception Committee. An appeal was issued thereafter requesting the support and co-operation of the people of Gujarat for making the session a success (Vide Appendix-A).

The Local Executive Committee held in all six meetings before the Session, and appointed the Vice-Chairmen, the Joint Local Secretaries, the Treasurer, and other members of the Local Executive Committee. It also appointed Sectional Secretaries for the different sections of the Conference. For carrying out various duties pertaining to the Conference it appointed various sub-committees viz. the Exhibition Committee, the Entertainment Committee, the Committee for collection of funds, and Volunteer organisation (Vide Appendix-F).

The Local Executive Committee also resolved to request the Hon'ble Shri G. V. Mavalanker, Speaker, Lok Sabha, to inaugurate the proceedings of the Conference. Hon'ble Shri Mavalanker kindly consented to inaugurate the same.

The Local Executive Committee resolved to hold a Manuscript Exhibition on the occasion of the Conference and requested the authorities of the B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ahmedabad, to undertake the responsibility of oraganising the same, as a Research Institute of established reputation was best fitted to handle manuscripts and collect material. The services of Munishri Punyavijayaji, a devoted scholar steeped in oriental learning and the greatest living authority on the manuscript Bhandars of Gujarat and Rajasthan, were sought for the purpose. With a devoted band of co-workers like Pandit K. K. Shastri and others from the B. J. Institute and elsewhere, he laid out the exhibition in the most admirable manner. The exhibition was held at the Sheth Mangaldas Girdhardas Memorial Town Hall belonging to the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation. It was kept open for the benefit of the general public even after the Conference was over. It was a unique exhibition as very rich material was collected in all its variety from the famous Jain Bhandars and other centres in Gujarat and Rajasthan. It was carefully classified and scientifically presented. It was a rare opportunity for scholars and laymen to witness the traditions of knowledge and culture of Gujarat and Rajasthan all at once and in such vast proportions. The exhibition comprised palm-leaf manuscripts, illustrated works, literary, religious and philosophic works belonging to Vedic, Jain and Buddhist traditions, writing materials, rich specimen of the techniques of writing and decorating the manuscripts as

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employed by the scribes and their patrons, documents etc. The manuscripts dated from the 11th Century A. D. to the 19th Century A. D. Not only the scholars assembled at Ahmedabad for the Conference but also the general public in vast numbers availed of the opportunity of witnessing this exhibition.

Sheth Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai had kindly consented to declare the exhibition open at the request of the Local Executive Committee. The speeches of Lady Vidyabahen Nilkantha, Sheth Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai and Muni Shri Punyavijayaji on the occasion are published elsewhere in the Proceedings (Vide Appendix E).

Arrangements for boarding and lodging of the members of the Conference as well as members of the Reception Committee from outside Ahmedabad were made at the C. N. Vidyavihar. The opening session was held at the Premabhai Hall belonging to the Gujarat Vidya Sabha. Sectional meetings, other business meetings, lectures and the concluding session were held at the C. N. Vidyavihar.

The delegates were comfortably lodged at the Delegates Camp and the Reception Committee had extended their hospitality free of all costs. This also included transport facilities and an excursion round the City of Ahmedabad visiting important historical sites and places of interest.

The delegates and the members of the Reception Committee were entertained for two successive nights by the 'Darpaṇa' and the 'Naṭa Mandala' respectively. The 'Darpaṇa' is an art centre for Dance and Music run by Shrimati Mrinalini Sarabhai. A dance version of 'Meghadūta' was presented by the 'Darpaṇa' for the Conference. The 'Naṭa Mandala' is a dramatic organisation under the auspices of the Gujarat Vidya Sabha and is conducted by Shri Jayashankar Sundari and Shrimati Dina Gandhi, both famous as dramatic artists. They presented an opera called 'Mena Gurjari', composed by Prof. Rasiklal C. Parikh. The delegates felt richly rewarded for sitting through these two performances.

The Local Executive Committee issued an appeal for funds, invitations to Governments, Universities and Institutions to send their delegates to the Conference, and also three bulletins containing information regarding the 17th Session of the Conference (Vide Appendices B to D)

The Local Executive Committee arranged through the Gujarat Vidya Sabha to publish a guide, with the title "Ahmedabad and Other Places of Interest in Gujarat", for the use of the delegates. It was written by Shri Ratnamanirao Jhote and was copiously illustrated.

The Local Executive Committee also published Summaries of Papers for the 17th Session of the Conference and distributed the publication free to the members on their arrival.

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The Local Executive Committee elected the members to the Council of the Conference in accordance with rule 10 (b) (i). The names will be found in he minutes of the Old Executive Committee.

I have great pleasure in expressing my thanks to the various persons without whose help and co-operation the Session would not have been the success that it was. Foremost comes Muni Sri Punyavijayaji under whose leadership the Manuscript-Exhibition was organized. Next comes Sheth Surottam Hathising whose untiring zeal made the necessary funds for the Session available. I had the good fortune of having as my colleagues Sri Jethalal Gandhi, who acted as the Treasurer; Prof. Yashvant Shukla, one of the Joint Local Secretaries; Pandit K. K. Shastri who looked after the exhibition; Prof. Jetly, the head of the Volunteer-organization; Dr. H. G. Shastri, Dr. C. R. Naik and Prof. Nagindas Parekh, who supervised the arrangement, printing and publications of the Summaries of Papers.

R. C. PARIKH
Local Secretary 17th Session

(ii) The Local Executive Committee

President

Hon'ble Shri G. V. Mavalankar.
Speaker, Lok Sabha

Chairman

Shri H. V. Divetia.
Vice-Chancellor of the Gujarat University.

Vice-Chairmen

Diwan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri.
Lady Vidyaben R. Nilkanth.
Shri Hansaben Mehta.
Pandit Sukhlalji Sanghavi.
Prof. K. V. Abhyankar.
Muni Shri Punyavijayaji.
Sheth Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai.
Sheth Shri Amritlal Hargovandas.

Local Secretary

Prof. Rasiklal C. Parikh.

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Joint Local Secretaries

Shri Harinarayan Acharya.
Prof. Anantrai M. Raval.
Prof. Dr. P. B. Pandit.
Prof. Y. P. Shukla.
Pandit K. K. Shastri.
Shri B. K. Majmudar.
Shri Dolarrai R. Mankad.
Shri Jayantkrishna H. Dave.

Treasurer

Shri Jethalal Jivanlal Gandhi.

Members

Prof. S. M. Shah.
Shri Ratilal M. Trivedi.
Shri Harivallabh C. Bhayani.
Lady Tanumatiben Chinubhai.
Shri Bhailalbhai D. Patel.
Prin. Mukundrai Thakore.
Shri Baburao K. Mehta.
Shri Chaitanyaprasad M. Diwanji.
Prof. Santprasad Bhatt.
Shri Krishnachandra R. Sant.
Shri Girishchandra S. Desai.
Shri Bachubhai P. Ravat.
Shri Chinubhai Chimanlal.
Shri Bhogilal P. Patel.
Shri Jhinabhai R. Desai.

(iii) Reception Committee Members from Ahmedabad

(Paying Rs. 100)

(1) Shri Divetia Harsiddhabhai V.; (2) Shri Nandubhai Manchharam; (3) Hon'ble Shri Ganesh Vasudev Mavalanker; (4) Dr. Motibhai Desaibhai; (5) Shri Sheth Chinubhai Chimanlal.

(Paying Rs. 50)

(1) Lady Vidyabahen R. Nilkanth.

(Paying Rs. 25)

(1) Baronette Tanumati Chinubhai; (2) Baronette Udayanbhai Chinubhai.

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(Paying Rs. 15)

(1) Prof. Athawale Ramachandra Balvant; (2) Shri Acharya Harinarayan Girdharlal; (3) Shri Adhyaru Harsadkumar; (4) Dr. Bhatt G. K.; (5) Prof. Bhatt Anupram G.; (6) Shri Bhatt Shantilal Keshavlal; (7) Shri Bhuptani Damodardas G.; (8) Shri Bhojak Jayshankar B.; (9) Shri Bhatt Pradyumna Ganpatram; (10) Shri Shantaben Bachubhai Bhatt; (11) Shri Harihar P. Bhatt; (12) Shri Charandas Vrajvallabhdas; (13) Dr. Choksy Kunjvihari Muljibhai; (14) Prof. Dawar F. C.; (15) Shri Dave Sakarlal A.; (16) Desai Batubhai N.; (17) Shri Desai Lalbhai Ratanji; (18) Shri Desai Girishchandra S., (19) Prof. Durkal Jayendrarai Bhagvanlal, (20) Shri Desai Rajendra N., (21) Shri Desai Chandraprasad H., (22) Shri Divatia Chaitanyabala J., (23) Shri Desai Navinchandra M., (24) Shri Desai Hariprasad B., (25) Shri Desai Hiralal N., (26) Shri Dholakia Vamanrao R., (27) Shri Divetia Jayendrabhai V., (28) Prof. Doshi Bechardas J., (29) Shri Diwanji Chaitanyaprasad M., (30) Shri Shubhakaranji Dugad, (31) Shri Yogesh Sumantri Dhru, (32) Shri Desai Dinkerrai Paragji, (33) Shri Gandhi Jethalal J., (34) Shri Gajjar Atmaram M., (35) Shri Gandhi Chandrakant C., (36) Shri Harikrishna P., (37) Shri Ambarishlal I. Hazrat, (38) Mr. Hubbard Brian Sculptor, (39) Mrs. Hubbard Phyllis, (40) Shri Joshi Umashshankar J., (41) Dr. Jetly Jitendra S., (42) Shri Joshi Jethalal D., (43) Smt. Jhaveri Indukala H., (44) Shri Joshi Narayan V., (45) Smt. Gangaben B. Jhaveri, (46) Shri Jhaveri Anilkumar K., (47) Raobahadur Kavi Chimanlal D., (48) Smt. Kavi Shantaben C., (49) Mr. Kama Rustam J., (50) Mr. Mustaphamia Bavamiya Kadari, (51) Miss Baktavar Jal Kanga, (52) Shri Kantawala Kantilal M. (53) Shri Mehta Baburao K., (54) Shri Mehta Maganlal C. (55) Shri Maniar Umedlal P., (56) Shri Munshi A. G., (57) Shri Mehta Natverlal D., (58) Shri Mhed Parashar P., (59) Shri Modi Madhusudan C., (60) Munishri Jinvijayaji, (61) Shri Surendra P. Munshi, (62) Shri Amaratlal G. Modi, (63) Shri Mehta Parashottamdas G., (64) Dr. Naik Chhotubhai R., (65) Prof. Nadvi Saiyad Abu Zafar, (66) Shri Nanavati Indravadan M. (67) Shri Nagori Kanaiyalal H., (68) Prof. Rasiklal C. Parikh, (69) Shri Pandya Jamiyatram D., (70) Dr. Pandit Probadh B., (71) Prof. Parekh Nagindas N., (72) Shri Patwari Prabhudas B., (73) Shri Patel D. V., (74) Shri Chimanlal C., (75) Shri Patel Dahyabhai Kalidas (76) Shri Pathak Pranjivan V., (77) Shri Panchal Mohanlal Ishwarlal, (78) Rao Bahadur Dahyabhai A. Patel, (79) Shri Parikh Chhotalal T., (80) Shri Moreshwar Shripad Pandri, (81) Shri Matilal Motilal Patel, (82) Shri Patel Mohanlal M., (83) Sjt. B. P. Patel I.C.S., (84) Shri Chhotalal M. Pothiwala, (85) Shri Ratilal M. Patel, (86) Rao Saheb Maneklal C. Patel, (87) Shri Pandit Shankar Prasad, (88) Shri Ravat Bachubhai P., (89) Shri Rajguru Raghunath Keshav, (90) Shri Raval Ramaniklal L. (91) Shri Raval Manshankar Narottambhai, (92) Shri S. N. Rao, (93) Dr.

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K. R. Ramanathan, (94) Mr. A. K. Rice, (95) Mrs. A. K. Rice, (96) Miss. Jane A. Rice, (97) Shri Sant Krishnachandra R., (98) Prof. Shukla Yashvant P., (99) Smt. Bharatidevi Sarabhai, (100) Shri Shah Motilal G., (101) Shri Shah Jayant M., (102) Dr. Shastri Hariprasad G., (103) Smt. Shukla Kandarpabala H., (104) Shri Shukla Harshadrai N., (105) Miss Soloman Esther A., (106) Smt. Shah Vasumati R., (107) Dr. Sane Mukund V., (108) Shri Shah Natverlal G., (109) Shri Shah Kantilal K., (110) Shri Shah Keshavlal V., (111) Shri Shah Jamnadas J., (112) Shri Shah Premchand V., (113) Shri Sarabhai D. (114) Prof. Shah Sankalchand M., (115) Shri Shukla Narendraray N., (116) Shri Shukla Jayadev Mohanlal, (117) Shri Shastri Vasudev H., (118) Shri Sheth Narendra Lalbhai, (119) Shri Ambalal Sarabhai Sheth, Ratanpole, (120) Shastri Keshavram K., (121) Dr. Mhed Susmita Parashar, (122) Shri Shastri Bindukumar M., (123) Shri Shevde Shripad Sadashiva, (124) Shri Shah Keshavlal N., (125) Shri Govindramji Servani, (126) Shri A. R. Sen, (127) Shri Kantilal K. Shah, (128) Shri Shah Ramanlal M., (129) Shri Shah Bhuralal K., (130) Shri Satia Chandulal B., (131) Shri Gautam Sarabhai, (132) Shri Kamalini G. Sarabhai, (133) Miss Manna G. Sarabhai, (134) Miss Shyamali G. Sarabhai, (135) Mr. George Sralkar, (136) Mrs. George Sralkar, (137) Shri Shah Vimalaben L., (138) Shri Sheth Lalbahi C., (139) Shri Shambhulal Jagashibhai, (140) Shri Trivedi Ratilal M., (141) Shri Thakor Pranlal C., (142) Shri Trivedi Ramniklal B., (143) Shri Thakor Vishnuprasad R., (144) Shri Talati Jagmohandas R., (145) Shri Dinkar Trivedi, (146) Shri Teli Ratilal M., (147) Smt. Teli Dhanlaxmi Budhabhai, (148) Shri Tolat Ramniklal N., (149) Dr. Upadhyaya Randhir V., (150) Pt. Vishnudev S., (151) Shri Vyas Krishnkumar Harshankar.

(iv) Reception Committee Members From Outside Ahmedabad

(Paying Rs. 100)

(1) Doshi Amritlal Kalidas (2) Diwan Bahadur Krishanalal Mohanlal Jhaveri (3) Sheth Khandwala Kanchanlal Manchharam (4) Smt. Mehta Hansaben Jivaraj (5) Somaiya Karamshi Jethabhai.

(Paying Rs. 25)

(1) Shri Choksey Shantilal Shankerlal (2) Dr. Parekh Surajlal Harikrishandas (3) Shri Desai Ghelabhai Bhimbhai (4) Shri Jhaveri Navnitlal C. (5) Shri Mehta Bhimbhai Raghunathji (6) Shri Iswarbhai Motibhai Petlikar.

(Paying Rs. 15)

(1) Prof. Abhyankar K. V. (2) Acharya Girijashankar V. (3) Arya Mahendrakunar C. (4) Bhatt Bhagawatiprasad N. (5) Bhatt Govindlal H.

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(6) Bhatt Upendra G. (7) Chhotalal B. (8) Bharucha Nadirshaw N. (9) Shri Jayantkrishna H. (10) Dave Kanaiyalal B. (11) Desai Lallubhai G. (12) Desai Ranjitray G. (13) Desai Ratilal P. (14) Desai Thakorlal D. (15) Dave Narendra T. (16) Prof. Dave Mohanlal P. (17) Dave Harmukhshankar M. (18) Desai Ranjitray N. Vaidya (19) Hon'ble Shri Dhebar Uchharangrai (20) Desai Manbhai P. (21) Desai Mohanlal D. (22) Desai Dayalj R. (23) Desai Akshy Kumar R. (24) Miss Desai Sudha R. (25) Prof. Gandhi Ramanlal H. (26) Shri Gangdani M. A. (27) Jani Ratilal J. (28) Dr. Jetly Madan S. (29) Prof. Jani Kanubhai C. (30) Joshi Ambalal G. (31) Jani Jyotsnaben N. (32) Prof. Kamdar K. H. (33) Kapadia Bhogilal C. (34) Kachwala Hargovind D. (35) Dr. Katrecha Pranlal B. (36) Kapadia Girdharlal B. (37) Makati Nagkumar N. (38) Morkhia Vasantlal K. (39) Dr. Modi Venilal N. (40) Hon'ble Shri Modi Jadavji K. (41) Achary Mankad Dolarrai R. (42) Mistry Manilal G. (43) Shri Madhusudan M. (44) Suit Menaben N. (45) Modi Pratapray M. (46.) Dr. Miss Nachane Sulochana A. (47) Miss Nachane Prabhavati Anant (48) Nachane Bhalchandra Anant (49) Patel Bhailalphai D. (50) Patel Bhaichand G. (51) Prof. Parikh Jivanlal T. (52) Prof. Purohit Narmadashankar B. (53) Parikh Nathalal G. (54) Patel Hirabhai A. (55) Prof. Pandya Upendra C. (56) Patel Shivabhai D. (57) Prof. Patel Dinubhai M. (58) Shri Ratilal Jivanlal (59) Dr. Subba Rao B. (60) Sudhalkar Sakharam A. (61) Shah Umakant P. (62) Shah Maganlal N. (63) Shah Keshavlal P. (64) Shah Babubhai K. (65) Shukla Ambashankar R. (66) Sharma Damodarlal (67) Shukla Harkant B. (68) Secretary, Saurashta Samshodhan Mandal, Rajkot (69) Shah Suryakant A. (70) Shah Popatlal G. (71) Sehgal Sitram (72) Solanki Savitabahen M. (73) Shukla Raghudeo M. (74) Miss Solanki Nilambahen (75) Tikekar Shripad R. (76) Prof. Vishnuprasad R. Trivedi (77) Thakor Nanubhai D. (78) Dr. Tripathi yogendra J. (79) Thakor Jayant P. (80) Dr. Trivedi Anantrai B. (81) Thakkar Hiralal R. (82) Vaidya Bhuvankumar B. (83) Vaidya Bapalal G. (84) Vaidya Maganlal V. (85) Vaidya Vasantrao.

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Appendix–A

અખિલ ભારતીય પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યા પરિષદ

અમદાવાદમાં મળનારું સત્તરમું અધિવેશન

વિજ્ઞપ્તિ

અખિલ ભારતીય પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યા પરિષદ જે ઑલ ઇન્ડીયા ઓરીએન્ટલ કૉન્ફરન્સના નામે પ્રસિદ્ધ છે તે આપણા દેશની એક સંમાન્ય વિદ્યાસંસ્થા છે. એની સ્થાપના ૧૯૧૯ના વર્ષમાં થઈ હતી, જો કે એવી એક સંસ્થાની આવશ્યકતા તો ઠેઠ ૧૯મી સદીમાં વરતાઈ હતી. પશ્ચિમની સંસ્કૃતિનો આપણી સંસ્કૃતિ સાથે યોગ થતાં પશ્ચિમના વિદ્વાનોનું ધ્યાન ભારતીય અથવા આર્યવિદ્યાઓ પ્રત્યે સહેજે ખેંચાયું હતું અને એ દિશામાં સંશોધન કાર્યને તેમણે પુષ્કળ વેગ આપ્યો હતો. પરિણામે પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યાના અભ્યાસીઓની એક આંતરરાષ્ટ્રીય પરિષદ ૧૮૭૩માં પેરિસ ખાતે મળી હતી. એને બીજે વર્ષે લંડનમાં પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યાવિદોની બીજી આંતરરાષ્ટ્રીય પરિષદ મળી હતી. જેમાં ભાગ લેવા માટે આપણા દેશમાંથી સર રામકૃષ્ણ ગોપાળ ભાંડારકર, ડૉ. જે. જે. મોદી, કે. બી. પાઠક વગેરે વિદ્વાનો ગયા હતા અને આ પ્રકારની સંસ્થા આપણા દેશમાં પણ ઊભી કરવાની જરૂર એમને સમજાઇ હતી. પોતપોતાના વિશિષ્ટ ક્ષેત્રમાં કામ કરનારા પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યાવિદો એકઠા મળે, વિચારવિનિમય કરે અને પોતાના સંશોધનોનું સરવૈયું કાઢે તો એ મિલન સમસ્ત પ્રવૃત્તિને ખૂબ ઉપકારક નીવડે, એ દૃષ્ટિથી આપણા દેશમાં આ પ્રકારની સંસ્થા શરૂ કરવાનો વિચાર વહેતો થયો હતો. પણ એ ફળ્યો ઠીક ઠીક મોડો.

૧૯૧૯ના જુલાઇમાં સર હારકૉર્ટ બટલરે સિમલા મુકામે પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યાવિશારદોની એક પરિષદ નિમંત્રી હતી તેમાં ડૉ. વાગેલે ઓરીએન્ટલ કૉંગ્રેસની રચનાના મહત્ત્વ સંબંધી એક નોંધ રજૂ કરી હતી, પણ ૧૯૧૮ સુધી એ સૂચન ફક્ત સૂચન જ રહ્યું, પણ એ વર્ષમાં પૂનાનું ભાંડારકર ઓરીએન્ટલ રીસર્ચ ઇન્સ્ટીટ્યૂટ આ કાર્યમાં અગ્રેસર થયું અને પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યાવિદોની આંતર-રાષ્ટ્રીય સંસ્થાને મળતી સંસ્થા આ દેશમાં રચવા એ સંસ્થાના કાર્યકરો પ્રવૃત્ત થયા. ૧૯૧૯ના નવેમ્બરમાં આ સંસ્થાની તેમણે સ્થાપના કરી અને પહેલા અધિવેશનમાં હિંદ, બ્રહ્મદેશ અને સિલોનમાંથી તેમણે વિદ્વાનોને નોતર્યા. પહેલા અધિવેશનના પ્રમુખ સર રામકૃષ્ણ ભાંડારકર હતા. તે પછી ઉત્તરોત્તર ઉત્તમોત્તમ વિદ્વાનોએ પરિષદનાં અધિવેશનોનું પ્રમુખપદ શોભાવ્યું છે. પ્રો. સિલ્વાં લેવી, ડૉ. ગંગનાથ જહા, ડૉ. જે. જે. મોદી, પંડિત મદનમોહન માલવિયા વગેરેએ આ સંસ્થાનાં અધિવેશનોનું પ્રમુખપદ સ્વીકારી એના કાર્યને ઉત્તમ દોરવણી આપેલી.

આ સંસ્થાની સ્થાપના પછી ઘણું કરીને દર ત્રીજે વર્ષે ભારતના કોઈ ને કોઇ નગરમાં કે વિદ્યાધામમાં એનાં અધિવેશનો થતાં રહ્યાં છે અને એ રીતે પરિષદે ભારતના પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યા-વિશારદોના એક સમાગમસ્થાન તરીકે મહત્વનું કાર્ય કર્યું છે. પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યાને લગતી સંશોધન પ્રવૃત્તિને તેણે પુષ્કળ વેગ આપ્યો છે અને સંશોધનનાં પરિણામને સુગ્રથિત કરવામાં પણ

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તેણે ફાળો આપ્યો છે. અધિવેશન પ્રસંગે વિદ્વાનો જે નિબંધો તૈયાર કરે, જે ચર્ચાઓ થાય અને વિદ્વત્સભાઓ થાય તેનું ધોરણ પણ ખૂબ ઊંચું રહ્યું છે અને ભારતીય વિદ્વાનોના હૃદયમાં આ સંસ્થાએ આદરયુક્ત સ્થાન પ્રાપ્ત કર્યું છે.

ગુજરાતમાં આ મહાન સંસ્થાનું અધિવેશન આ બીજી વાર મળી રહ્યું છે. ૧૯૩૩ની સાલમાં વડોદરાના મહારાજા શ્રીમંત સર સયાજીરાવ ગાયકવાડના નિમંત્રણથી વડોદરામાં પરિષદનું સાતમું અધિવેશન પ્રસિદ્ધ વિદ્વાન ડૉ. કાશીપ્રસાદ જયસ્વાલના પ્રમુખપદે મળ્યું હતું. તે પછી વીસ વર્ષે ગુજરાતના પાટનગર અમદાવાદમાં એનું સત્તરમું અધિવેશન મળી રહ્યું છે. તેની તૈયારીઓ માટે ભારતની લોકસભાના અધ્યક્ષ માનનીય શ્રી. ગણેશ વાસુદેવ માવલંકરના પ્રમુખપદ હેઠળ તથા ગુજરાત યુનિવર્સિટીના કુલનાયક શ્રી. હરસિદ્ધભાઈ દિવેટિયાના અધ્યક્ષપદ હેઠળ એક સ્થાનિક સમિતિની પણ રચના કરવામાં આવી છે. આજથી વીસેક વર્ષ પહેલાં વડોદરાના સ્વ. મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ ગાયકવાડના નિમંત્રણથી વડોદરા મુકામે ૧૯૩૩માં પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યા પરિષદનું અધિવેશન થયું હતું તે પછી આ પરિષદ ગુજરાત યુનિવર્સિટી, અમદાવાદ એજ્યુકેશન સોસાયટી અને ગુજરાત વિદ્યાસભાના સંયુક્ત ઉપક્રમથી બીજી વાર ગુજરાતમાં મળી રહી છે ત્યારે એને સફળ બનાવવી એ ગુજરાતના સર્વ વિદ્યાપ્રેમીઓનું કર્તવ્ય છે.

પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યાના વિકાસની દિશામાં દેશભરની જુદી જુદી સંસ્થાઓ યથાશક્તિ કાર્ય કરી રહી છે, તેમ છતાં સ્વાતંત્ર્યપ્રાપ્તિ પછી સંસ્કૃત વિદ્યાઓમાં, ભારતીય ઇતિહાસ અને સંસ્કૃતિમાં જે નવો રસ જાગ્રત થયો છે તેથી પહેલાં કરતાં વધારે વેગથી અને નવી દૃષ્ટિથી કામે લાગવાની આવશ્યકતા ઊભી થાય છે. દા. ત. સંસ્કૃત પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યાની નિરનિરાળી શાખાઓને, સંસ્કૃતના અભ્યાસને, તેમજ ભારતીય ઇતિહાસ અને સંસ્કૃતિને રાષ્ટ્રીય શિક્ષણની સમગ્ર આ યોજનામાં યોગ્ય સ્થાન આપવાનો પ્રશ્ન વિચારવાનો છે; તે પછી પ્રાદેશિક ભાષાઓને તથા તેમના સાહિત્યને હાનિ પહોંચાડ્યા વિના રાષ્ટ્રભાષા-વિકાસનો પ્રશ્ન પણ ઉકેલવાનો છે. તદુપરાંત શાસ્ત્રીય પરિભાષાના પ્રશ્નનો પણ સમાધાનકારક ઉકેલ શોધવાનો છે. આ સર્વ બાબતોમાં પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યા પરિષદનું અમદાવાદનું અધિવેશન ઘણું કામ આપી શકે તેમ છે.

પ્રથમથી જ આ સંસ્થા પોતાની પ્રવૃત્તિમાં આ દિશામાં કામ કરી રહેલ આંતરરાષ્ટ્રીય વિદ્વાનોનો સહકાર મેળવતી રહી છે. પરિષદે હવે યુનેસ્કો તેમજ પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યાવિદોના આંતરરાષ્ટ્રીય મંડળ સાથે સક્રિય અને રચનાત્મક સહકાર સાધવા માટે ઘટતા ઉપાયો કરવા જોઈએ. અમદાવાદ અધિવેશનમાં આ સંબંધી વિચારણા થઈ શકશે.

અમદાવાદમાં આ અધિવેશન મળે એનું ઔચિત્ય સમજાવવું પડે એમ નથી. ગુજરાતનું એ પાટનગર છે અને જેવું ઉદ્યોગનું તેવું જ તે વિદ્યા અને સંસ્કૃતિનું કેન્દ્ર છે. વળી આ સ્થળેથી રાષ્ટ્રીય સ્વાતંત્ર્યનું આંદોલન રાષ્ટ્રપિતા મહાત્મા ગાંધીના પ્રેરક નેતૃત્વ હેઠળ આરંભાયું તે દિવસોમાં જ મહાત્મા ગાંધીએ રાષ્ટ્રભાષાનું મહત્ત્વ નિર્ધાર્યું હતું અને એના વિકાસને ઉત્તેજન આપવા માટે એમણે પ્રયાસો આરંભ્યા હતા. વળી સંસ્કૃત, પ્રાકૃત, પાલી વગેરેના અભ્યાસને વેગ મળે તેમજ ભારતીય કલા, તત્ત્વજ્ઞાન, ધર્મ વગેરેનો તલસ્પર્શી શાસ્ત્રીય અભ્યાસ થાય તે માટે ગુજરાત વિદ્યાપીઠના અંગભૂત જેવું ગુજરાત પુરાતત્ત્વ મંદિર પણ

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એમણે સ્થાપ્યું હતું. આ ઉપરથી અખિલ ભારતીય પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યા પરિષદનું સત્તરમું અધિવેશન અમદાવાદમાં મળે તેની યોગ્યતા પ્રતીત થશે.

પરિષદના કામકાજને જુદા જુદા પંદર વિભાગોમાં વહેંચી નાખવામાં આવ્યું છે અને દરેક વિભાગ માટે યોગ્ય વિદ્વાનની વિભાગીય પ્રમુખ તરીકે પસંદગી કરવામાં આવી છે.

વિભાગો અને વિભાગીય પ્રમુખોનાં નામ નીચે દર્શાવ્યા પ્રમાણે છે:—

વિભાગ	પ્રમુખ
૧. વૈદિક	ડૉ. રઘુવીર
૨. ઈરાની	ડૉ. એમ. એફ. કાંગા
૩. સંસ્કૃત	પ્રો. આર. ડી. કરમરકર
૪. ઈસ્લામી સંસ્કૃતિ	પ્રો. એન. એ. નદવી
૫. અરબી અને ફારસી	પ્રો. એમ. છ. ઝુબેદ
૬. પાલી અને બૌદ્ધ ધર્મ	પ્રો. એન. કે. ભાગવત
૭. પ્રાકૃત અને જૈન ધર્મ	શ્રી. કામતાપ્રસાદ જૈન
૮. ઇતિહાસ	ડૉ. યુ. એન. ઘોષાલ
૯. પુરાતત્ત્વ	શ્રી. અમલાનંદ ઘોષ
૧૦. ભારતીય ભાષાશાસ્ત્ર	પ્રો. સી. આર. સંકરન
૧૧. દ્રાવિડી સંસ્કૃતિ	ડૉ. ટી. વી. મહાલિંગમ્
૧૨. તત્ત્વજ્ઞાન અને ધર્મ	ડૉ. મોહનસિંગ
૧૩. હુન્નરવિદ્યા અને લલિત કલા	ડૉ. એચ. ગોએત્ઝ
૧૪. રાજસ્થાનનાં ઇતિહાસ અને સંસ્કૃતિ	આચાર્ય મુનિશ્રી જિનવિજયજી
૧૫. ગુજરાતનાં ઇતિહાસ અને સંસ્કૃતિ	પ્રો. રામનારાયણ વિ. પાઠક

ઉપર પ્રમાણેના વિભાગો હેઠળ જે બેઠકો થશે તે ઉપરાંત ચર્ચાસભાઓ, વિદ્વાસભાઓ, પુસ્તકાલયો અને ઐતિહાસિક સ્થાનોની મુલાકાતો તેમજ મનોરંજનના કાર્યક્રમો વગેરેની યોજના સ્થાનિક સમિતિએ રાખી છે. અધિવેશનનાં મુખ્ય આકર્ષણોમાંનું એક તે પ્રસંગે યોજનારું પ્રદર્શન છે, જેની વિગતો હવે પછી પ્રસિદ્ધ થશે. દેશભરના અને આ પ્રસંગે વિશેષ કરીને ગુજરાતભરના વિદ્યાપ્રેમીઓના સહકાર વિના આ અધિવેશન સફળ થઈ શકે જ નહિ. ત્રણ દાયકા કરતાં વધુ સમયથી જે સંસ્થાએ ભારતીય વિદ્વત્તાને સંગઠિત કરવાનો પ્રયત્ન કર્યો છે તેનું અધિવેશન આપણે આંગણે ભરાય ત્યારે આપણે હૃદયપૂર્વક તેમાં સહકાર અને સહાય આપવાં જોઈએ.

Appendix B: Bulletin N. 1

The Seventeenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference will be held at Ahmedabad in October 1953 under the General Presidentship of Professor Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M. A., D. Litt., F. A. S. B., Hono-

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rary Member of the American Oriental Society, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, French Asiatic Society, etc., lately Professor of Comparative Philology, Calcutta University, now Chairman of the West Bengal Legislative Council. A Local Executive Committee has already been formed for this purpose under the auspices of the Gujarat University, Ahmedabad Education Society, and the Gujarat Vidya Sabha with the Hon'ble Shri G. V. Mavalankar, Speaker, Parliament of India, as the President and Shri H. V. Divetia, Vice-Chancellor of the Gujarat University, as the Chairman.

The All-India Oriental Conference, which was inaugurated in 1919, has served, through all these years, as a unique forum for Orientalists in India and outside. At a Session of the Conference, research papers relating to different branches of Orientology are read and discussed and symposia are organized on various important research problems. Select papers are then published in the Volume of the Proceedings of the Session, which is given free to all Members and Delegates of the Session. It has been the constant endeavour of the Conference to promote, in every possible manner, all activities in the field of Oriental Learning and Research.

Every effort is being made to organize the Ahmedabad Session of the Confercnce in such a manner that it should adequately reflect the achievements, problems, and aspirations of Orientalists.

Apart from the purely academic work, there is another direction in which the Ahmedabad Session can make its contribution towards the planning and the revitalizing of the national life of India. In recent years, particularly after India won her political independence, there has been evident, among leaders of thought in this country, a remarkable resurgence of interst in Sanskritic Studies and Ancient Indian History and Culture. This is indeed as it should be. It is, however, necessary that these subjects are assigned their rightful place in the scheme of national education as a whole. Then there is the question relating to the shaping and development of the National Language of India without detriment to the various regional languages and literatures in the country. The question regarding common scientific technical terminology still awaits a satisfactory solution. It is further desirable that the Conference should devise ways and means for a more positive and active co-operation with international culcural and scholarly organizations such as the UNESCO and the International Union of Orientalists.

It is proposed to tackle these and allied questions at the Ahmedabad Session of the Conference.

It may be recalled that Ahmedabad was the place where was started, under the inspiring leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the national movement,

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which culminated in the attainment of Swaraj. Even at that time, Gandhiji had visualised the various aspects of the cultural life of a free India. He had realised the importance of the development of a National language, of the study of Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrits, and of the critical researhes in Indian Arts, Religion, and Philosophy. For this purpose he had founded the Gujarat Purātattva Mandira as an integral part of the Gujarat Vidyāpīṭha. The Seventeenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference may, therefore, be said to be convening in a particularly suitable atmosphere.

The names of the various Sections into which the Session will be divided and of the Sectional Presidents are given below:—

	Section	President	Address
1.	Vedic	Dr. Raghu Vira, M.A., Ph.D.	Old Assembly Rest House, Nagpur
2.	Iranian	Dr. M. F. Kanga, M.A., Ph.D.	D/10, Cusrow Baug. Colaba Causeway, Bombay 1
3.	Classical Sanskrit	Prof. R. D. Karmarkar, M.A.	"Damodar Villa," Poona 4
4.	Islamic Culture	Prof. N. A. Nadvi, M.A.	Ismail College, Andheri-Bombay
5.	Arabic & Persian	Prof. M. G. Zubaid Ahmed, M.A.	Department of Arabic & Persian, Allahabad University, Allahabad
6.	Pali & Buddhism	Prof. N. K. Bhagwat, M.A.	Sugata Nidhana, Plot No. 463, 15th Road, Khar-Bombay 21
7.	Prakrit & Jainism	Shri Kamata Prasad Jain	Editor, Jain Antiquary Aliganj-Etah
8.	History	Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D.	35, Ramananda Chatterji Street, Calcutta-9
9.	Archaeology	Shri Amalananda Ghosh	Dy. Director-General of Archaeology, New Delhi
10.	Indian Linguistics	Prof. C. R. Sankaran, M.A.	Deccan College Postgraduate Research Institute, Poona-6
11.	Dravidian Culture	Dr. T. V. Mahalingam	Madras University, Madras
12.	Philosophy & Religion	Dr. Mohan Singh	Khalsa College, Amritsar
13.	Technical Sciences and Fine Arts	Dr. H. Goetz	Director, Baroda Museum & Picture Gallery, Baroda

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In addition to these usual Sections, special arrangements are being made at the Ahmedabad Session for the following two Sections :—

14.	Rajasthan–History & Culture	Acharya Muni Shri Jinavijayaji	Honorary Director, Rajasthan Puratattva Mandir, Sanskrit College Bhavan, Jaipur
15.	Gujarat–History & Culture	Prof. Ramnarayan V. Pathak, B. A., LL. B.	Orphanage Building No. 4, 7A, Chowpatti Road, Bombay–7

Besides the Sectional meetings, a varied programme consisting of symposia, learned lectures, visits to libraries and places of antiquarian interest, and entertainments is being arranged by the Local Committee.

It is hardly necessary to add that the success of a Session like this depends entirely on the active co-operation of all Orientalists in this country. It is, therefore, earnestly requested that

(1) All persons interested in Oriental Learning and Research should immediately enrol themselves as Members of the Conference (A membership–form is enclosed);

(2) Scholars working in different branches of Orientology should prepare, for the Session, papers on subjects of their special study; and

(3) Governments, Universities, Research Institutes, and Colleges should nominate Delegates to, and make suitable grants towards the expenses of, the Ahmedabad Session.

Bonafide Members and Delegates of the Conference will be entitled to Railway concession in respect of journeys from their places of residence to Ahmedabad and back. Details regarding the full programme of the Session, Railway concession, lodging and boarding arrangements at Ahmedabad etc. will be given in subsequent Bulletins.

All papers intended to be read at the Ahmedabad Session should be sent, along with short summaries to the Local Secretary before the 31st of July, 1953.

Donations, Membership–fees, etc. also should be sent directly to the Local Secretary as early as possible.

R. N. Dandekar
V. Raghavan
General Secretaries.

R. C. Parikh
Local Secretary
C/o. Gujarat Vidya Sabha,
Post Box No. 23, Bhadra
Ahmedabad.

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All-India Oriental Conference

(17th Session, Ahmedabad)

Membership Form

Reg. No._____

To

Prof. R. C. Parikh,
Local Secretary,
Seventeenth Session, All-India Oriental Conference,
C/o. Gujarat Vidya Sabha,
Post Box No. 23, Bhadra, Ahmedabad

Dear Sir,

I know the aims and objects[1] of the All-India Oriental Conference and I sympathize with them.

I desire to become[2].....of the Conference and am sending herewith Rs, ...only, as my subscription. Kindly enrol me as such.

I have attended.....previous Sessions of the Conference, the last two being those that were held at.....and at.....and I submitted .....paper/papers, which was/were accepted for the.....Session,

---

1. The Objects of the Conference shall be—
   (a) To bring together Orientalists in order to take stock of the various activities of Oriental Scholars in and outside India.
   (b) To facilitate co-operation in Oriental studies and research.
   (c) To afford opportunities to scholars to give expression to their views on their respective subjects, and to point out the difficulties experienced in the pursuit of their special branches of study.
   (d) To promote social and intellectual intercourse among Oriental scholars.
   (e) To encourage traditional learning.
   (f) To do such other acts as may be considered necessary to promote advancement in Oriental learning.

2. Mention one of the following classes:—
   Patron : paying Rs. 3,000/- or more.
   Benefactor : paying Rs. 1,000/- or more.
   Life-Member : paying Rs. 100/- in a lump sum or in not more than two instalments within one financial year.
   Full-Member : paying Rs. 10/- per Session.
   Student Member : paying Rs. 2/- per Session. (Eligible for the public and sectional meetings only).

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and I am entitled to be a member of the Council.[3]

Place..... Yours truly,

Date..... .....

Full Name.....

(In Block Letters)

.....

Academic Qualifications.....

Occupation .....

Full Address.....

.....

Appendix C: Bulletin No. 2
30th Oct. 1953

It has already been announced in the First Bulletin that the 17th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference is to be held at Ahmedabad under the auspices of the Gujarat University, the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, the Ahmedabad Education Society and the Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M. A., D. Litt., F. A. S. B., lately Professor of Comparative Philologhy, Calcutta University and now Chairman of the West Bengal Legislative Council is the General President of the conference and the Hon'ble Shri G. V. Mavanlankar, Speaker, Parliament of India, is the President, and Shri H. V. Divetia, Vice-chancellor of the Gujarat University, is the Chairman, of the Reception Committee.

The Conference will be held on the 30th, the 31st Oct. and the 1st Nov. 1953.

Besides usual sections* there will be the following additional sections at Ahmedabad :

---

3. The Council shall consist of all Members who have attended three or more Sessions of the Conference (including the one taking place at the time) and have submitted a paper or papers that have been accepted at any one or more of these Sessions.

* The sections are :– 1. Vedic; 2. Iranian; 3. Classical Sanskrit; 4. Islamic Culture; 5. Arabic and Persian; 6. Pali and Buddhism; 7. Prakrit and Jainism; 8. History; 9 Archaeology; 10. Indian Linguistics; 11. Dravidian Culture; 12. Philosophy and Religion; 13. Technical Science and Fine Arts; 14. Rajasthan History and Culture; 15. Gujarat History and Culture.

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Section	President
Rajasthan–History and Culture	Acharya Munishri Jinavijayaji Hon. Director, Rajasthan Puratattva Mandir, Sanskrit College Bhavan, Jaipur
Gujarat – History and Culture	Prof. Ratnamanirao B. Jhote Hon. Professor of Gujarat History and Culture, B. J. Institute, Ahmedabad

It is proposed to arrange for Popular Lectures by distinguished scholars illustrated with lantern slides, and symposia on important topics, the details of which will be intimated later. Besides, there will be a variety entertainment programme.

It is our endeavour to organize, on a large scale, an exhibition of old manuscripts including painted scrolls and documents on a variety of important topics in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Old Rajasthani, Gujarati etc. collected from different old Bhandars of Gujarat and Rajasthan. It is hoped that this will be an interesting and enlightening item in connection with the conference.

An excursion to Aṇahilpura Pāṭaṇa (North Gujarat) and to the Sun Temple of Modhera is also being arranged for the delegates.

You are cordially invited to participate in the proceedings of the conference and contribute a paper and send its summary (not exceeding 200 words) before, the 15th Sept. 1953. The paper, ordinarily not exceeding 10 typed pages, may be sent latest by the end of September, 1953.

The Local Executive Committee has undertaken to arrange for the boarding and lodging of the delegates at the Delegate's Camp, where vegetarian diet will be served. However, we earnestly request those delegates who would not prefer to put up at the Delegates' Camp or not find the boarding arrangements to their taste, to let us know about it before the 15th Sept. 1953, so that we may make the necessary arrangements for them at some good hotels. It may please be noted that those delegates who are unwilling to take advantage of the boarding and lodging arrangements made by the Local Executive Committee will bear their own expenses.

Unless we are informed definitely about these requirements it will be hardly possible to make the necessary arrangements at the last moment. You are, therefore, particularly requested to fill in the form attached herewith and send it so as to reach us before the 15th September 1953.

Railway Concession certificates will be despatched to life-members

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and all the members who have paid their membership fees in the second week of September.

Full programme of the session will be communicated to the Members and Delegates in the third Bulletin, which will be issued in due course.

B. K. Majmudar
D. R. Mankad
Jayantkrishna H. Dave
Harinarayan Acharya
A. M. Raval,
P. B. Pandit,
K. K. Shastree
Y. P. Shukla
Joint Local Secretaries

R. C. Parikh
Local Secretary
17th All-India Oriental Conference
C/o. Gujarat Vidya Sabha
Post Box No. 23, Bhadra,
Ahmedabad

All-India Oriental conference

(17th Session, Ahmedabad)

To,
Prof. R. C. Parikh,
Local Secretary,
17th All-India Oriental Conference,
Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Bhadra, Ahmedabad-1

Dear Sir,

I have received the Second Bulletin, and shall be able to attend the conference.

I shall send a paper for the..... section of the Conference, its title being..... ..... The paper will be sent before the end of September, and its summary before the 15th Sept. 1953.

* I shall stay in the Delegates' Camp and avail of the boarding and lodging arrangements made by the Local Committee.

OR

* I desire to be accomodated in a hotel providing vegetarian / non-vegetarian diet.

Note :–The hotel charges would be :—

For western style, the charges vary from Rs. 10 to 20 per day.
For Indian style, from Rs. 8 to 15 per day.

* Score off what is not required.

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My Receipt No..... Yours truly

.....

Date.....

Full Name.....

(In Block Letters)

Address .....

(In Block Letters)

Appendix D: Bulletin No. 3

14th October, 1953

1. As already announced in the Second Bulletin, the Seventeenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference will be held at Ahmedabad on the 30th, the 31st October and the 1st November 1953, under the auspices of the Gujarat University, the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, the Ahmedabad Education Society and the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. You are cordially invited to attend and participate in the proceedings.

2. The plenary session will be held at the Premabhai Hall of the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Bhadra, at 3–30 p. m. on Friday, the 30th October 1953. Hon'ble Shri Ganesh Vasudev Mavalankar, Speaker, Parliament of India, has kindly consented to inaugurate the Session. Members are requested to be in their seats fifteen minutes earlier.

3. A Manuscript Exhibition is arranged at the Sheth Mangaldas Girdhardas Memorial Town Hall, Ahmedabad. Sheth Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai has kindly consented to perform its opening ceremony, on the 30th October at 9 A. M.

4. Arrangements for the boarding and lodging of the members who have got themselves enrolled as full members and Reception Committee Members who are not local residents, are made at the Sheth Chimanlal Nagindas Vidya Vihar, Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad–6

5. All Sectional meetings, symposia, public lectures with lantern slides, council meeting etc. will be held at the C. N. Vidya Vihar, and the entertainment programmers will be at the Premabhai Hall.

6. Members who will stay at the Campus should kindly intimate to us the date and the train by which they intend to arrive, before the 26th October, 1953, at the latest. Transport is being arranged for these members from the Ahmedabad Railway Station to the Campus at the C. N. Vidya Vihar.

7. The weather at Ahmedabad at the time of the Conference will be pleasant, though mornings will be cool and noontime slightly warm. Members are requested to bring bedding with covers and a mosquito–net with them.

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8. Members are requested to write directly to the Station Superintendent, Ahmedabad, for the reservation of their seats and berths on their return journey immediately on receiving this Bulletin.

9. Lady delegates will be accomodated at the Kayna Chhatralaya of the C. N. Vidya Vihar, Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad.

10. Volunteers with badges will be posted at the platforms of the Ahmedabad Railway Station and also at the exits to receive and guide the delegates. The delegates are requested to look for the volunteers as soon as they alight from their trains.

11. All the members of the Conference including the Donors and the Reception Committee Members should kindly arrange to get their packets containing a badge, a book of summaries, invitation cards, and entertainment passes etc. from the Office of the Gujarat Vidya Sabha on the 27th and the 28th October, 1953 between 12–30 and 5–30 p. m. or from the Office of the Conference after the 28th October. Members staying in the Campus will get their packets on their arrival at the Campus.

12. A two-day trip to the Sahasraling Excavations at Patan (North Gujarat) and the Surya Temple at Modhera (North Gujarat) soon after the Session may be arranged, provided fifty or more members communicate their intention to join the trip before the 28th inst. The expenditure per head including the boarding and transport charges will be Rs. 18/–. Delegates intending to visit the Oriental Institute, Department of Archaeology and Faculty of Fine Arts at the M. S. University, Baroda, will get facilities to do so.

D. R. Mankad
Jayantkrishna H. Dave
B. K. Majmudar
Harinarayan Acharya
A. M. Raval,
P. B. Pandit,
K. K. Shastree
Y. P. Shukla
Joint Local Secretaries

R. C. Parikh
Local Secretary
17th Session, All-India Oriental Conference
C/o. Gujarat Vidya Sabha,
Post Box No. 23, Bhadra,
Ahmedabad

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Appendix E

Speech of Lady Vidyabahen R. Nilkanth on the occasion of declaring the Manuscript Exhibition open.

Ladies & Gentlemen,

I consider it my proud privilege to stand before you as the Honorary Secretary of this more than a hundred years old Institution the Gujarat Vidya Sabha which has organised this unique Exhibition–perhaps for the first time in this part of the country. As you all know it is on an All India basis and has received response and co-operation from all parts of India. The Gujarat Vidya Sabha has been doing the work of promoting and developing the provincial language and culture of Gujarat. It has also kept in view literary advencement, education, and various other cultural activities. It possesses a big library containing rare old books of Gujarati, Persian and other languages for the advancement of literature and it has uptil now published more than one thousand books. The cultural link of the past and present has always been in its purview and consequently it has been, for many years, collecting old manuscripts which to-day come upto a fairly good number, nearly 7,000. The Sabha has in its possession old coins numbering about 2,000. It conducts a monthly magazine called Buddhi-Prakasha. Since its inception it has been spreading genuine light in the dark corners of our very small villages —more than eight hundred —free of charge, once they have joined as members of the Sabha.

For the last fourteen years, Vidya Sabha is conducting post graduate classes and has been carrying out research work. Mahatma Gandhiji with his keen insight had appreciated the value of research and had established a Pura-tattva Mandir. The Gujarat Vidya Sabha has continued the tradition after the Mandir ceased to work. It might be said that the work in that direction paved the way of calling the Oriental Conference and along with it this exhibition.

The necessity of having a University for Gujarat was keenly felt by the Vidya Sabha many years ago and it had made attempts towards that end. Now that the University has come into existenee, the University, Vidya Sabha, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Bombay and Ahmedabad Education Society have combined and succeeded in holding the Conference at Ahmedabad.

This much for the activities connected with the Sabha. I may crave your indulgence for the same and be excused for casually mentioning the fact because for more than last fifty years continuously my family members have had the great honour of serving the institution as its honorary Secretaries.

Holding an Exhibition of this kind is a tremendous liability and merely wishing to carry out the work is hardly enough. So many things have to be done. First and foremost, a person well versed in the places and

पुस्तकालय गुरुकुल कांगड़ी, हरिद्वार

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the relics of ancient lore throughout the length and breadth of our country must be available to organise such an exhibition. He must be conversant with the contents of mss. We have been fortunate in obtaining the help of such a scholar who is all this and much more. I mean Muni Shri Punya-vijayaji of Patan whose entire life has been spent in this work. His zeal for old mss. knows no bounds. But for his help and co-operation, this exhibition could not have been organized. The Bhandaras of ancient literature are all known to him. He has always guided and helped the Vidya Sabha and of course this time the work was especially his own.

But all this help and work required to be collected and arranged for which funds were necessary. The public-spirited citizens kindly responded to our appeal. But for this it would have been practically impossible to hold such a large exhibition which will be open for you all and the whole public from to-day onwards. The names of those who have come forward with monetary help are as under:-

1.	Mafatlal Gagalbhai & Co., Bombay	2,500/-
2.	Sheth Shri Ambalal Sarabhai Charity Trust, Ahmedabad	1,000/-
3.	New Swadeshi Mills Ltd., Ahmedabad	1,001/-
4.	Shri Ambica Mills Ltd., Ahmedabad	1,000/-
5.	Bihari Mills Ltd. ,,	501/-
6.	Ajit Mills Ltd. ,,	350/-
7.	Messrs Rushtamji Mangaldas & Co., Ahmedabad C/o. Jahangir Vakil Mills Ltd.	500/-
8.	The Navjivan Mills Ltd., Kalol	500/-
9.	The New Jahangir Vakil Mills Co. Ltd. Bhavnagar	500/-
10.	Sheth Hargovinddas Lakshmichand Charity Trust, Ahmedabad	500/-
11.	Sheth Amratlal Hargovinddas & Bros.	500/-
12.	Sheth Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai Charity Trust	1,250/-
13.	Sheth Shri Narottam Lalbhai Charity Trust	1,250/-
14.	The Vijay Mills Co. Ltd.	1,000/-
15.	The Jupitar Mills Co. Ltd.	500/-
16.	The Ahmedabad Jay Bharat Cotton Mills Ltd.	500/-
17.	The New Rajpur Mills Co. Ltd.	151/-
18.	Shri Manilal Mulchandbhai	500/-
19.	Pari Trikamlal Bhogilal & Co.	500/-
20.	Pari Trikamlal Bhogilal & Co.	500/-
21.	The Sarangpur Cotton Manufacturing Co. Ltd.	1,000/-
22.	The Rajkumar Mills Ltd.	501/-
23.	The Ahmedabad New Textile Mills Co. Ltd.	750/-
24.	Sheth Shri Purushottambhai Maganlal	500/-
	about	20,000

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Even after this many difficulties cropped up and the first and foremost was the location of the Exhibition. The Mayor of the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation with his usual goodness permitted us to use the Town Hall which is pre-eminently suitable for this purpose both by its situation and accomodation. The Hall was to be closed on account of its going for repairs. The Mayor kindly postponed this and thus you are to witness the Exhibition in the middle of the city.

Our Committee decided that the Exhibition should be opened by some one whose interests in this city are predominant. In Sheth Kasturbhai Lalbhai we have been able to secure a prominent citizen of Ahmedabad. His family, Lalbhai Dalpatbhai's family, has been forward in helping the cause of Education. Sheth Kasturbhai is the soul of the Education Society of Ahmedabad. He and his family have donated a princely donation of Rs. 40/- lacs of Rupees to establish an Arts and an Engineering College in Ahmedabad. He has purchased the whole collection of a well-known artist of Bengal and saved it from being dragged outside India as has been the sad fate of similar collections bought over by rich foreigners. His deep concern for learning and ancient cultural activities have achieved for him a high place in all the parts of the country. He is not only a great industrialist but a patron of art and literature. It is but meet that we should request him to open this Exhibition.

I must not forget to express our gratefulness to all those who have worked day and night for getting this exhibition ready. The Director of our B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, Prof. Rasiklal Parikh who is the local organising Secretary of the Oriental Conference comes foremost in this. He with his professors Keshavram Shastri, Dr. Hariprasad Shashtri, Prof. Yashwant Shukla, Dr. Jetli and the whole staff of the B. J. Institute and the Vidya Sabha including the Asstt. Secretary of Vidya Sabha, Sjt. Jethalal Gandhi, have for the last two months worked day and night for this work. Besides these Mr. Girishchandra Desai and Sheth Surottam Hathising have been helping us throughout. I must express my gratefulness to them.

It is a red letter day in the history of the Vidya Sabha to have been instrumental in bringing to this city, such a large gallaxy of true devotees of Saraswati from every nook and corner of India and also savants of our country and foreign countries as well. We have strived as much as we could in the hope that it would befit the occasion which it has been the rare fortune for the city.

On behalf of the organisers I now request Sheth Kasturbhai to declare the Exhibition open. As there would be no time for us to meet again in the mandap, on behalf of us all, I sincerely thank Sheth Kasturbhai for complying with our request and for sparing time for us extremely busy though he always is.

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Inauguration Address
by
Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai

Shri Vidyaben, Munishri Punyavijayji, Dr. Chatterji, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I deem it a great honour to have been invited to remain present on this occasion and perform the opening ceremony of this exhibition. I will not waste your time by a formal expression of my unfitness for such honour because it is so obvious, but I would rather say that like a good businessman I did not let go such a profitable offer; for, I believe, it is a real spiritual gain to perform *jnana puja*, or *shruta puja* and a genuine pleasure to be in company with so many devotees of Learning. My only claim to be in your company is that, though not a man of letters myself, I aspire to be a good lover of learning and do my little to promote its cause.

Ladies and Gentlemen! most of you are probably aware that this is an exhibition of old manuscripts. As you must have noted from the speech of Muni Shri Punyavijayji most of these manuscripts have been brought here from the old Jain Bhandars of Gujarat—from Patan, Khambhat, Ahmedabad and several other places. They practically cover the whole field of Sanskrit and Prakrit literatures as well as old Gujarati. There are also interesting Persian manuscripts and documents. To the students of calligraphy, this exhibition will provide a unique opportunity. Some of these manuscripts are beautifully illuminated with gold and silver and brilliant colours. The borders of others are prettily adorned with charming conventionalized forms of creepers, birds, elephants etc. Quite a good number has exquisite drawings in line and colour.

The calligraphy of these manuscripts brings to my mind the Gujarati line अक्षरे अक्षरे दीवा बळे—a light shines in each letter. The age of the exhibits ranges from the beginning of the tenth century to the end of the 19th century. Here is a unique opportunity to study the development of Devanagari script through almost a millenium.

Thus here you will see a goodly collection of hand-written books of several centuries.—This reminds me of a saying of that eminent British thinker and man of letters—Carlyle. He has said somewhere: "The true university in these days is a collection of books." What Carlyle probably meant was that it is through books that the tradition of learning is effectively maintained. Till books were written it was through the word of mouth that learning was imparted and in our country even when books were written learning continued through oral tradition. In fact the very word for learning in Sans-

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krit is Shruta and a learned man is 'one who has heard much'—Bahushruta. The sacred Vedas are known as Shruti—and the handing down of the Vedas through mouth has been a miracle of preservation—a real wonder of the world. But unless there is a tradition oral or written learning cannot maintain itself. Every culture has created this mechanism ; and it is through this mechanism of books that one visualizes the wealth or property of learning of any culture—regional or national. This exhibition, I do not hesitate to say, will give you a visual proof of the tradition of learning as it was in Gurjaradesha of yore.

If we throw a look back at the history of Gujarat, we will find that there has been a continuous stream of Saraswati—full and overflowing at one time and lean some time, but never disappearing underground as the physical Saraswati does. In fact, it will be realised that what has survived of books is only a remnant of the old Pustka Bhandaras—or libraries.

The first historical capital of Gujarat was Girinagara—Girnar—near modern Junagadh—from the times of Chandragupta Maurya to the times of Skandagupta—for more than seven centuries. Ashoka's injunction in the edict on a Girnar rock that Brahmanas and Shramanas both should be equally respected has borne good fruit in the history of Gujarat—for we find that both Brahmanas and Shramanas have contributed to the rich cutural heritage of this region. In these seven centuries Vedic, Buddhist and Jain men of learning must have received ample encouragement and support, both from the princes and the people. It is note-worthy that the chronicler of Rudradaman's—the Shaka emperor's—court is not content with the description of his king's valourous deeds but takes care to inform us that Rudradaman was famous for his mastery of *Shabda*—Language and Literature, *Artha*-Economics and Politics, *Gandharva*-music and dancing and *Nyaya*—the art of debate and the science of Logic.

So also, when we come to the history of Valabhi—the capital of Gujarat after Girinagara—we find that particular care is taken to describe the education and learning of theMaitraka kings in their copper-plates. In fact Valabhi appears to have been a great centre of learning in the time of Maitrakas. Kathasaritsagara informs us that one Visnudatta—a native of Antarvedi—when he completed sixteen years of his age goes to Valabhi for *Vidyaprapti* (learning). We know from Buddhist sources that it was a veritable Buddhist University where the great Acharya Gunamati and Sthiramati presided. As to Vedic learning, if there is anything which the grants attest beyond doubt, it is its royal patronage throughout the Maitraka domain and outside. The learned Brahmanas of Anandapura—modern Vadnagar—are conspicuous by their learning in these grants. The Mahakavya known as *Bhattikavya* was a product of Valabhi.

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About the cultivation of Jain learning there is enough evidence. According to Jain tradition it was at Valabhi that the great Acharya Devarddhi Gani Kshmashramana redacted the whole Jain canon to its present shape. In fact it is one of the greatest events of Jain history. The great Jain logician Mallavadin the author of *Nayacakra* according to tradition got his schooling in Shastras along with his two brothers at Valabhi. All the three were reputed to be great masters in their respective branches of learning. One brother—Jitayashas—was a grammarian, another–Yaksha—an astrologer and the third—Malla—a logician.

It is, however, with Bhinnamala or Shrimala—'the site of which lies in a wide plain about fifteen miles west of the last outlier of the Abu range'–it is with this city that the history of this region as Gujarat really starts. The present social and religious makeup of Gujarat has to be traced to the city of Shrimala and its history. In fact it has set the tone of the cultural life of this region. Shrimala also was famous as a centre of learning. Mr. Jackson was able to discover amongst its ruins, the site of an old *Vidyashala*. According to *Shrimala Purana* there were one thousand Brahmashalas and four thousand Mathas in that city where all the Vidyas and Shastras were taught. Scholars of literary history know that the great astronomer Brahmagupta who was known as Bhillamallakacarya the author of *Sphuta siddhanta* and the great poet Magha—the author of *Sishupalavadha* hailed from this city.

Shrimala was also a great centre of Jain learning. Siddharshi—the author of *Upamitibhava-prapanca-katha* completed his work at Bhinnamala in V. S. 962 (A. D. 906). It was also one of the liteary activities of that great Jain philosopher Haribhadrasuri, the author of *Shaddarshana samuccaya*, the first general work in Sanskrit literature on all the schools of Indian philosophy, a sort of Sanskrit compendium of Philosophy. He wrote several other works including a novel called *Samaraditya Katha*.

Shrimala was the immediate predecessor of Anahillapura. According to one account eighteen thousand Gurjars migrated from that city in the reign of one Bhimasena. According to *Shrimala Purana*, Shri, the presiding deity of the city, left Shrimala in V. S. 1203 (A. D. 1147), which means that after that time the Shri or the glory of Shrimala passed on to Anahillapura, the next capital of Gujarat. In fact it was the men and material of Shrimala that unified the whole region of Anartta, Surastra, Kaccha and Lata by one name.

It was, however, at Anahillapura that the glory of Gujarat reached its zenith. Politically, economically and culturally Gujarat reached its high water-mark in the reigns of Siddharaja (V. S. 1150—V. S. 1199) and Kumarapala (V. S. 1199—V. S. 1230). The intellectual and cultural life of the city of Anahillapura was in the high tradition of Pataliputra, Ujjayini, Kan-

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yakubja, Valabhi and Bhinnamala. There was intimate intellectual commerce with Sharada desha—the land of Learning—Kashmir. The fondness of its rulers and merchant-princes for raising architectural monuments had resulted in some of the finest temples at Anahillapura, Modhera, Siddhapura, Somanatha, Kumbharia, Abu and Ranakpur, and had given scope to the art of a whole class of master-builders who were in demand even in Dakshina desha. And these temples were not only sanctuaries of religion; they were sanctuaries of arts also. Through a contemporary description of the temple Kumaranihara by Ramacandra, a pupil of Hemacandra, we get a glimpse into the arts of painting, sculpture and architecture as well as music, dance and drama as they were practised in these temples. All this culture had behind it the munificence of its merchant-princes whose fabulous wealth was the fruit of their sea-faring adventures. The religious outlook of the age was one of admirable toleration, though now and then enlivened by the priestly rivalries of the different sects.

Tarka, Sahitya and Lakshaṇa—Logic and the Art of Dialectics, Literature and Poetics, Grammar and the Philosophy of Language—were the subjects affected by the cultured citizens of Anahillapura and proficiency in these subjects was a pass-port to the royal courts and the assemblies of the learned. The chaityas and the Mathas of different sects in fact, were the academies and the colleges where these subjects were discussed and taught. I may refer to the great dialectician Shantisuri who had thiry-two students studying under him *Pramanashastra* which included Buddhist logic whose 'categories were difficult to grasp.' This atmosphere of learning, of public debates, and of literary criticism as also of literary compositions was a significant feature of the times which became more and more marked with the spread of political power of Anahillapura. When Siddharaja Jayasimha rebuilt the famous lake Sahasralinga, he also built Mathas—something line residential colleges—providing for the teaching of almost all the then known branches of learning, round about the precincts. The descriptions of the city by the Dvyashraya Kavya and other contemporary and later works point to a high state of literary development. In fact Hemacandra would have the people of Anahillapura to be first not only in Shaurya, Shama, Samadhi and Satya, but first also in Shastra, Shad-darshana and the Shadanga the six angas of the Veda. Whatever may be the case with other people of Anahillapura, Hemacandra at least was first in all these. His contributions to the various departments of learning earned for him the title of *Kalikalasarvajna*. Those who have studied his different *Anushasanas* and the fragmentary *Pramana-mimansa* tell us that these works presuppose the study of all the works on these subjects known and unknown to us. This could not be possible if there

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were no good libraries. In fact when Siddharaja requested Hemacandra to write a comprehensive work for the study of languages—Sanskrit and Prakrits, he asked Siddharaja to get works on the subject from all over India, which he did. In fact the Upashraya of Hemacandra was a veritable book-producing workshop. There is ample evidence in the innumerable Prashastis of manuscripts for the activity of multiplying books by copying. Not only men of means donated large sums of money for this purpose, but well-to-do men and even women themselves took to this work, not for love of money but as a religious duty.

And here you will see ample proof of this literary devotion, though what is exhibited here is a very small part of the wealth that exists in the Bhandars of Gujarat. These Bhandars themselves are only fragments of their former selves. Even in this broken condition they have preserved innumerable works, some of which are very important and rare. To mention a few Buddhist works like *Tattva-Samgraha*, fragment of a commentary on the *Arthashastra* of Chanakya and a hitherto unknown work of a school of Charvaka *Tattvopaplava* a work on dialectics leading to scepticism! Most of the mss. exhibited here are from the Jain Bhandaras of Gujarat. There were similar Bhandaras of other sects also; but unfortunately they have not survived, probably because the other sects lacked the organization which the Jain Samgha possessed. Any way even a cursory observation of this exhibition will show how wide, liberal and catholic was the outlook and culture of those who made their libraries.

I am afraid I have trespassed too much in what is your domain. For that I crave your indulgence.

I sincerely thank the authorities of the Gujarat Vidya Sabha and the Local Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference for doing me this honour and giving me an opportunity of being in the company of learned men gatherd from all parts of the country.

I declare the exhibition to be open.

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ज्ञानभाण्डारों पर एक दृष्टिपात

मुनिश्री पुण्यविजयजीका प्रवचन

साहित्यप्रदर्शनी-विभाग और उसका अवलोकन

आजकी हमारी साहित्य-प्रदर्शनीमें विद्वान्, जिज्ञासु एवं सामान्य जनता—सबको लक्षमें रख कर जुदे जुदे विभाग किए गए हैं। सामान्य जनताका सम्बन्ध तो सिर्फ़ चित्र तथा चमकीली-भड़कीली वस्तुओंके साथ ही होता है जब कि विद्वान् एवं जिज्ञासुका तो प्रत्येक वस्तुके साथ तन्मयतापूर्ण सम्बन्ध होता है। अतः उन्हें साहित्य-प्रदर्शनीके विभागोंका अवलोकन इसी दृष्टिसे करना चाहिए। ऐसी साहित्यिक प्रदर्शनीमें सुविधा एवं योग्यताके अनुसार चाहे जो वस्तु चाहे जिस स्थान पर रखी हो, परन्तु यहाँ पर जो सूचना तथा तालिका दी गई है उसके आधार पर प्रेक्षक उन उन वस्तुओंका पर्यवेक्षण करें। इसी दृष्टिसे यह तालिका दी गई है। साहित्य एवं कला सम्बन्धी विज्ञानकी अपेक्षासे प्रदर्शनीका महत्त्व है, और हमें यह नहीं भूलना चाहिए कि प्रदर्शनीकी सच्ची आत्मा एवं हार्द भी यही है। यह दृष्टिकोण सम्मुख रखकर यदि प्रदर्शनीका निरीक्षण किया जाय तो वह रसप्रद एवं हमारे जीवनमें प्रेरणादायी बन सकेगा।

तालिका

१. साहित्य विभागकी दृष्टिसे प्रदर्शनीमें व्याकरण, कोश, छन्द, अलंकार, काव्य, नाटक, दार्शनिक साहित्य, ऐतिहासिक साहित्य, प्राचीन गुजराती-हिन्दी साहित्य, ज्योतिष, वैद्यक, फारसी साहित्य, गुरुमुखीमें लिखी हुई पुस्तकें आदि रखे गए हैं।

२. जैनेतर विद्वानोंके लिखे हुए ग्रन्थोंके ऊपर जैनाचार्यों द्वारा रचित व्याख्या-ग्रन्थ।

३. दिगम्बराचार्य कृत ग्रंथ।

४. एक ही व्यक्तिके लिखाए हुए ग्रन्थोंकी राशि।

५. विषयानुक्रमसे श्रेणिबद्ध लिखाए ग्रन्थ।

६. ग्रन्थकारोंकी स्वयं लिखी हुई या शुद्ध की हुई या लिखाई हुई प्रतियाँ।

७. ग्रन्थकी रचनाके बाद उसमें किए गए सविशेष परिवर्तनकी सूचक प्रति।

८. ख़ास ख़ास महापुरुषोंके हस्ताक्षर।

९. श्रावक और श्राविका द्वारा लिखित ताड़पत्रीय प्रति।

१०. शुद्ध किए हुए तथा टिप्पणी किए हुए ग्रन्थ।

११. स्याहीकी प्रौढ़ता और एक जैसी लिखावटको सूचित करनेवाली ग्रन्थसामग्री।

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१२. लेखनपद्धतिके प्रकार–त्रिपाठ, पंचपाठ, सस्तबक आदि।

१३. भिन्न भिन्न शताब्दियोंकी* भिन्न भिन्न प्रकारकी लिपियाँ।

१४. ताड़पत्रीय अक्षरांकोंका दर्शन।

१५. प्राचीन भारतमें व्यवहृत कागज़ोंकी जुदी जुदी जातें।

१६. राजकीय इतिहासकी दृष्टिसे प्रतियोंका संकलन।

१७. सुनहरी और रुपहरी अक्षरोंमें लिखित सचित्र कल्पसूत्र आदि।

१८. सचित्र ताड़पत्रीय तथा कागज़की प्रतियाँ।

१९. चित्रशोभन, रिक्तलिपिचित्रमय, लिपिचित्रमय, अंकचित्रमय, चित्रकर्णिका, चित्रपुष्पिका, चित्रकाव्यमय प्रतियाँ।

२०. विज्ञप्तिपत्र एवं वर्धमान-विद्या आदिके पट।

२१. अनेक प्रकारके बाज़ी, गंजीफ़े आदि।

२२. जीर्ण-शीर्ण, सड़ी-गली प्रतियोंको कागज़ आदि चिपका कर उनका पुनरुद्धार करनेकी कला प्रदर्शित करनेवाला ग्रन्थसंग्रह।

२३. ताड़पत्र, कागज़ आदिके नमूने।

२४. लेखनकी सामग्री—दावात, कलम, तूलिका (पींछी), ग्रन्थी, बट्टे, ओलिए, जुजवल, प्राकार, स्याही, हरताल आदि।

२५. भिन्न भिन्न प्रकारके सचित्र सुन्दर डिब्बे और पाठे।

ऊपर जो विभाग दिए गए हैं उनमेंसे कुछ ऐसे भी हैं जिनका यदि स्वतंत्र विवेचन न किया जाय तो उनके बारेमें स्पष्ट ख़याल नहीं आ सकता। परन्तु इस संक्षिप्त लेखमें उनका विवेचन देना शक्य नहीं है।

प्रस्तुत विभागोंमें श्रावका सावदेवकी सुन्दर लिपिमें लिखी हुई एक ताड़पत्रीय प्रति है। हमारे ज्ञानभाण्डारोंमें पुरुष लेखक–साधु किंवा श्रावक द्वारा लिखित ग्रन्थोंकी नक़लें तो सैकड़ों और हज़ारोंकी संख्यामें मिलती हैं, परन्तु साध्वियों एवं श्राविकाओंके हाथकी लिखी हुई प्रतियाँ तो कभी कभी–विरल ही देखनेमें आती हैं। मेरे प्रगुरु पूज्य प्रवर्तक दादा श्रीकान्तिविजय महाराजश्रीने मेड़ताके ज्ञानभाण्डारमें श्राविका रुपादेके हाथकी लिखी हुई मलयगिरिकी आवश्यकवृत्तिकी प्रति देखी थी, परन्तु आज वह प्रति वहाँके भाण्डारमें नहीं है। इस समय तो हमारे सम्मुख प्राचीन गिनी जा सके ऐसी यही एक मात्र प्रति है और वह है खम्भातके शान्तिनाथ-भाण्डारमें।

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* प्रदर्शनी देखनेवाले प्रेक्षकोंको एक ख़ास सूचना है कि यहाँ पर रखी गई सामग्रीमें जो उसके लेखन आदिके संवत्का निर्देश किया गया है वह विक्रम संवत् समझना चाहिए।

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ज्ञानभाण्डारों पर एक दृष्टिपात

इस युगके विकसित साधन और विकसित व्यवहारकी दृष्टिसे लाइब्रेरी या पुस्तकालयोंका विश्वमें जो स्थान है वही स्थान पहलेके समयमें उस युगकी मर्यादाके अनुसार भाण्डारोंका था। धन, धान्य, वस्त्र, पात्र आदि दुन्यवी चीज़ोंके भाण्डारोंकी तरह शास्त्रोंका भी भाण्डार अर्थात् संग्रह होता था जिसे धर्मजीवी और विद्याजीवी ऋषि-मुनि या विद्वान् ही करते थे। यह प्रथा किसी एक देश, किसी एक धर्म या किसी एक परम्परामें सीमित नहीं रही है। भारतीय आर्योंकी तरह ईरानी आर्य, क्रिश्चियन और मुसलमान भी अपने सम्मान्य शास्त्रोंका संग्रह सर्वदा करते रहे हैं।

भाण्डारके इतिहासके साथ अनेक बातें संकलित हैं–लिपि, लेखनकला, लेखनके साधन, लेखनका व्यवसाय इत्यादि। परन्तु यहाँ तो मैं अपने लगभग चालीस वर्षके प्रत्यक्ष अनुभवसे जो बातें ज्ञात हुई हैं उन्हींका संक्षेपमें निर्देश करना चाहता हूँ।

जहाँ तक मैं जानता हूँ, कह सकता हूँ कि भारतमें दो प्रकारके भाण्डार मुख्यतया देखे जाते हैं–व्यक्तिगत मालिकीके और सांघिक मालिकीके। वैदिक परम्परामें पुस्तक-संग्रहोंका मुख्य सम्बन्ध ब्राह्मणवर्गके साथ रहा है। ब्राह्मणवर्ग गृहस्थाश्रमप्रधान है। उसे पुत्र-परिवार आदिका परिग्रह भी इष्ट है–शास्त्रसम्मत है। अतएव ब्राह्मण-परम्पराके विद्वानोंके पुस्तक-संग्रह मुख्यतया व्यक्तिगत मालिकीके रहे हैं, और आज भी हैं। गुजरात, राजस्थान, उत्तरप्रदेश, बिहार, बंगाल, मिथिला या दक्षिणके किसी प्रदेशमें जाकर पुराने ब्राह्मण परम्पराके संग्रहोंको हम देखना चाहें तो वे किसी-न-किसी व्यक्तिगत कुटुम्बकी मालिकीके ही मिल सकते हैं। परन्तु भिक्षु-परम्परामें इससे उलटा प्रकार है। बौद्ध, जैन जैसी परम्पराएँ भिक्षु या श्रमण परम्परामें सम्मिलित हैं। यद्यपि भिक्षु या श्रमण गृहस्थोंके अवलम्बनसे ही धर्म या विद्याका संरक्षण, संवर्धन करते हैं तो भी उनका निजी जीवन और उद्देश अपरिग्रहके सिद्धान्त पर अवलम्बित है–उनका कोई निजी पुत्र-परिवार आदि नहीं होता। अतएव उनके द्वारा किया जानेवाला या संरक्षण पानेवाला ग्रन्थसंग्रह सांघिक मालिकीका रहा है और आज भी है। किसी बौद्ध विहार या किसी जैन संस्थामें किसी एक आचार्य या विद्वान्का प्राधान्य कभी रहा भी हो तब भी उसके आश्रयमें बने या संरक्षित ज्ञान-भाण्डार तत्त्वतः संघकी मालिकीका ही रहता है या माना जाता है।

सामान्यरूपसे हम यही जानते हैं कि इस देशमें बौद्ध विहार न होनेसे बौद्ध संघके भाण्डार भी नहीं हैं, परन्तु वस्तुस्थिति जुदा है। यहाँके पुराने बौद्ध विहारोंके छोटे-बड़े अनेक पुस्तक-संग्रह कुछ उस रूपमें और कुछ नया रूप लेकर

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भारतके पड़ौसी अनेक देशोंमें गए। नेपाल, तिब्बत, चीन, सीलोन, बर्मा आदि अनेक देशोंमें पुराने बौद्ध शास्त्रसंग्रह आज भी सुलभ हैं।

जैन-परम्पराके भिक्षु भारतके बाहर नहीं गए। इसलिए उनके शास्त्रसंग्रह भी मुख्यतया भारतमें ही रहे। शायद भारतका ऐसा कोई भाग नहीं जहाँ जैन पुस्तक-संग्रह थोड़े-बहुत प्रमाणमें न मिले। दूर दक्षिणमें कर्णाटक, आन्ध्र, तामिल आदि प्रदेशोंसे लेकर उत्तरके पंजाब, युक्तप्रदेश तक और पूर्वके बंगाल, बिहारसे लेकर पश्चिमके कच्छ, सौरा तक जैन भाण्डार आज भी देखे जाते हैं, फिर भले ही कहीं वे नाम मात्रके हों। ये सब भाण्डार मूलमें सांघिक मालिकीकी हैसियतसे ही स्थापित हुए हैं। सांघिक मालिकीके भाण्डारोंका मुख्य लाभ यह है कि उनकी वृद्धि, संरक्षण आदि कार्योंमें सारा संघ भाग लेता है और संघके जुदे जुदे दर्जेके अनुयायी गृहस्थ धनी उसमें अपना भक्तिपूर्वक साथ देते हैं जिससे भाण्डारोंकी शास्त्र-समृद्धि बहुत बढ़ जाती है और उसकी रक्षा भी ठीक ठीक होने पाती है। यही कारण है कि बीचके अन्धाधुन्धीके समय सैकड़ों विघ्न-बाधाओंके होते हुए भी हज़ारों-की संख्यामें पुराने भाण्डार सुरक्षित रहे और पुराने भाण्डारोंकी काया पर नए भाण्डारों-की स्थापना तथा वृद्धि होती रही, जो परम्परा आज तक चालू रही।

इस विषयमें दो-एक ऐतिहासिक उदाहरण काफ़ी हैं। जब पाटन, खम्भात आदि स्थानोंमें कुछ उत्पात देखा तो आचार्योंने बहुमूल्य शास्त्रसम्पत्ति जेसलमेर आदि जैसे दूरवर्ती सुरक्षित स्थानोंमें स्थानान्तरित की। इससे उलटा, जहाँ ऐसे उत्पातका सम्भव न था वहाँ पुराने संग्रह वैसे ही चालू रहे, जैसे कि कर्णाटकके दिगम्बर-भाण्डार।

यों तो वैदिक, बौद्ध आदि परम्पराओंके ग्रन्थोंके साथ मेरा वही भाव व सम्बन्ध है जैसा जैन-परम्पराके शास्त्र-संग्रहोंके साथ। तो भी मेरे कार्यका मुख्य सम्बन्ध परि-स्थितिकी दृष्टिसे जैन भाण्डारोंके साथ रहा है। इससे मैं उन्हींके अनुभव पर यहाँ विचार प्रस्तुत करता हूँ। भारतमें कमसे कम पाँच सौ शहर, गाँव, क़सबे आदि स्थान होंगे जहाँ जैन शास्त्रसंग्रह पाया जाता है। पाँच सौकी संख्या—यह तो स्थानोंकी संख्या है, भाण्डारोंकी नहीं। भाण्डार तो किसी एक शहर, एक क़सबे या एक गाँवमें पन्द्रह-बीससे लेकर दो-पाँच तक पाए जाते हैं। पाटनमें बीससे अधिक भाण्डार हैं तो अहमदाबाद, सूरत, बीकानेर आदि स्थानोंमें भी दस दस, पन्द्रह पन्द्रहके आसपास होंगे। भाण्डारका कद भी सबका एकसा नहीं। किसी किसी भाण्डारमें पचीस हज़ार तक ग्रन्थ हैं तो किसी किसीमें दो सौ, पाँच सौ भी हैं। भाण्डारोंका महत्त्व जुदी जुदी दृष्टिसे आंका जाता है—किसीमें ग्रन्थराशि विपुल है तो विषय-वैविध्य कम है; किसीमें विषय-वैविध्य बहुत अधिक है तो अपेक्षाकृत प्राचीनत्व कम है; किसीमें

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प्राचीनता बहुत अधिक है; किसीमें जैनेतर बौद्ध, वैदिक जैसी परम्पराओंके महत्त्वपूर्ण ग्रन्थ शुद्ध रूपमें संगृहीत हैं तो किसीमें थोड़े भी ग्रन्थ ऐसे हैं जो उस भाण्डारके सिवाय दुनियाके किसी भागमें अभी तक प्राप्त नहीं हैं, ख़ासकर ऐसे ग्रन्थ बौद्ध-परम्पराके हैं; किसीमें संस्कृत, प्राकृत, अपभ्रंश, प्राचीन गुजराती, राजस्थानी. हिन्दी, फ़ारसी आदि भाषा वैविध्यकी दृष्टिसे ग्रन्थराशिका महत्त्व है तो किसी किसीमें पुराने ताड़पत्र और चित्रसमृद्धिका महत्त्व है।

सौराष्ट्र, गुजरात और राजस्थान के जुदे जुदे स्थानोंमें मैं रहा हूँ और भ्रमण भी किया है। मैंने लगभग चालीस स्थानोंके सब भाण्डार देखे हैं और लगभग पचास भाण्डारोंमें तो प्रत्यक्ष बैठकर काम किया है। इतने परिमित अनुभवसे भी जो साधन-सामग्री ज्ञात एवं हस्तगत हुई है उसके आधार पर मैं कह सकता हूँ कि वैदिक, बौद्ध एवं जैन परम्पराके प्राचीन तथा मध्ययुगीन शास्त्रोंके संशोधन आदिमें जिन्हें रस है उनके लिये अपरिमित सामग्री उपलब्ध है।

श्वेताम्बर, दिगम्बर, स्थानकवासी और तेरहपंथी—इन चार फ़िरकोंके आश्रित जैन भाण्डार हैं। यों तो मैं उक्त सब फ़िरकोंके भाण्डारोंसे थोड़ा बहुत परिचित हूँ तो भी मेरा सबसे अधिक परिचय तथा प्रत्यक्ष सम्बन्ध श्वेताम्बर परम्पराके भाण्डारोंसे ही रहा है। मेरा ख़याल है कि विषय तथा भाषाके वैविध्यकी दृष्टिसे, ग्रन्थ—संख्याकी दृष्टिसे, प्राचीनताकी दृष्टिसे, ग्रन्थोंके क़द, प्रकार, अलंकरण आदिकी दृष्टिसे तथा अलभ्य, दुर्लभ्य और सुलभ परन्तु शुद्ध ऐसे बौद्ध, वैदिक जैसी जैनेतर परम्पराओंके बहुमूल्य विविध विषयक ग्रन्थोंके संग्रहकी दृष्टिसे श्वेताम्बर परम्पराके अनेक भाण्डार इतने महत्त्वके हैं जितने महत्त्वके अन्य स्थानोंके नहीं।

माध्यमकी दृष्टिसे मेरे देखनेमें आए ग्रन्थोंके तीन प्रकार हैं—ताड़पत्र, कागज़ और कपड़ा। ताड़पत्रके ग्रन्थ विक्रमकी नवीं शतीसे लेकर सोलहवीं शती तकके मिलते हैं। कागज़के ग्रन्थ जैन भाण्डारोंमें विक्रमकी तेरहवीं शतीके प्रारम्भसे अभी तकके मौजूद हैं। यद्यपि मध्य एशियाके यारकन्द शहरसे दक्षिणकी ओर ६० मील पर कुगियर स्थानसे प्राप्त कागज़के चार ग्रन्थ लगभग ई. स. की पाँचवीं शतीके माने जाते हैं परन्तु इतना पुराना कोई ताड़पत्रीय या कागज़ी ग्रन्थ अभीतक जैन भाण्डारोंमें से नहीं मिला। परन्तु इसका अर्थ इतना ही है कि पूर्वकालमें लिखे गए ग्रन्थ जैसे जैसे बूढ़े हुए—नाशाभिमुख हुए वैसे वैसे उनके ऊपरसे नई नई नक़लें होती गईं और नए रचे जानेवाले ग्रन्थ भी लिखे जाने लगे। इस तरह हमारे सामने जो ग्रन्थ-सामग्री मौजूद है उसमें, मेरी दृष्टिसे, विक्रमकी पूर्व शताब्दियोंसे लेकर नवीं शताब्दी तकके ग्रन्थोंका अवतरण है और नवीं शताब्दीके बाद नए रचे गए ग्रन्थोंका भी समावेश है।

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मेरे देखे हुए ग्रन्थोंमें ताड़पत्रीय ग्रन्थोंकी संख्या लगभग ३,००० (तीन हजार) जितनी और कागज़के ग्रंथोंकी संख्या तो दो लाखसे कहीं अधिक है। यह कहनेकी ज़रूरत नहीं कि इसमें सब जैन फ़िरकोंकी सब भाण्डारोंके ग्रथोंकी संख्या अभिप्रेत नहीं है, वह संख्या तो दस-पन्द्रह लाखसे भी कहीं बढ़ जायगी।

जुदी जुदी अपेक्षासे भाण्डारोंका वर्गीकरण नीचे लिखे अनुसार किया जा सकता है। इतना ध्यानमें रहे कि यह वर्गीकरण स्थूल है।

प्राचीनताकी दृष्टिसे तथा चित्रपट्टिका एवं अन्य चित्रसमृद्धिकी दृष्टिसे और संशोधित तथा शुद्ध किए हुए आगमिक साहित्यकी एवं तार्किक, दार्शनिक साहित्यकी दृष्टिसे–जिसमें जैन परम्पराके अतिरिक्त वैदिक और बौद्ध परम्पराओंका भी समावेश होता है–पाटन, खम्भात और जेसलमेरके ताड़पत्रीय संग्रह प्रथम आते हैं। इनमें से जेसलमेरका खरतर-आचार्य श्रीजिनभद्रसूरि संस्थापित ताड़पत्रीय भाण्डार प्रथम ध्यान खींचता है। नवीं शताब्दीवाला ताड़पत्रीय ग्रन्थ विशेषावश्यक महाभाष्य जो लिपि, भाषा और विषयकी दृष्टिसे महत्त्व रखता है वह पहले पहले इसी संग्रहमें से मिला है। इस संग्रहमें जितनी और जैसी प्राचीन चित्रपट्टिकाएं तथा इतर पुरानी चित्रसमृद्धि है उतनी पुरानी और वैसी किसी एक भाण्डारमें लभ्य नहीं। इसी ताड़पत्रीय संग्रहमें जो आगमिक ग्रन्थ हैं वे बहुधा संशोधित और शुद्ध किए हुए हैं। वैदिक परम्पराके विशेष शुद्ध और महत्त्वके कुछ ग्रन्थ ऐसे हैं जो इस संग्रहमें हैं। इसमें सांख्यकारिका परका गौड़पाद-भाष्य तथा इतर वृत्तियाँ हैं। योगसूत्रके ऊपरकी व्यासभाष्य सहित तत्त्ववैशारदी टीका है। गीताका शांकर-भाष्य और श्रीहर्षका खण्डनखण्डखाद्य है। वैशेषिक और न्यायदर्शनके भाष्य और उनके ऊपरकी क्रमिक उदयनाचार्य तककी सब टीकाएं मौजूद हैं। न्यायसूत्र ऊपरका भाष्य, उसका वार्तिक, वार्तिक परकी तात्पर्यटीका और तात्पर्यटीका पर तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धि तथा इन पाँचों ग्रन्थोंके ऊपर विषमपदविवरणरूप 'पंचप्रस्थान' नामक एक अपूर्व ग्रन्थ इसी संग्रहमें है। बौद्ध परम्पराके महत्त्वपूर्ण तर्क-ग्रन्थोंमेंसे सटीक सटिप्पण न्याय-बिन्दु तथा सटीक सटिप्पण तत्त्वसंग्रह जैसे कई ग्रन्थ हैं। यहाँ एक वस्तुकी ओर मैं खास निर्देश करना चाहता हूँ जो संशोधकोंके लिये उपयोगी है। अपभ्रंश भाषाके कई अप्रकाशित तथा अन्यत्र अप्राप्य ऐसे बारहवीं शतीके बड़े बड़े कथा-ग्रन्थ इस भाण्डारमें हैं, जैसे कि विलासवईकहा, अरिट्ठनेमिचरिउ इत्यादि। इसी तरह छन्द विषयक कई ग्रन्थ हैं जिनकी नक़लें पुरातत्त्वकोविद श्री जिनविजयजीने जेसलमेरमें जाकर कराई थीं। उन्हीं नक़लोंके आधार पर प्रोफ़ेसर वेलिनकरने उनका प्रकाशन किया है।

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खम्भातके श्रीशान्तिनाथ ताड़पत्रीय-ग्रन्थभाण्डारकी दो-एक विशेषताएं ये हैं। उसमें चित्र-समृद्धि तो है ही, पर गुजरातके सुप्रसिद्ध मंत्री और विद्वान वस्तुपालकी स्वहस्तलिखित धर्माभ्युदय-महाकाव्यकी प्रति है। पाटनके तीन ताड़पत्रीय संग्रहोंकी अनेक विशेषताएं हैं। उनमेंसे एक तो यह है कि वहींसे धर्मकीर्तिका हेतुबिंदु अर्चटकी टीकावाला प्राप्त हुआ जो अभीतक मूल संस्कृतमें कहींसे नहीं मिला। जयराशिका तत्त्वोपप्लव जिसका अन्यत्र कोई पता नहीं वह भी यहींसे मिला।

कागज़-ग्रन्थके अनेक भाण्डारोंमेंसे चार-पाँचका निर्देश ही यहाँ पर्याप्त होगा। पाटनगत तपागच्छका भाण्डार गुजराती, राजस्थानी, हिन्दी, और फ़ारसी भाषाके विविधविषयक सैकड़ों ग्रन्थोंसे समृद्ध है जिसमें 'आगमडम्बर' नाटक भी है, जो अन्यत्र दुर्लभ है। पाटनगत भाभाके पाडेका भाण्डार भी कई दृष्टिसे महत्त्वका है। अभी अभी उसीमेंसे छठी-सातवीं शतीके बौद्ध तार्किक आचार्य श्री धर्मकीर्तिके सुप्रसिद्ध 'प्रमाणवार्तिक' ग्रन्थकी स्वोपज्ञ वृत्ति मिली है जो तिब्बतसे भी आजतक प्राप्त नहीं हुई। खम्भातस्थित जैनशालाका भाण्डार भी महत्त्व रखता है। उसीमें वि. सं. १२३४की लिखी 'जिनेश्वरीय कथाकोश'की प्रति है। जैन भाण्डारोंमें पाई जानेवाली कागज़की पोथियोंमें यह सबसे पुरानी है। आठ सौ वर्षके बाद आज भी उसके कागज़की स्थिति अच्छी है। उपाध्याय श्री यशोविजयजीके स्वहस्तलिखित कई ग्रन्थ, जैसे कि विषयतावाद, स्तोत्रसंग्रह आदि, उसी भाण्डारसे अभी अभी मुझे मिले हैं। जेसलमेरके एक कागज़के भाण्डारमें न्याय और वैशेषिक दर्शनके सूत्र, भाष्य, टीका, अनुटीका आदिका पूरा सेट बहुत शुद्ध रूपमें तथा सटिप्पण विद्यमान है, जो वि. सं. १२७९में लिखा गया है। अहमदाबादके केवल दो भाण्डारोंका ही मैं निर्देश करता हूँ। पगथियाके उपाश्रयके संग्रहमेंसे उपाध्याय श्री यशोविजयजीके स्वहस्तलिखित प्रमेयमाला तथा वीतरागस्तोत्र अष्टम प्रकाशकी व्याख्या—ये दो ग्रन्थ अभी अभी आचार्य श्री विजयमनोहरसूरिजी द्वारा मिले हैं। बादशाह जहाँगीर द्वारा सम्मानित विद्वान् भानुचन्द्र और सिद्धिचन्द्र रचित कई ग्रन्थ इसी संग्रहमें हैं, जैसे कि नैषधकी तथा वासवदत्ताकी टीका आदि। देवशा के पाडेका संग्रह भी महत्त्वका है। इसमें भी भानुचन्द्र, सिद्धिचन्द्रके अनेक ग्रन्थ सुने गए हैं।

कपड़े पर पत्राकारमें लिखा अभी तक एक ही ग्रन्थ मिला है, जो पाटनगत श्रीसंघके भाण्डारका है। यों तो रोल-टिप्पनेके आकारके कपड़े पर लिखे हुए कई ग्रन्थ मिले हैं, पर पत्राकार लिखित यह एक ही ग्रन्थ है।

सोने-चाँदीकी स्याहीसे बने तथा अनेक रंगवाले सैकड़ों नानाविध चित्र जैसे ताड़पत्रीय ग्रन्थों पर मिलते हैं वैसे ही कागज़के ग्रन्थों पर भी हैं। इसी तरह

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कागज़ तथा कपड़े पर आलिखित अलंकारखचित विज्ञप्तिपत्र, चित्रपट भी बहुतायतसे मिलते हैं, पाठे (पढ़ते समय पन्ने रखने तथा प्रताकार ग्रंथ बाँधनेके लिये जो दोनों ओर गत्ते रखे जाते हैं–पुट्ठे), डिब्बे आदि भी सचित्र तथा विविध आकारके प्राप्त होते हैं। डिब्बोंकी एक खूबी यह भी है कि उनमेंसे कोई चर्मजटित हैं, कोई वस्त्र-जटित है तो कोई कागज़से मढ़े हुए हैं। जैसी आजकलकी छपी हुई पुस्तकोंकी जिल्दों पर रचनाएं देखी जाती हैं वैसी इन डिब्बों पर भी ठप्पोंसे–साँचोंसे ढाली हुई अनेक तरहकी रंग-बिरंगी रचनाएं हैं।

ऊपर जो परिचय दिया गया है वह मात्र दिग्दर्शन है जिससे प्रस्तुत प्रदर्शनीमें उपस्थित की हुई नानाविध सामग्रीकी पूर्वभूमिका ध्यानमें आ सके। यहाँ जो सामग्री रखी गई है वह उपर्युक्त भाण्डारोंमें से नमूनेके तौर पर थोड़ी थोड़ी एकत्र की है। जिन भाण्डारोंका मैंने ऊपर निर्देश नहीं किया उनमें से भी ध्यान खींचें ऐसी अनेक कृतियाँ प्रदर्शनीमें लाई गई हैं, जो उस उस कृतिके परिचायक कार्ड आदि पर निर्दिष्ट हैं।

ताड़पत्र, कागज़, कपड़ा आदि पर किन साधनोंसे किस किस तरह लिखा जाता था?, ताड़पत्र तथा कागज़ कहाँ कहाँसे आते थे?, वे कैसे लिखने लायक बनाए जाते थे?, सोने, चाँदीकी स्याही तथा इतर रंग कैसे तैयार किए जाते थे?, चित्रकी तूलिका आदि कैसे होते थे? इत्यादि बातोंका यहाँ तो मैं संक्षेपमें ही निर्देश करूँगा। बाकी, इस बारेमें मैंने अन्यत्र विस्तारसे लिखा है।

लेखनविषयक सामग्री

ताड़पत्र और कागज़

ज्ञानसंग्रह लिखवानेके लिये भिन्न भिन्न प्रकारके अच्छेसे अच्छे ताड़पत्र और कागज़ अपने देशके विभिन्न भागोंमें से मंगाए जाते थे। ताड़पत्र मलबार आदि स्थानोंमें से आते थे। पाटन और खम्भातके ज्ञानभाण्डारोंमें से इस बारेके पन्द्रहवीं शतीके अन्तके समयके उल्लेख उपलब्ध होते हैं। वे इस प्रकार हैं:—

॥ सं १४८९ वर्षे ज्ये० वदि। पत्र ३५४ मलबारनां॥ वर्य पृथुल संचयः॥ श्री॥

पाटनके भाण्डारमें से भी इसीसे मिलता–जुलता उल्लेख मिला था। उसमें तो एक पन्नेकी कीमत भी दी गई थी। यद्यपि वह पन्ना आज अस्तव्यस्त हो गया है फिर भी उसमें आए हुए उल्लेखके स्मरणके आधार पर एक पन्ना छह आनेका आया था। ग्रन्थ लिखनेके लिये जिस तरह ताड़पत्र मलबार जैसे सुदूरवर्ती देशसे मंगाए जाते थे उसी तरह अच्छी जातके कागज़ काश्मीर और दक्षिण जैसे दूरके देशोंसे मंगाए जाते थे। गुजरातमें अहमदाबाद, खम्भात, सूरत आदि अनेक स्थानोंमें अच्छे और मज़बूत कागज़ बनते थे। इधरके व्यापारी अभी तक अपनी बहियोंके लिये

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इन्हीं स्थानोंके कागज़का उपयोग करते रहे हैं। शास्त्र लिखनेके लिये सूरतसे कागज़ मंगाने का एक उल्लेख संस्कृत पद्यमें मिलता है। वह पद्य इस प्रकार है :—

"सुरापुरतः कोरकपत्राण्यादाय चेतसो भक्त्या।
लिखिता प्रतिः प्रशस्ता प्रयत्नतः कनकसोमेन ॥"

इसका सारांश यह है कि सूरत शहरसे कोरे कागज़ ला करके हार्दिक भक्तिसे कनकसोम नामक मुनिने प्रयत्नपूर्वक यह प्रति लिखी है।

ताड़पत्रमें मोटी-पतली, कोमल-रूक्ष, लम्बी-छोटी, चौड़ी-सँकरी आदि अनेक प्रकारकी जातें थीं। इसी प्रकार कागज़ोंमें भी मोटी-पतली, सफ़ेद-साँवलापन ली हुई, कोमल-रूक्ष, चिकनी-सादी आदि अनेक जातें थीं। इनमें से शास्त्रलेखनके लिये जहाँ तक हो सकता था वहाँ तक, अच्छे से अच्छे ताड़पत्र और कागज़की पसंदगी की जाती थी। कागज़की अनेक जातोंमें से कुछ ऐसे भी कागज़ आते थे जो आजकलके कार्डके जैसे मोटे होनेके साथ ही साथ मज़बूत भी होते थे। कुछ ऐसे भी कागज थे जो आजके पतले बटरपेपर की अपेक्षा भी कहीं अधिक महीन होते थे। इन महीन कागज़ोंकी एक यह विशेषता थी कि उस पर लिखा हुआ दूसरी ओर फैलता नहीं था। ऊपर जिसका उल्लेख किया गया है वैसे बारीक कोरे मोटे कागज़ोंके ऊपर लिखी हुई ढेरकी ढेर पुस्तकें इस समय भी हमारे ज्ञानभाण्डारोंमें विद्यमान हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त हमारे ज्ञानभाण्डारोंका यदि पृथक्करण किया जाय तो प्राचीन समयमें हमारे देशमें बननेवाले कागज़ोंकी विविध जातें हमारे देखनेमें आएँगी। ऊपर कही हुई कागज़की जातोंमेंसे कुछ ऐसी भी जातें हैं जो चार सौ, पाँच सौ वर्ष बीतने पर भी धुंधली नहीं पड़ी है। यदि इन ग्रन्थोंको हम देखें तो हमें ऐसा ही मालूम होगा कि मानों ये नई ही पोथियाँ हैं।

स्याही

ताड़पत्र और कागज़के ऊपर लिखनेकी स्याहियाँ भी ख़ास विशेष प्रकारकी बनती थीं। यद्यपि आजकल भी ताड़पत्र पर लिखनेकी स्याहीकी बनावटके तरीकोंके विविध उल्लेख मिलते हैं फिर भी उसका सच्चा तरीका, पन्द्रहवीं शतीके उत्तरार्धमें लेखनके वाहनके रूपमें कागज़की ओर लोगोंका ध्यान सविशेष आकर्षित होने पर, बहुत जल्दी विस्मृत हो गया। इस बातका अनुमान हम पन्द्रहवीं शतीके उत्तरार्धमें लिखी गई अनेक ताड़पत्रीय पोथियोंके उखड़े हुए अक्षरोंको देखकर कर सकते हैं। पन्द्रहवीं शतीके पूर्वार्धमें लिखी हुई ताड़पत्रकी पोथियोंकी स्याहीकी चमक और उसी शतीके उत्तरार्धमें लिखी हुई ताड़पत्रको पोथियोंकी स्याहीकी चमकमें हम ज़मीन-आसमानका फर्क देख सकते हैं। अलबत्ता, पन्द्रहवीं शतीके अन्तमें धरणा शाह

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आदिने लिखवाई हुई ताड़पत्रीय ग्रन्थोंकी स्याही कुछ ठीक है फिर भी उसी शतीके पूर्वार्धमें लिखी गई पोथियोंकी स्याहीके साथ उसकी तुलना नहीं की जा सकती। कागज़के ऊपर लिखनेकी स्याहीका ख़ास प्रकार आज भी जैसेका तैसा सुरक्षित रहा है अर्थात् यह स्याही चिरकाल तक टिकी रहती है और ग्रन्थको नहीं बिगाड़ती।

रंग

जिस तरह ग्रन्थोंके लेखन आदिके लिये काली, लाल, सुनहरी, रुपहरी आदि स्याहियाँ बनाई जाती थीं उसी तरह ग्रन्थ आदिमें उसमें वर्णित विषयके अनुरूप विविध प्रकारके चित्रोंके आलेखनके लिये अनेक प्रकारके रंगोंकी अनिवार्य आवश्यकता होती थी। ये रंग विविध खनिज और वनस्पति आदि पदार्थ तथा उनके मिश्रणमें से सुन्दर रूपसे बनाए जाते थे। यह बात हम हमारी आँखोंके सामने आनेवाले सैकड़ों सचित्र ग्रन्थ देखनेसे समझ सकते हैं। रंगोंका यह मिश्रण ऐसी सफाईके साथ और ऐसे पदार्थोंका किया जाता था जिससे वह ग्रन्थको खा न डाले और खुद भी निस्तेज और धुँधला न पड़े।

लेखनी

जिस तरह लिखनेके लिये द्रव द्रव्यके रूपमें स्याही आवश्यक वस्तु है उसी तरह लिखनेके साधन रूपसे क़लम, तूलिका आदि भी आवश्यक पदार्थ हैं। यद्यपि अपनी अपनी सुविधाके अनुसार अनेक प्रकारके सरकण्डे तथा नरकटमेंसे क़लमें बना ली जाती थीं फिर भी ग्रंथ लिखनेवाले लहिए या लेखकको सतत और व्यवस्थित रूपसे लिखना पड़ता था, इसलिये ख़ास विशेष प्रकारके सरकण्डे पसंद किए जाते थे। ये सरकण्डे विशेषतः अमुक प्रकारके बांसके, काले सरकण्डे अथवा दालचीनी की लकड़ी जैसे पोले और मज़बूत नरकट अधिक पसंद किए जाते थे। इनमें से भी काले सरकण्डे अधिक पसन्द किए जाते थे।

इन सरकण्डोंके गुण-दोषका विचार भी हमारे प्राचीन ग्रन्थोंमें किया गया है कि क़लम कैसे बनानी तथा उसका कटाव कैसा होना चाहिए इत्यादि। क़लमके नाप आदिके लिये भी भिन्न भिन्न प्रकारकी मान्यताएं हमारे यहाँ प्रचलित हैं।

मषीभाजन–दावात

स्याही भरनेके लिये अपने यहाँ काँचकी, सफ़ाईदार मिट्टीकी तथा धातु आदि अनेक प्रकारकी दावातें बनती होंगी और उनका उपयोग किया जाता होगा। परन्तु उनके आकार-प्रकार प्राचीन युगमें कैसे होंगे—यह जाननेका विशिष्ट साधन इस समय हमारे सम्मुख नहीं है। फिर भी आज हमारे सामने दो सौ, तीन सौ वर्षकी धातुकी विविध प्रकारकी दावातें विद्यमान हैं और हमारे अपने ज़मानेके

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पुराने लेखक तथा व्यापारी स्याही भरनेके लिये जिन दावातों तथा डिब्बियोंका उपयोग करते आए हैं उन परसे उनके आकार आदिके बारेमें हमें कुछ ख़याल आ सकता है। सामान्यरूपसे विचार करने पर ऐसा मालूम होता है कि काँच या मिट्टीकी दावातोंकी तरह टूटनेका भय न रहे इसलिये पीतल जैसी धातुकी दावातें और डिब्बियाँ ही अधिक पसंद की जाती होंगी।

ओलिया अथवा फाँटिया

ग्रन्थ लिखते समय लिखाईकी पंक्तियाँ बराबर सीधी लिखनेके लिये ताड़पत्र आदिके ऊपर उस ज़मानेमें क्या करते होंगे यह हम नहीं जानते, परन्तु ताड़पत्रीय पुस्तकोंकी जाँच करने पर अमुक पुस्तकोंके प्रत्येक पन्नेकी पहली पंक्ति स्याहीसे खींची हुई दिखाई देती है। इससे ऐसा सम्भव प्रतीत होता है कि पहली पंक्तिके अनुसार अनुमानसे सीधी लिखाई लिखी जाती होगी। कागज़के ऊपर लिखे हुए कुछ ग्रन्थोंमें भी ऊपरकी पहली लकीर स्याहीसे खींची हुई दीख पड़ती है। इस परसे ऐसा मालूम होता है कि जबतक 'ओलिया' जैसे साधनकी शोध नहीं हुई होगी अथवा वह जबतक व्यापक नहीं हुआ होगा तबतक उपर्युक्त तरीकेसे अथवा उससे मिलते-जुलते किसी दूसरे तरीकेसे काम लिया जाता होगा। परन्तु ग्रन्थ-लेखनके लिये कागज़ व्यापक बनने पर लिखाई सरलतासे सीधी लिखी जा सके इसलिये 'ओलिया' बनानेमें आया। यह 'ओलिया', गत्ता अथवा लकड़ीकी पतली पट्टीमें समानान्तर सुराख़ करके और उनमें धागा पिरोकर उस पर धागा इधर उधर न हो जाय इसलिये श्लेष (गोंद जैसे चिकने) द्रव्य लगाकर बनाया जाता था। इस तरीकेसे तैयार हुए ओलिएके ऊपर पन्ना रखकर एकके बाद दूसरी इस तरह समूची पंक्ति पर उँगलीसे दबाकर लकीर खींची जाती थी। लकीर खींचनेके इस साधनको 'ओलिया' + अथवा 'फाँटिया' कहते हैं। गुजरात और मारवाड़के लहिए आज भी इस साधनका व्यापकरूपसे उपयोग करते हैं। इस साधनद्वारा तह लगाकर खींची हुई लकीरें प्रारम्भमें आजकल के वॉटरकलरकी लकीरोंवाले कागज़की लकीर जैसी दिखाई देती हैं, परन्तु पुस्तक बाँधने पर तथा तह बैठ जाने पर लिखावट स्वाभाविकसी दीख पड़ती है।

जुजवल और प्राकार

पन्नोंके ऊपर अथवा यंत्रपट आदिमें लकीरें खींचनेके लिये यदि क़लमका उपयोग किया जाय तो उसकी बारीक नोक थोड़ी ही देरमें कूँची जैसी हो जाय। इसलिये हमारे यहाँ प्राचीन समयमें लकीरें खींचनेके लिये 'जुजवल' का प्रयोग किया

+ 'ओलिया' यह नाम संस्कृत 'आलि' अथवा 'आवलि', प्राकृत 'ओली' और गुजराती 'ओळ' शब्द परसे बना है।

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जाता था। इसका अग्रभाग चिमटेकी तरह दो तरफ़ मोड़कर बनाया जाता है। इसलिये इसे 'जुजवल' अथवा 'जुजबल' कहते हैं। यह किसी-न-किसी धातुका बनाया जाता हैं। इसी तरह यंत्रपटादिमें गोल आकृति खींचनेके लिये प्राकार (परकाल, अं० Compass) भी बनते थे। इस प्राकारका लकीर खींचनेकी तरफका मुँह जुजबलसे मिलता-जुलता होता है जिससे गोल आकृति खींचनेके लिये उसमें स्याही ठहर सके।

लिपि

जैन ज्ञानभाण्डारगत शास्त्रोंकी लिपिकी पहचान कुछ विद्वान जैन लिपिके नामसे कराते हैं। सामान्यतः लिपिका स्वरूप प्रारम्भमें एक जैसा होने पर भी समयके प्रवाहके साथ विविध स्वभाव, विविध देश एवं लिपियोंके सम्पर्क और विभिन्न परिस्थितिके कारण वह भिन्न भिन्न नामसे पहचानी जाती है। यही सिद्धान्त जैन-लिपिके बारेमें भी लागू होता है। उदाहरणार्थ, हम भारतवर्षकी प्रचलित लिपियोंको ही देखें। यद्यपि ये सब एक ही ब्राह्मी लिपिकी सहोदर लड़कियाँ हैं फिर भी आज तो वे सब सौतिली लड़कियाँ जैसी बन गई हैं। यही बात इस समय प्रचलित हमारी देवनागरी लिपिको भी लागू होती है जो कि हिन्दी, मराठी, ब्राह्मण और जैन आदि अनेक विभागोंमें विभक्त हो गई है। जैन-लिपि भी लेखनप्रणालीके वैविध्यको लेकर यतियोंकी लिपि, खरतर गच्छकी लिपि, मारवाड़ी लेखकोंकी लिपि, गुजराती लेखकोंकी लिपि आदि अनेक विभागोंमें विभक्त है। ऐसा होने पर भी वस्तुतः यह सारा लिपिभेद लेखनप्रणालीके ही कारण पैदा हुआ है। बाक़ी, लिपिके मौलिक स्वरूपकी जिसे समझ है उसके लिये जैन लिपि जैसी कोई वस्तु ही नहीं है। प्रसंगोपात्त हम यहाँ पर एक ॐकार अक्षर ही लें। जैन लिपि और मराठी, हिन्दी आदि लिपिमें भिन्न भिन्न रूपसे दिखाई देनेवाले इस अक्षरके बारेमें यदि हम नागरी लिपिका प्राचीन स्वरूप जानते हों तो सरलतासे समझ सकते हैं कि सिर्फ अक्षरके मरोड़मेंसे ही ये दो आकृतिभेद पैदा हुए हैं। वस्तुतः यह कुछ जैन या वैदिक ॐकारका भेद ही नहीं है। लिपिमालाकी दृष्टिसे ऐसे तो अनेक उदाहरण हम दे सकते हैं। इसलिये यदि हम अपनी लिपिमालाके प्राचीन-अर्वाचीन स्वरूप जान लें तो लिपिभेदकी विचारणा हमारे सामने उपस्थित ही नहीं होती। जैन ग्रन्थोंकी लिपिमें सत्रहवीं शतीके अन्त तक पृष्ठमात्रा–पडिमात्रा और अग्रमात्राका ही उपयोग अधिक प्रमाणमें हुआ है, परन्तु उसके बाद पृष्ठमात्राने ऊर्ध्वमात्राका और अग्रमात्राने अधोमात्राका स्वरूप धारण किया। इसके परिणामस्वरूप बादके ज़मानेमें लिपिका स्वरूप संक्षिप्त और छोटा हो गया।

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लेखक अथवा लहिया

अपने यहाँ ग्रन्थ लिखनेवाले लेखक अथवा लहिए कायस्थ, ब्राह्मण आदि अनेक जातियोंके होते थे। कभी कभी तो पीढ़ी दर पीढ़ी उनका यह अविच्छिन्न व्यवसाय बना रहता था। ये लेखक जिस तरह लिख सकते थे उसी तरह प्राचीन लिपियाँ भी विश्वस्त रूपसे पढ़ सकते थे। लिपिके प्रमाण और सौष्ठवकी ओर उनका बहुत व्यवस्थित ख़याल रहता था। लिपिकी मरोड़ या उसका विन्यास भिन्न भिन्न संस्कारके अनुसार भिन्न भिन्न रूप लेता था और लिपिके प्रमाणके अनुसार आकार-प्रकारमें भी विविधता होती थी। कोई लेखक लम्बे अक्षर लिखते तो कोई चपटे जबकि कोई गोल लिखते। कोई लेखक दो पंक्तियोंके बीच मार्जिन कमसे कम रखते तो कोई अधिक रखते। पिछली दो तीन शताब्दियोंको बाद करें तो ख़ास करके लिपिका प्रमाण ही बड़ा रहता और पंक्तियोंके ऊपर-नीचेका मार्जिन कमसे कम रहता। वे अक्षर स्थूल भी लिख सकते थे और बारीकसे बारीक भी लिख सकते थे।

लेखकोंके वहम भी अनेक प्रकारके थे। जब किसी कारणवश लिखते लिखते उठना पड़े तब अमुक अक्षर आए तभी लिखना बन्द करके उठते, अन्यथा किसी न-प्रकारका नुकसान उठाना पड़ता है–ऐसी उनमें मान्यता प्रचलित थी। जिस तरह अमुक व्यापारी दूसरेका रोज़गार ख़ूब अच्छी तरहसे चलता हो तब ईर्ष्यावश उसे हानि पहुँचानेके उपाय करते हैं उसी तरह लहिए भी एक दूसरेके धन्धेमें अन्तराय डालनेके लिये स्याहीकी चालू दावातमें तेल डाल देते जिससे क़लमके ऊपर स्याही ही जमने न पाती और उसके दाग़ कागज़ पर पडने लगते। ख़ास करके ऐसा काम कोई कोई मारवाड़ी लहिए ही करते थे किन्तु ऐसी प्रवृत्तिको कुसमादी–कमीनापन ही कहा जाता था। कुछ लहिए जिस फट्टी पर पन्ना रखकर पुस्तक लिखते उसे खड़ी रख करके लिखते तो कुछ आड़ी रखकर लिखते, जब कि काश्मीरी लहिए ऐसे सिद्धहस्त होते थे कि पन्नेके नीचे फट्टी या वैसा कोई सहारा रखे बिना ही लिखते थे। अधिकतर लहिए आड़ी फट्टी रखकर ही लिखते हैं, परन्तु जोधपूरी लहिए फट्टी खड़ी रखकर लिखते हैं। उनका मानना है कि "आड़ी पाटीसे लुगाइयाँ लिखें, मैं तो मरद हों सा!" इसके अतिरिक्त अपने धन्धेके बारेमें ऐसी बहुतसी बातें है जिन्हें लहिए पसन्द नहीं करते। वे अपनी बैठनेकी गद्दी पर दूसरे किसीको बैठने नहीं देते, अपनी चालू दावातमें से किसीको स्याही भी नहीं देते और अपनी चालू क़लम भी किसीको नहीं देते। लहियोंके बारेमें इस तरहकी विविध हकीकतोंके सूचक बहुतसे सुभाषित आदि हमें प्राचीन ग्रन्थोंमें से मिलते हैं जो उनके गुण-दोष, उनके उपयोगकी वस्तुओं तथा उनके स्वभाव आदिका निर्देश करते हैं। जिस तरह लहिए ग्रन्थ लिखते

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थे उसी तरह जैन साधु, साध्वी, श्रावक एवं श्राविकाएं भी सौष्ठवपरिपूर्ण लिपिसे शास्त्र लिखते थे। जैन साध्वियों द्वारा तथा देवप्रसाद (वि. सं. ११५७) जैसे श्रावक अथवा सावदेव (अनुमानतः विक्रमकी १४वीं शती), रूपादे आदि श्राविकाओं द्वारा लिखे गए ग्रन्थ तो यद्यपि बहुत ही कम हैं परन्तु जैन साधु एवं जैन आचार्योंके लिखे ग्रन्थ तो सैकड़ोंकी संख्यामें उपलब्ध होते हैं।

पुस्तकोंके प्रकार

प्राचीन कालमें (लगभग विक्रमकी पाँचवीं शतीसे लेकर) पुस्तकोंके आकार-प्रकारपर से उनके गण्डीपुस्तक, मुष्टिपुस्तक, संपुटफलक, छेदपाटी जैसे नाम दिए जाते थे। इन नामोंका उल्लेख निशीथभाष्य और उसकी चूर्णि आदिमें आता है। जिस तरह पुस्तकोंके आकार-प्रकार परसे उन्हें उपर्युक्त नाम दिए गए हैं उसी तरह बादके समयमें अर्थात् पन्द्रहवीं शतीसे पुस्तकोंकी लिखाईके आकार-प्रकार परसे उनके विविध नाम पड़े हैं; जैसेके शूड अथवा शूढ पुस्तक, द्विपाठ पुस्तक, त्रिपाठ पुस्तक, पंचपाठ पुस्तक, सस्तवक पुस्तक। इनके अतिरिक्त चित्रपुस्तक भी एक प्रकारान्तर है। चित्रपुस्तक अर्थात् पुस्तकोंमें खींचे गए चित्रोंकी कल्पना कोई न करे। यहाँ पर 'चित्रपुस्तक' इस नामसे मेरा आशय लिखावटकी पद्धतिमें से निष्पन्न चित्रसे है। कुछ लेखक लिखाईके बीच ऐसी सावधानीके साथ जगह ख़ाली छोड़ देते हैं जिससे अनेक प्रकारके चौकोर, तिकोन, षट्कोण, छत्र, स्वस्तिक, अग्निशिखा, वज्र, डमरू, गोमूत्रिका आदि आकृतिचित्र तथा लेखकके विवक्षित ग्रन्थनाम, गुरुनाम अथवा चाहे जिस व्यक्तिका नाम या श्लोकगाथा आदि देखे किंवा पढ़े जा सकते हैं। अतः इस प्रकारकी पुस्तकको हम 'रिक्तलिपिचित्रपुस्तक' इस नामसे पहचानें तो वह युक्त ही होगा। इसी प्रकार, ऊपर कहा उस तरह, लेखक लिखाईके बीचमें ख़ाली जगह न छोड़कर काली स्याहीसे अविच्छिन्न लिखी जाती लिखावटके बीचमें के अमुक अमुक अक्षर ऐसी सावधानी और खूबीसे लाल स्याहीसे लिखते जिससे उस लिखावटमें अनेक चित्राकृतियाँ, नाम अथवा श्लोक आदि देखे-पढ़े जा सकते। ऐसी चित्र-पुस्तकोंको हम 'लिपिचित्रपुस्तक'के नामसे पहचान सकते हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त 'अंकस्थानचित्रपुस्तक' भी चित्रपुस्तकका एक दूसरा प्रकारान्तर है। इसमें अंकके स्थानमें विविध प्राणी, वृक्ष, मन्दिर आदिकी आकृतियाँ बनाकर उनके बीच पत्रांक लिखे जाते है। चित्रपुस्तकके ऐसे कितने ही इतर प्रकारान्तर हैं।

ग्रन्थ-संशोधनः उसके साधन तथा चिह्न आदि

जिस तरह ग्रन्थोंके लेखन तथा उससे सम्बद्ध साधनोंकी आवश्यकता है उसी तरह अशुद्ध लिखे हुए ग्रन्थोंके संशोधनकी, उससे सम्बद्ध साधनोंकी और

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इतर संकेतोंकी भी उतनी ही आवश्यकता होती है। इसीलिये ऐसे अनेकानेक प्रकारके साधन एवं संकेत हमें देखने तथा जाननेको मिलते हैं।

साधन—हरताल आदि

ग्रन्थोंके संशोधनके लिये क़लम आदिकी आवश्यकता तो होती ही है, परन्तु इसके अतिरिक्त अशुद्ध और अनावश्यक अधिक अक्षरोंको मिटानेके लिये अथवा उन्हें परिवर्तित करनेके लिये हरताल, सफ़ेदा आदिकी और ख़ास स्थान अथवा विषय आदिकी पहचानके लिये लाल रंग, धागा आदिकी भी आवश्यकता होती है। ताड़पत्रीय पुस्तकोंके ज़मानेमें अक्षरोंको मिटानेके लिए हरताल आदिका उपयोग नहीं होता था, परन्तु अधिक अक्षरोंको पानीसे मिटाकर उसे अस्पष्ट कर देते थे अथवा उन अक्षरोंकी दोनों ओर ९ ३ ऐसा उलटा सीधा गुजरातो नौके जैसा आकार बनाया जाता था और अशुद्ध अक्षर युक्तिसे सुधार लेते थे। इसी प्रकार विशिष्ट स्थान आदिकी पहचानके लिये उन स्थानोंको गेरूसे रंग देते थे। परन्तु कागज़का युग आनेके बाद यद्यपि प्रारम्भमें यह पद्धति चालू रही किन्तु प्रायः तुरंत ही संशोधनमें निरुपयोगी अक्षरोंको मिटानेके लिये तथा अशुद्ध अक्षरोंको परिवर्तित करनेके लिये हरताल और सफ़ेदेका उपयोग दिखाई देता है।

तूलिका, बट्टा, धागा

ऊपर निर्दिष्ट हरताल आदि लगानेके लिये तूलिकाकी आवश्यकता पड़ती थी तथा हरताल आदिके दरदरेपनको दूर करनेके लिये कौड़ी आदिसे उसे पीस लेते थे। तूलिकाएं गिलहरीकी दुमके बालोंको कबूतर अथवा मोरके पंखके अगले पोले भागमें पिरोकर छोटी-बड़ी जैसी चाहिए वैसी हाथसे ही बना ली जाती थीं अथवा आजकी तरह तैयार भी अवश्य मिलती होंगी। स्याही आदि घोंटनेके लिये बट्टेभी अकीक आदि अनेक प्रकारके पत्थरके बनते थे। इनके अतिरिक्त ताड़पत्रीय ग्रन्थोंके ज़मानेमें ग्रन्थके विभाग अथवा विशिष्ट विषयकी खोजमें दिक्कत या मेहनत न हो इसलिये ताड़पत्रके सुराख़में धागा पिरोकर और उसके अगले हिस्सेको ऐंठन लगाकर बाहर दिखाई दे इस तरह उसे रखते थे।

संशोधनके चिह्न और संकेत

जिस तरह आधुनिक मुद्रणके युगमें विद्वान् ग्रन्थ-सम्पादक तथा संशोधकोंने पूर्णविराम, अल्पविराम, प्रश्नविराम, आश्चर्यदर्शक चिह्न आदि अनेक प्रकारके चिह्न -संकेत पसन्द किए हैं उसी तरह प्राचीन हस्तलिखित पुस्तकोंके ज़मानेमें भी उनके संशोधक विद्वानोंने लिखित ग्रन्थोंमें व्यर्थ काट-छाँट, दाग़-धब्बा आदि न हो, टिप्पन या पर्यायार्थ लिखे बिना वस्तु स्पष्ट समझमें आ जाय इसके लिये अनेक प्रकारके

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चिह्न किंवा संकेत पसंद किए थे, जैसे कि—(१) गलितपाठदर्शक चिह्न, (२) गलितपाठविभागदर्शक चिह्न, (३) 'काना'दर्शक चिह्न, (४) अन्याक्षरवाचनदर्शक चिह्न, (५) पाठपरावृत्तिदर्शक चिह्न, (३) स्वरसन्ध्यंशदर्शक चिह्न, (७) पाठान्तर-दर्शक चिह्न, (८) पाठानुसन्धानदर्शक चिह्न, (९)पदच्छेददर्शक चिह्न, (१०)विभागदर्शक चिह्न, (११)एकपददर्शक चिह्न, (१२) विभक्तिवचनदर्शक चिह्न, (१३) टिप्पनक(विशेष नोट्स)दर्शक चिह्न, (१४) अन्वयदर्शक चिह्न, (१५) विशेषण-विशेष्यसम्बन्धदर्शक चिह्न और (१६) पूर्वपदपरामर्शक चिह्न। चिह्नोंके ये नाम किसी भी स्थानपर देखनेमें नहीं आए परन्तु उनके हेतुको लक्षमें रखकर मैंने स्वयं ही इन नामोंकी आयोजना की है।

ग्रन्थ-संरक्षणके साधन

लिखित पुस्तकोंके लिये दो प्रकारकी कँाबियों(सं० कम्बिका=फुट जैसी लकड़ीकी पट्टी)का उपयोग किया जाता था। उनमेंसे एक बिलकुल चपटी होती थी और दूसरी हाँस अर्थात् आगेके भागमें छोटेसे खड्डेवाली होती थी। पहले प्रकारकी कँाबीका उपयोग पुस्तक पढ़ते समय ऊँगलीका पसीना या मैलका दाग़ उस पर न पड़े इसलिये उसे पन्ने पर रखकर उस पर ऊँगली रखनेमें किया जाता था। जिस तरह आज भी कुछ सफ़ाईपसंद और विवेकी पुरुष पुस्तक पढ़ते समय ऊँगलीके नीचे कागज़ वग़ैरह रखकर पढ़ते हैं ठीक उसी तरह पहले प्रकारकी कँाबीका उपयोग होता था। दूसरी तरहकी कँाबीका उपयोग पन्नेके एक सिरेसे दूसरे सिरे तक या यंत्रादिके आलेखनके समय लकीरें खींचनेके लिये किया जाता था।

कम्बिकाके उपयोगकी भाँति ही पुस्तक मुड़ न जाय, बिगड़ न जाय, उसके पन्ने उड़ न जायँ, वर्षाकालमें नमी न लगे–इस तरहकी ग्रन्थकी सुरक्षितताके लिये कवली (कपड़ेसे मढ़ी हुई और पतली चटाई), पाठे अर्थात् एट्टे, वस्त्रवेष्टन, डिब्बे आदिका भी उपयोग किया जाता था। पाठे और डिब्बे निरुपयोगी कागज़ोंकी लुगदीमेंसे अथवा कागज़ोंको एक दूसरेके साथ चिपकाकर बनाए जाते थे। पाठे और डिब्बोंको सामान्यतः चमड़े या कपड़े आदिसे मढ़ लिया जाता था अथवा उन्हें भिन्न भिन्न प्रकारके रंगोंसे रंग लेते थे। कभी कभी तो उन पर लता आदिके चित्र और तीर्थंकर या अन्य ऐतिहासिक प्रसंग वगैरहका आलेखन किया जाता था। यह बात तो कागज़की पुस्तकोंके बारेमें हुई। ताड़पत्रीय ग्रन्थ आदिके संरक्षणके लिये अनेक प्रकारकी कलापूर्ण चित्रपट्टिकाएं बनाई जाती थीं। उनमें सुन्दर–सुन्दरतम बेलबूटे, विविध प्राणी, प्राकृतिक वन-सरोवर आदिके दृश्य, तीर्थंकर एवं आचार्य आदिके जीवन-प्रसंग आदिका चित्रण होता था। इनके लिये भी वस्त्रके वेष्टन तथा डिब्बे बनाए जाते

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थे और उनमें जीव-जन्तु न पड़े इस लिये असगन्ध(सं० अश्वगंध)के चूर्णकी वस्त्र-पोट्टलिकाएं–कपड़ेकी पोटलियाँ रखी जाती थीं।

ग्रन्थसंग्रहों पर चौमासेमें नमी और उष्णकालमें गरमीका असर न हो तथा दीमक आदि पुस्तकभक्षक जन्तुओंका उपद्रव न हो इसलिये उनके लायक स्थान होने चाहिए। ऐसे अत्यन्त सुरक्षित स्थान प्राचीन समयमें बहुतसे होने चाहिए। परन्तु उनमें से अत्यन्त सुरक्षित, सुगुप्त एवं आदर्शरूप माना जा सके ऐसा एक मात्र स्थान जेसल-मेरके किलेके मन्दिरमें बचा हुआ है। इसमें वहाँका श्रीजिनभद्रसूरिका ज्ञानभाण्डार सुरक्षितरूपमें रखा गया है। छह सौ वर्षोंसे चला आता यह स्थान जैनमन्दिरमें आए हुए भूमिगृह–तहखानेके रूपमें है। छह सौ वर्ष बीत जाने पर इसमें दीमक आदि जीव-जन्तुओंका तथा सर्दी-गर्मीका कभी भी संचार नहीं हुआ है। यह तो हमारी कल्पनामें भी एकदम नहीं आ सकता कि उस ज़मानेके कारीगरोंने इस स्थानकी तहमें किस तरहके रासायनिक पदार्थ डाले होंगे जिससे यह स्थान और इसमें रखे गए ग्रन्थ अबतक सुरक्षित रह सके हैं! ज्ञानभाण्डारोंके मकान जिस तरह सुरक्षित बनाए जाते थे उसी तरह राजकीय विप्लवके युगमें ये मकान सुगुप्त भी रखे जाते थे। जेसलमेरके क़िलेका उपर्युक्त स्थान निरुपद्रव, सुरक्षित एवं सुगुप्त स्थान है। भीतरके तीसरे तहख़ानेमें ज्ञानभाण्डार रखा गया है और उसका दरवाज़ा इतना छोटा है कि कोई भी व्यक्ति नीचे झुककर ही इसमें प्रविष्ट हो सकता है। इस दरवाज़ेको बन्द करनेके लिये स्टीलका ढक्कन बनाया गया है और विप्लवके प्रसंग पर इसके मुँहको बराबर ढँक देनेके लिए चौरस पत्थर भी रखा गया है जो इस समय भी वहाँ पर विद्यमान है। इसके बादके दो दरवाज़ोंके लिये भी बन्द करनेकी कोई व्यवस्था अवश्य रही होगी परन्तु आज उसका कोई अवशेष हमारे सामने नहीं है। तहख़ानेमें नीचे उतरनेके रास्तेके मुखके लिये ऐसी व्यवस्था की गई है कि विप्लवके अवसर पर उसे भी बड़े भारी पहाड़ी पत्थरसे इस तरह ढाँप दिया जाय जिससे किसीको कल्पना भी न आ सके कि इस स्थानमें कोई चीज़ छुपा रखी है। तहख़ानेके मुँहको ढँकनेका उपर्युक्त महाकाय पत्थर इस समय भी वहाँ मौजूद है।

जिस तरह ज्ञानसंग्रहोंको सुरक्षित रखनेके लिये मकान बनाए जाते थे उसी तरह उन भाण्डारोंको रखनेके लिये लकड़ी या पत्थरकी बड़ी बड़ी मंजूसा (सं. मंजूषा=पेटी) या अलमारियाँ बनानेमें आती थीं। प्राचीन ज्ञानभाण्डारोंके जो थोड़े बहुत स्थान आजतक देखनेमें आए हैं उनमें अधिकांशतः मंजूसा ही देखनेमें आई हैं। पुस्तकें निकालने तथा रखनेकी सुविधा एवं उनकी सुरक्षितता अलमारियोंमें

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होने पर भी मंजूसाएं ही अधिक दिखाई देती हैं। इसका कारण उनकी मज़बूती और विप्लवके समय तथा दूसरे चाहे जिस अवसर पर उनके स्थानान्तर संचारणकी सरलता ही हो सकता है। यही कारण है कि इन मजूसाओंको पहिए भी लगाए जाते थे। यह बात चाहे जैसी हो, परन्तु ग्रन्थ-संग्रहकी सुरक्षितता और लेने-रखनेकी सुविधा तो ऊर्ध्वमहामंजूषा अर्थात् अलमारीमें ही है। जेसलमेरके तहखानेमें लकड़ी एवं पत्थरकी मजूसाएं तथा पत्थरकी अलमारियाँ विद्यमान थीं परन्तु मेरे वहाँ जानेके बाद वे सब वहाँसे हटा ली गई हैं और उनके स्थानमें वहाँ पर नई स्टीलकी अलमारियाँ आदि बनवाई गई हैं। हम जब जेसलमेर गए तब वहाँका ग्रन्थसंग्रह उपर्युक्त मजूसाओंमें रखनेके बदले पत्थरकी अलमारियोंमें रखा जाता था। बड़ी मारवाड़में लकड़ीकी अपेक्षा पत्थर सुलभ होनेके कारण ही उनकी अलमारियाँ बनाई जाती थीं। अतः इनकी मज़बूती आदिके बारेमें किसी भी प्रकारके विचारको अवकाश ही नहीं है।

जन श्रीसंघका लक्ष्य ज्ञानभाण्डार बसानेकी ओर जब केन्द्रित हुआ तब उसके सम्मुख उनके रक्षणका प्रश्न भी उपस्थित हुआ। इस प्रश्नके समाधानके लिये दूसरे साधनोंकी तरह उसने एक पर्व-दिवसको भी अधिक महत्त्व दिया। वह पर्व है ज्ञानपंचभी—कार्तिक शुक्ला पंचमीका दिन। समूचे वर्षकी सर्दी, गरमी तथा नमी जैसे ऋतुओंके विविध असरोंमेंसे गुज़री हुई शास्त्रराशिको यदि उलट-पुलट न किया जय तो वह असमयमें ही नाशाभिमुख हो जाय। अतः उसे बचानके लिये उसकी हेरफेर वर्षमें एक बार अवश्य करनी चाहिए जिससे उनमेंके जनेकविध विकृत असर दूर हो और शास्त्र कायमी आरोग्य-दशामें रहें। परन्तु विशाल ज्ञानभाण्डारोंके उलटफेरका यह काम एकाध व्यक्तिके लिए दुष्कर और थकानेवाला न हो तथा अनेक व्यक्तिओंका सहयोग अनायास ही मिल सके इसलिये इस धर्म-पर्वकी योजना की गई है। आज इस धार्मिक पर्वको जो महत्त्व दिया जाता है उसके मूलमें प्रधान रूपसे तो यही उद्दश था परन्तु मानवस्वभावके स्वाभाविक, छिछलेपन तथा निरुद्यमीपनके कारण इसका मूल उद्देश विलुप्त हो गया है और उसका स्थान बाहरी दिखावे एवं स्थूल क्रियाओंने ले लिया है।

ज्ञानभाण्डारोंमें उपलब्ध सामग्री

ये ज्ञानभाण्डार विविध दृष्टिसे समृद्ध और महत्त्वके हैं। इनकी मुख्य विशेषता यह है कि इनका संग्रह यद्यपि जैनोंने किया है फिर भी वे मात्र जैन-शास्त्रोंके संग्रह तक ही मर्यादित नहीं हैं। उनमें जैन-जैनेतर अथवा वैदिक-बौद्ध-जैन, संस्कृत, प्राकृत, अपभ्रंश; गुजराती, हिन्दी, मराठी, फारसी आदि भाषाओंका तथा

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जैन-जैनेतर ऋषि-स्थविर-आचार्योंके रचे हुए धर्मशास्त्रोंके अतिरिक्त व्याकरण, कोश, छन्द, अलंकार, मंत्र, तंत्र, कल्प, नाटय, नाटक, ज्योतिष, लक्षण, आयुर्वेद, दर्शन एवं संस्कृत, प्राकृत, अपभ्रंश आदि भाषाके चरित्र-ग्रन्थ, रास आदि विविध साहित्य विद्यमान हैं। संक्षेपमें हमें यह कहना चाहिए कि इन भाण्डारोंका सच्चा महत्त्व इनकी व्यापक और विशाल संग्रहदृष्टिके कारण ही है। जिस तरह इन विशाल ज्ञान-भाण्डारोंमें विविध प्रकारके लेखन-संशोधन-रक्षण विषयक साधन एवं संग्रह हैं उसी प्रकार ताड़पत्र, कागज़ और कपड़ेके ऊपर काली, लाल, सुनहरी, रुपहरी आदि अनेक प्रकारकी स्याहियोंसे लिखे हुए अनेक आकार-प्रकारके अत्यन्त सुंदर और कलापूर्ण सचित्र-अचित्र पत्राकार, गुटकाकार कुंडली-आकार लिखे हुए ग्रन्थ विद्यमान हैं। अनेक प्रकारके सचित्र-अचित्र विज्ञप्तिपत्र, तीर्थयात्रादिके चित्रपट, यंत्रपट, विद्यापट आदिका विशाल संग्रह इन भाण्डारोंमें है। जैनोंने इन भाण्डारोंके संग्रहके लिये हार्दिक मनोयोगके साथ ही साथ अपनी सम्पत्ति पानीकी नांई बहाई है। इसी तरह इनके संरक्षणके लिये भी उन्होंने सब शक्य उपाय किए हैं।

इस प्रकार ज्ञानभाण्डार, उनमें उपलब्ध सामग्री एवं ग्रन्थराशि तथा उनकी व्यवस्था आदिके बारेमें हमने संक्षिप्त वर्णन यहाँ पर किया। विशाल एवं वैविध्यपूर्ण इन ग्रन्थरत्नोंका परीक्षक सम्यक् उपयोग करें–यही हमारी आन्तरिक अभिलाषा है।

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All India Oriental Conference, 17th Session, Ahmedabad

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(V) PAPERS ACCEPTED FOR DIFFERENT SECTIONS

Owing to want of space and other practical considerations most of the papers could not be accomodated in the Report, and that is deeply regretted. A few papers have been published as indicated in the contents. Papers were selected for publication as recommended by the Presidents of various Sections.)

SECTION I : VEDIC

1 Apte, Dr. V. M., M. A., Ph. D. (Cantab.) : The Allegorical Significance of the Word 'gāvaḥ' (cows) in the Ṛgveda.
2 Basu, Dwijendra Nath, M.A. : Some Myth-making Words in the Ṛgveda.
3 Bhagavad-datta : मन्त्र और ब्राह्मणमें अपूर्व वैज्ञानिक उल्लेख.
4 Bhat, G. K., M. A., Ph. D. : Interpretation of a Passage in Nirukta
5 Bhattacharyya, Durgamohan : Halāyudha and his Works.
Halāyudha's Vedic Commentary.
Some Features of Mantra Interpretations in a pre-Sāyaṇa Vedic Commentary.
6 Bhawe, Dr. S. S. : Pāṇini's Rules and Vedic Interpretation.
7 Bhide, H. B. : The Date of the तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मण.
8 Chapekar N. G. : Sudās.
9 Godbole, G. H., M. A. : Indra in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
10 Gupta, S. K., M. A., Shastri, Prabhākara : Dayānanda and the Nighaṇṭu of Yāska.
Dayānanda's Interpretation of the Names of Vedic Gods.
11 Jambunathan, M.R. : Life of Agastya (The Vedic Agastya or the Tamil Muni)
12 Joshi, Mrs. Prabha, M. A. : Dāsas and Dasyus in Ṛgveda.
13 Karnik, Dr. H. R., M.A., Ph.D. : Puṣan-Legends in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.
14 Kashikar, C. G., M. A. : A Re-examination of the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (Praśna 11–Agnyādheya).

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15 Mimansaka, Yudhiṣthir : किं यज्ञार्थमेवाभिप्रवृत्ता वेदाः ?
16 Naware, Prof. H. R., M. A. : The Metaphysics of Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda
17 Pandey, Dr. R. B. : Hymns of Resoration in the Atharvaveda : Their Political Significance.
18 Pandit, A. C. Shastri : The Co-existent Rights of the Husband and Wife to perform Vedic Sacrifices.
19 Pandit, Vishnudev Sankaleshvar, M. A. : गायत्रीमंत्ररहस्यदर्शनम्
20 Parikh, Prof. R. C. : The Birth-place of Durgācārya, commentator of Nirukta
21 Patil, Dr. G. M., M. A., LL. B., Ph. D. : Soma—the Vedic Deity
22 Potdar, Prof. K. R. : Character of the Refrains in the Hymns of the Ṛgveda.
23 Prabhu, Ramachandra Krishna : The Riddle of the Vedic Gods.
24 Rahulkar, V. G. : Devāpi and Śantanu in the Ṛgveda.
25 Sastri, Dr. P. S., M. A., M. Litt., Ph. D. : The Atharva-Vedic Hymn to the Earth.
26 Sehgal, S. R. : Critical Studies in Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance.
27 Shah, Hiralal Amritlal, B. A. : Problems of Sāyana–Nirayana.
28 Sharma, B. R. : Viśve–devas.
29 Shastri, R. M. : Full Mantra Repetitions in the Mādhyandina Saṁhitā.
30 Shastri, Siddhesvara : त्रैशचात्वारिंशशब्दौ कौषीतकिब्राह्मणैतरेयब्राह्मणयोः संज्ञाभूतौ.
31 Taraporewala, I. J. S. : Transcription of Avesta Letters into Devanāgari.
32 Vader, V. H., M. A., LL. B. : Ṛta or Zodal Beltiac.
33 Velankar, Prof. H. D., M. A. : The Creation–Hymns in Ṛgveda, Maṇḍala X.
34 Vipradas, Prof. V. R., M. A. ; Nature of the Rigvedic Deities.

SECTION II : IRANIAN

1 Agrawal, Ratna Chanda, M. A. : Some Iranian Coin–terms in the Kharoshṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan.
2 Ankalesaria, Ervad Peshotan K. : "Aviyāo" (Tir Yasht § 14).
3 Bana, Dr. Homi R., M. Sc., Ph. D. : Parendi.
4 Bode, F. A. : The Evolution of Zorostrian Theism, with special reference to Amesha Spentas.
5 Cassod, P. R. E. : The Persian Saint Ardā-i-Virāf.
6 Daboo, Dr. D. J. : Iranian Law on Indian Soil.
7 Davar, Prof. Firoze C.,M.A., LL.B. : The Indo–Iranian Pantheon.
8 Fitter, K. A. : Awakening in the Iranian Zorostrians.
9 Kapadia, D. D. : Some Peculiarity of Zorostrian Proper Nouns.
10 Minocher–Homji, Nayab–Dastoor Nawroze Dinshah : What is the Holy Khara (Ys XLII, 4) ?
11 Mirza, Dastur Dr. Hormazdyar, M. A., Ph. D. : The Pahlavi word 'Sūn'.
12 Tarapore, J. C., M.A., LL.B. : Religious Toleration of the Achaemenians.

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SECTION III: CLASSICAL SANSKRIT

1 Aggarwal, Prof. H.R., M.A., P.E.S.: The Importance of Tradition and Aśvaghoṣa in Determining the Date of Kālidāsa.

2 Altekar, Dr. A.S.: Āchārasaṁgraha–A lost Work on Buddhist Monastic Life.

3 Athavale, Prof. R.B.: The Problem of Nāndi.

4 Balbir, Dr. J.K.: A Suggestion for a Balht–Abhijnānaśākuntalam.

5 Bambhania, Prof. N. K., M.A., LL.B.: Suggestions as to the Teaching of Sanskrit to the Rising Generation.

6 Barua, B.A., M.A., Ph. D.: Kālikā Purāṇa on Iconographical Representations of some Sākta Goddesses and their Worship in Medieval Assam.

7 Bhattacharya, Prof. S. P.: Two interesting Sculptures and their Bearing on an Important Literary Problem.

8 Bhattacharya, Shivprasad: Viśvanātha Kavirāja–some Important and Exclusive References by Him.

9 Buckle, Dr. C., S.J.: An Indonesian Birth–story of Hanuman.

10 Chaudhari, Dr. J.B.: Khan–i–khanan Abdur Rahim and Sanskrit Literature.

11 Chakravarti, Chintaharan: Place of Sanskrit in the History of Modern Indian Literature.

12 Dange, Sadashiv A., M.A.: An Order of Duryodhana–plays by Bhāsa.

13 Deshpande, R.R., M.A.: Interpretation of Veṇīsaṁhara, VI, 43.

14 Gaidhani, Prof. R.N., M.A.: A Note on Nandi in the Mālavikāgnimitra. The Nun's Complicity in the Plots of the Vidushaka in the Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa. A Note on the verse 15 in the First Act of the Mālavikāgnimitra.

15 Gajendragadkar, Dr. S.N.: Decorative Style and Alaṁkāras in the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad.

16 Garge, Prof. Dr. D. N.: शाबरभाष्यकालीना समाजस्थितिः।

17 Gode, P.K., M.A.: The Poetical Works of Somanātha, the Author of the Rāgavibodha (A.D. 1609).

18 Gupta, Shri Sudhir Kumar, M.A., Shastri, Prabhakar: मेघदूतकी वैदिक पृष्ठभूमि और उसका सांस्कृतिक सन्देश.

19 Gupta, Prof. Yogendra Mohan: The Eldarado of Sanskrit as State Language of India.

20 Hamm, Dr. F.R.: The Story of King Vasu in the Indian Literature.

21 Harakare, Gunderao:

22 Jani, Arunoday N., M.A.: Method of Writing in the Medieval India as Reflected in the Naiṣadhīyacarita.

23 Jani, R.J.: Justification of Mammaṭa's Criticism of Ānandavardhana.

24 Jha, S. J.: ध्वनिविमर्शसंक्षेपः।

25 Joshi, Umashankar, M.A.: The Inner Meaning of Uttararāmacharita.

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26 Karmarkar, R.D.: The Authorship of the Pārvatī-Pariṇaya. The Dramatic Terms.—(1) Praveśaka and Viṣkambhaka (2) Janāntikam and Apavāritam.

27 Katre, Sadashiv L., M. A.: Jagannātha-Paṇḍita and Raghunātha-Paṇḍita: Importance of the Latter in Fixing the Original Readings of the Former's Gaṅgālaharī.

28 Koparkar, D.G., M.A., Ph.D.: One Obscure Mythological Allusion in the Arthaśāstra Explained.

29 Kulkarni, Dr. E.D.: The Dhanurveda and its Contribution to Lexicography. Prastāvamuktāvalī: Its Analysis and Probable Date.

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31 Mainkar, Dr. M.G., M.A., Ph.D.: The Yoga-Vasiṣṭha and the Rāmāyaṇa.

32 Mishra, Dr. H.R., M.A., D.Litt.: Bhavabhūti-his Mind and Art.

33 Palsule, G. B.: A Glimpse into the Kākṛtsna School of Sanskrit Grammar.

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35 Paredkar, M.A.: Constructive Peculiarities of the Similes in Manusmṛti.

36 Patkar, M.A.: Amarakośaṭīkā-Budhamanoharā of Mahādeva Vedantin (Latter half of the 17th Cent. A.D.).

37 Pushpa, P.N.: Social Satire in Kshemendra.

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41 Rao, N.Venkata: Mayūra in Telugu Literature.

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SECTION IV : ISLAMIC CULURE

1 Askari, Syed Hasan: Hazrat Ahmad Chirmposh: A 14th Century Sufi Saint-Poet of Bihar.

2 Beg, Mirza Bismillah, B.A.: Contribution of Hyderabad (Deccan) towards Qir'at.

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SECTION V : ARABIC AND PERSIAN

1 Ahuja, Dr. Yog Dhyan, M.A., Ph.D.: Shaykh Irāqi's Influence on Khwāja Hāfiz.

2 Masihuzzaman, S., M.A.: Principles of Literary Criticism in Arabic and Persian.

3 Muid Khan, M.A.,Ph.D.,D.Litt.,: A Unique Arabic MS. on Phisiognomy.

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7 Syed, Akbar Ali: Life and Works of 'Abdul-Latif Al-Abbasi of Gujarat' -an Introduction.

SECTION VI : PALI AND BUDDHISM

1 Banerjee, Dr. Anukul Chandra, M. A., LL. B., Ph. D.: Buddhist Sects in China.

2 Bapat, Prof. P. V.: Svastika in the Images of the Buddha.

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9 Pachow, W., Ph. D.: Further Studies on the Avadānaśataka.

SECTION VII : PRAKRIT AND JAINISM

1 Acharya Shri Tulsi: अणुव्रत और अणुव्रती संघ.

2 Choudhary, Prof. Radha Krishna, M. A., Purāṇa-Shāstri: Lachchuar-The Birth-place of Lord Mahavir?

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12 Upadhye, Prof. Dr. A. N.: Dhūrtākhyāna in the Niśīthacūrṇī.

SECTION VIII : HISTORY

1 Ambiah, Miss Sukanya: Royal Titles and their Significance.

2 Baji, Dr. A. R.: Achārya Simhanandin, King-maker and Pontiff.

3 Basu, Dwijendra Nath, M. A.: A Very Primitive Culture in the Corner of India.

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27 Venkatachelam, Sri Kota: The Pre–determined Plot in Indian Chronology Exposed.

SECTION IX: ARCHAEOLOGY

1 Acharya, P.: Dikpālas and their Saktis in Temples of Orissa.

2 Altekar, Dr. A. S.: A Unique Type of Silver Coin of Skandagupta(?).

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24 Sankalia, Dr. H. D. and Subbarao, Dr. B.: Excavations at Maheshwar in Madhya Bharat.
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SECTION X: INDIAN LINGUISTICS

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33 Vishva Bandhu: The Sāvitrī Ṛk (III, 62, 6): Its Grammatical Problem.

SECTION XI : DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURE

1 Ayyar, A. S. Natarāja: Tiruvalluvar,-Dharma Section and the Dharma Śāstras.

2 Chettiar, Dr. A. C., M.A., PH.D.: Ancient Kings of Tamil Country-Their High Ideals.

3 Malwad, S. S.: Kannada Folk Songs.

4 Pillai, R. P. Setu: Literary Value of Ananda Ranga Pillai.

5 Naidu, Shanker Raja: Treatment of Love in Toinvalluvar and Biharilal.

6 Rao, N. Venata: Telugu Literature and Culture in Tamil Land.

7 Rao, Veldanda Prabhakar: Development of Criticism in Telugu Literature.

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9 Sastrulu, V. V.: Influence of Jainism in Telugu Literature.

SECTION XII : RELIGON AND PHILOSOPHY

1 Adinath: Mahākālayogaśāstra; Khecari Vidya.

2 Ayyar, A. S. N.: New Light on the Bhagavata-(Adhyāya 22 of the Daśama Skandha.

3 Bhatt, G.H.: The Concept of Mind in the Suddhādvaita Vedanta.

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13 Das, Ram Mohan: Daughter in Manusmṛti.

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22 Iyengar, H. R. R., M.A.,M.T.A.: Mādhava-Sāṅkhyanāyaka or Sāṅkhyanāśaka ?
23 Iyengar, M. C. Krishnaswami: The Erudition of Thirukkotur Ammai and the Great Reformer Shri Rāmānuja, Messing at her Hands.
24 Jain, R. C., B.A.: Some Common Terms in Jainism and Buddhism.
25 Jetly, J. S., Nyayacarya, M.A.: The Vivaraṇa Panjikā (in Ms. form) of Aniruddha.
26 Jha, Shri Deigamber: लोकविशेषे दृष्टिविशेषः ।
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38 Prabhu, Ramachandra Krishna: A Note on the Gavām Ayana.
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40 Saksena, Dr. S.N., M.A.,Ph.D.: Indian Philosophy and the Western Mind
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45 Sharma, Dhirananda: शैवागमदर्शनम्।
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48 Shastri, S.S.: Ānandānubhavacharya.
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53 Soloman, E. A., M.A.: Theories of Truth.
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55 Tripathi, Dr. Yogendra J., M.A., PH.D.,BT.: Ajāntavāda in Gujarati Poetry.
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58 Wendal Lothar: Scholar and Savant.
59 Yogendra Jayadeva M. A.: Differences of Interpretation between Vacaspati and Bhikṣu on Samkhya-Yoga.

SECTION XIII: TECHNICAL SCIENCES AND FINE ARTS

1 Abhayankar, K. V., M.A.: National Calendar for India.
2 Agrawala, Ratnachandra, M.A.: Some Early Brahmi and Kharoshthi Inscriptions on Silk from Chiness Turkestan.
3 Atri Vidyalankar: आयुर्वेदमें रसशास्त्रका विकास.
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5 Bhatt, Hariher P.: Katkar's Attempt for the Discovery of Pluto and the Probable Place af an Undiscovered Planet.
6 Bhatt, P. N., Sahityaratna: The Effect of Mogul Art on Rajput Art.
7 Bhattacharya, Bibhuti Bhushan: India-the Place of Invention of Weight-driven Horologes.
8 Choksey, Dr. K.M., Z.D.S. (Vienna): Cultural Heritage of Ancient India in Relation to Dentistry.
9 Dave, Bhupatram: I. बंगाळुं: 2. अमदावादनी हेन्ड प्रिन्टसनी कळानी शरूआत, तेनो विकास तेमां वपरातां द्रव्यो तथा साधनोनुं विहंगावलोकन.
10 Dave Kanaiyalal Bhaishankar: यक्षराज मणिभद्र.
11 Fisher, Dr. Klaus: The art of Bengal Temples with Bent Eaves.
12 Goetz, H.: The Application of Modern Research Methods to the Study of Indian Art.

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13 Guha Thakura, S. C.: Numerals-Not Arabic but International Indic-Demand Scientific Standardization.

14 Harshe, Dr. R. G., B.A. (Tilak), D. Litt. (Paris): The Authenticity of Pillai's Ephemeris in Verifying the Dates recorded on Manuscripts.

15 Majmudar, Dr. M. R., MA.,Ph.D.,LL.B.: 1. A 13th Century Inscribed Metal Bell from Patan. 2. New Light on 'Daṇḍa-Rāsaka'.

16 Misra, Shri Ravikant : आयुर्वेदे तत्त्वविमर्शः।

17 Nazar Ahmed; Farrukh Hussain the Royal Artist at the Court of Ibrahim Adil Shah II and his Painting.

18 Pandit, Dr. V.K.: Is Pānchasiddhāntikā the Real Karma-grantha of Varaihamihira?

19 Pathak, H.N.,M.A.,M.Sc.: Some Economic Concepts in Kautilya's Arthaśāstra.

20 Prabhu, R. K.: What were the Saḍasitimukhaḥ?

21 Sambamoorthy, Prof. P., B.A.,B.L.: Musical Mnemonics.

22 Sastry, N. Mallikarjuna: The Place of Dance in Ancient India.

23 Shah, Dr. U. P.: The so called Mauryana Polish in Jaina Literature.

24 Shukla, D.N.: Samarangane-Sutiadhare & the Medieval Temple-Architecture.

25 Shukla, N. N.: Some Aspects of the Study of Indian Music and its History.

26 Talvalkar: Monumental Buildings of 15th and 16th Centuries and their Significance.

27 Trivedi, H. R. Constume and Ornament of the of Saurashtra.

28 Trivedi, S. S.: भारतीय ज्योतिर्गणितशास्त्र

SECTION XIV: RAJASTHAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

1 Agarwala, R. C., M.A.: Some Interesting Vishnu Images in Sardar museum, Jodhpur.

2 Nahata, Agarchanda.

3 Rahulkar, V. G.: The Rajapraśasti-Mahākāvya and Bhaṭṭa Raṇachoḍa

4 Shastri, Prof. Keshavram K.

SECTION XV: GUJARAT-HISTORY AND CULTURE

1 Acharya, G. V.: Intwa Hill Excavations.

2 Bhatt, Jatashankar Kanji: संस्कृतसाहित्ये श्री सौराष्ट्रदेश-पुरातत्त्वम्.

3 Bhatt, P. N., Sahityaratna: Sun-cult in Gujarat and Saurashtra

4 Bhayani, H. C.: Phāphā 'फांफां' (Vain Efforts) and Allied Words (Two Particular Types of Gujarati Reduplicatives).

5 Divetia, Chaitanyabala Jayendrabhai, M. A.: Garbo गरबो.

6 Gupta, Jagadish, M. A., D. Litt.: गुजराती काव्यमें द्वारका-रास.

7 Jhaveri, Dr. Bipin,: नरसिंह महेतानुं 'सुदामाचरित'.

8 Joshi, Umashanker, M. A.: 1. Anarta-Land of Dancers? 2. Sun-worship in Gujart, with special reference to Khambhāt.

9 Mandali, Nathalal पश्चिम भारतनां प्राचीन रक्षगहारो.

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10 Nanavati, J. M., M. A.: The Temple at Gop.

11 Naik, Dr. C. R., M. A., B. T., Ph. D.: An Account of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi's Expedition of Gujarat from Farrukhi's Qasidahs.

12 Pandya, P. P., M. A.: The Archaeological Explorations in Halar.

13 Quazi, Sayed Noorud-din Husain: 1. Broach under the Independent Nawabs of Broach and its Tragic End in 36 years 1736-1772 A. D. 2. गुजरात के जि इल्म मुसलमानोंने कदीम हिन्दी जबान के अदब में क्या हिस्सा लिया?

14 Sandesara, Dr. B. J., M. A., Ph. D.: Some Digambara Jaina works Composed in Gujarāt and Sauraṣṭra.

15 Shah, Dr. Umkant P.: विमल मंत्री अने तेमना पूर्वजो.

16 Shastri, Dr. Hariprasal G., M. A., Ph. D.: 1. गुजरातना सांस्कृतिक इतिहासनी सामग्रीना साधन तरीके "धर्मारण्यमाहात्म्य"नुं महत्त्व. 2. The Problem of the Chronology of the Chavada Kings.

17 Shastri, Prof. Keshavram K.: गुजराती भाषामां आरोहात्मक स्वरभार.

18 Sheth, C. B.: Contributions of Jainism to the Mediaeval History of Gujarāt.

19 Shukla, Prof. Yashvant, M.A.: गुजरातमां बौद्ध धर्मनो प्रभाव.

20 Swami, Bhagawadacharya: भाषानी शुद्धि.

21 Thakar, Dr. Dhirubhai Premshanker, M. A. Ph. D.: मणिलाल नभुभाई द्विवेदीनुं संशोधनकार्य.

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All India Oriental Conference
17th Session, Ahmedabad
PROGRAMME

30th October 1953

9-0 A. M. to 10-30 A. M.	Opening of the Mss. Exhibition, organised by Gujarat Vidya Sabha, by Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai at the Town Hall.
10-45 A. M. to 12-45 P. M.	Meeting of the Retiring Executive Committee.
12-0 Noon	Lunch.
2-0 P. M. to 2-30 P. M.	Preliminary meeting of Sectional presidents and Secretaries for drawing up a time-table for Sectional Readings.
3-30 P. M. to 5-30 P. M.	Opening Session at the Premabhai Hall.
6-0 P. M. to 7-0 P. M.	Public Lecture of Dr. Edgerton, at Vidya Vihar.
7-0 P. M. to 8-0 P. M.	Dinner.
9-0 P. M.	Entertainments at the Premabhai Hall.

31st October 1953

8-30 A. M. to 10-30 A. M.	Addresses of the Sectional Presidents at Vidya Vihar in the following order :-

Prarthana Mandir	Samskara Bhavan
8-30 to 9: (1) Vedic	(1) Arabic and Persian
9 to 9-30: (2) Classical Sanskrit	(2) Islamic Culture
9-30 to 10: (3) History	(3) Iranian
10 to 10-30: (4) Religion and Philosophy	(4) Linguistics

10-30 A. M. to 12 A. M.	Reading of papers only in the above sections, at Vidya Vihar.
12 Noon	Lunch
2-0 P. M. to 4-0 P. M.	Addresses of the Sectional Presidents at Vidya Vihar, in the following order:-

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Prarthana Mandir	Samskara Bhavan
2 to 2-30: (1) Dravidian Culture	(1) Technical Sciences and Fine Arts
2-30 to 3: (2) Pali and Buddhism	(2) Rajasthan-History and Culture
3 to 3-30: (3) Prakrit and Jainism	(3) Archaeology
3-30 to 4: (4) Gujarat-History and Culture.	
4-0 P. M. to 4-30 P. M.	Tea.
4-30 P. M. to 6-0 P. M.	Reading of Papers in all the Sections at Vidya Vihar.
6-0 P. M. to 7-0 P. M.	Public Lecture by Dr. A. Ghosh at Vidya Vihar.
7 P. M. to 8-0 P. M.	Dinner.
9-0 P. M.	Entertainments at the Premabhai Hall.

1st November 1953

8-30 A. M. to 11-0 A. M.	Reading of papers in all the Sections at Vidya Vihar.
11-0 A. M. to 12-30 P. M.	Meeting of the Council, at Samskara Bhavan, Vidya Vihar.
12-30 P. M.	Lunch.
2-30 P. M. to 4-0 P. M.	Reading of papers in all the Sections at Vdiya Vihar.
2-30 P. M. to 4-0 P. M.	Meeting of the New Executive Committee.
4-15 P. M. to 5-15 P. M.	"Sneha Sammelan" (Party) by the Gujarat Prantiya Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Samiti at the Gujarat College.
5-30 P. M. to 7 P. M.	Concluding Session at Vidya Vihar.
7-15 P. M.	Dinner.

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All India Oriental Conference

Minutes of the meeting of the old Executive Committee

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the All India Oriental Conference was held at 10. 30 A. M. on Friday, the 30th October, 1953, at Motiganga near C. N. Vidya Vihar, Ahmedabad. The following members were present:-

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji (in the Chair), Dr. A. S. Altekar, Prof. V. V. Mirashi, Prof. K. Chattopadhyaya, Prof. Jagannath, Dr. P. V. Kane, Prof. D. D. Kapadia, Prof. R. D. Karmarkar, Dr. S. M. Katre, Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Prof. Vishva Bandhu Sastri, Dr. Sukumar Sen, Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewalla, Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Dr. P. L. Vaidya, Prof. H. D. Velankar, and Dr. R. N. Dandekar.

(1) The minutes of the meetings of the Executive Committee held at Lucknow on the 3rd and the 5th October, 1951 were confirmed.

(2) The following resolution of condolence proposed by the Chairman was passed all members standing:-

Resolution 1-"Resolved that the Executive committee of the All India Oriental Conference places on record its sense of deep sorrow at the sad demise of the following scholars who have passed away since the last session of the Conference held at Lucknow in October 1951.

(1) Prof. Baranikov, (2) Dr. Richard Bell, (3) Prof. S.N. Dasgupta, (4) Prof. Lakhmi Dhar, (5) Dr. R. E. Enthoven, (6) Prof. A. Foucher, (7) Prof. Rene Grousset, (8) Prof.K.Goda Verma, (9) Prof.Bedrich Hrozny, (10) Prof.R.Krishmurti, (11) Prof.B.K. Kakati, (12) Prof.V. Lesny, (13) Prof. C. Acyuta Menon, and (14) Dr. N. Mac Nicol."

(3)The General Secretary submitted the audited accounts of the Conference for the years 1951 and 1952. On a motion moved by Prof.K.Chattopadhyaya and seconded by Prof. Vishvabandhu Sastri the following resolution was passed.

Resolution 2-"Resolved that the audited accounts of the Conference for the years 1951 and 1952, as submitted by the General Secretary, be and are hereby Passed."

(For the audited accounts, see appendix I of these proceedings).

(4) On a motion moved by Prof. H. D. Velankar and seconded by Dr. A. N. Upadhye the following resolutinn regarding the appointment of Auditor was Passed.

Resolution 3-"Resolved that Messrs G. M. Oka and Co., Poona, be and are hereby appointed Auditors of the Conference for the years 1953,1954 and 1955; resolved further that they be paid an honorarium of Rs. 25/— for each of these years."

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(5) The General Secretary then read out a letter dated 27—10—1953 received from Dr. Umesh Mishra, Local Secretary, 14th Session of All India Oriental Conference held at Darbhanga, regarding the accounts of that Session. The Executive Committee expressed its disapproval of the Local Secretary's failure to submit the audited accounts of the 14th Session. The Committee further felt that the explanation given in this connection by the Local Secretary in his letter dated 27—10—1953 was not at all satisfactory. Therefore on a motion moved by Prof.K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and seconded by Dr.A.S. Altekar the following resolution was Passed.

Resolution 4— "Resolved that the General Secretary be asked to write to Dr. Amarnath Jha, Chairman of the Local Committee of the 14th Session, in the matter of the audited accounts of that Sessions and request him personally to look into the matter and to see that the accounts of the Session are submitted to the Executive Committee at an early date."

(6) The General Secretary then informed the Executive Committee that, as per Resolution 10 passed by the Executive Committee at its meeting held at Lucknow on 3—10—1951, the Central Office of the Conference has duly published Part 11 of the Proceedings of the 14th Sessions of the Conference held at Dardhanga in 1948. He further informed the Committee that the first Part of the Proceedings of the 16th Session of the Conference held at Lucknow was ready for publication. As proposed by him the following resolution was passed in this connection.

Resolution 5- "Resolved that part 2 of the Proceedings of the 14th Session of the Conference be priced at.Rs.5/-and that Part I of the Proceedings of the 16th Session be priced at Rs. 5/-."

(7) The General Secretary placed before the Committee the report on the first meeting of the General Assembly of the International Union of Orientalists received from Dr. V. Raghavan who had attended the meeting at Paris on behalf of the All India Oriental Conference. On a motion moved by Dr. P. L. Vaidya and Seconded by Dr. A. D. Pusalkar the following resolution was Passed.

Resolution 6- "Resolved that Dr.V. Raghavan's report on the first meeting of the General Assembly of the International Union of Orientalists be recorded; resolved further that the best thanks of the Executive Committee be conveyed to Dr. Raghavan for his useful and interesting report."

(8) The Executive Committee than considered the proposal forwarded by Dr. Baburam Saksena to the effect that a separate Section for Hindi be introduced as a regular Section in the Session of the All India Oriental Conference in addition to the 13 Sections mentioned in Rule 12(a) and that Rule 12(a) be

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amended accordingly. After considerable discussion on a motion moved by Prof.K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and seconded by Prof. R.D. Karmarkar the following resolution was Passed.

Resolution 7–"The Executive Committee considered the proposal for introducing Hindi as a regular separate Sectien in the Session of the Conference and for amending Rule No.12(a) accordingly and resolved that the Committee is not in favour of the proposal."

(9) The Executive Committee than considered the suggestions forwarded by Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti regarding the compilation of a Directory of Indological Institutions in India and the arrangements for adequate publicity of the work of the Conference. It was pointed out that the Government of India–Ministry of Education–has already prepared a Directory of Indological Institutions in India. The General Secretary was, therefore, asked to inform the Government that the All India Oriental Conference would be glad to cooperate with them in making the Directory more comprehensive and accurate. As regards the publicity of the work of the Conference, the General Secretary was authorised to take the necessary steps in that regard.

(10) The General Secretary then placed before the Committee for discussion the question whether a Session of the All India Oriental Conference could be held outside India. This question arose out of the talks which he had with some Scholars in Ceylon during his recent visit there. It was the sense of the Committee that according to the constitution of the Conference there is no bar to holding a Session of the Conference outside India.

(11) The Executive Committee considered the propasal forwarded by Dr. R. G. Harshe regarding the appointment of Indologists as Cultural Attaches to Indian Embassies in foreign countries. On a motion moved by Dr. A. S. Altekar and Seconded by Dr. P. L. Vaidya the following resolution was passed.

Resolution 8–"Resolved that Government of India be requested seriously to consider the feasibility of appointing qualified Indologists as Cultural Attaches to Indian Embassies in foreign countries with a view to acquainting the people of these countries adequately and in an expert manner with the various aspects of Indian culture and civilisation."

(12) Prof. R. D. Karmarkar proposed that hereafter the Sessions of the All India Oriental Conference be held every year (instead of every two years as at present). The Chairman ruled this proposal out of order as sufficient notice of the proposal was not given.

(13) The Executive Committee then considered the General Secretary's proposal regarding the preparation and publication by the Conference of Biennial Bibliography of Indology. It was pointed out that a proposal of a

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similar nature was accepted by the Conference at an earlier Session but that, unfortunately, no further progress could be made in that connection. The Executive Committee, however, felt that the proposal was important and that more serious efforts should be made for its implementation. On a motion moved by the Chairman the following resolution was passed.

Resolution 9–"Resolved tnat a sub–Committee consisting of Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Dr. A. S. Altekar, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Dr. S. M. Katre, and Dr. R. N. Dandekar (convener) be appointed to prepare and submit to the Executive Committee, at an early date, a detailed plan regarding the preparation and publication by the Conference of a Bibliography of Indology."

(14) On a motion moved by the Chairman the Executive Committee resolved to recommend the following resolution to the Council of the Conference.

Resolution 10–"Resolved that the All India Oriental Conference draws the urgent attention of the Government of India to the following resolution which the Conference had adopted at its Sessions held in Bombay (1949) and Lucknow (1951) and in connection with which no tangible steps have been taken by Government so far:

"The All India Oriental Conference urges on the Government of India the necessity of starting a Central Institute for the promotion of Indological Studies. The Conference belives that it is absolutely necessary that such a Central Indological Institute starts functioning at an early date, specially in view of the growing demand abroad for proper knowledge of and training in Indological subjects at this time."

(15) The General Secretary reported to the Executive Committee that Dr. Raghuvira the President–elect of the Vedic Section, had informed him of his inability to attend the Ahmedabad Session and preside over the Vedic Section. Thereupon the Executive Committee nominated Prof. H. D. Velankar as the President of Vedic Section.

(16) On a motion moved by Prof. R. C. Parikh, the Local Secretary the following resolution was passed.

Resolution 11–"Resolved that it be recommended to the Council that the following ten persons be co-opted on the Council of the Conference on behalf of the Local Committee (as per Rule 10(b)I):–

(1) Prof. Nagindas Parekh, (2) Prof. Prabodh Pandit, (3) Prof. Anantrai Raval, (4) Prof. Miss Esther Solomen, (5) Prof. Yashvant Shukla, (6) Prof. Dr. H. G. Shastri, (7) Prof. Jayantkrishna H. Dave, (8) Prof. Ratnamanirao Jhot, (9) Prof. C. R. Naik and (10) Shri. Priyabala J. Shah.

After a vote of thanks to the Chair the meeting was dissolved.

R. N. Dandekar
General Secretary

S. K. Chatterji
Chairman

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All India Oriental Conference
Minutes of the Meeting of the Council

A meeting of the Council of the All India Oriental Conference was held at 11 A. M. on Sunday, the 1st November 1953, in the C. N. Vidya Vihar, Ahmedabad. The following members registered their attendance.

Chandra Bhan Gupta, Siddheshwar Hola, Sawalia Biharilal Varma, Narendra Nath Choudhuri, Pandit Prabodh Bechardas, M. Upendra Sarma, Hari Ram Mishra, Kamalabai Deshpande, R. D. Karmarkar, K. K. Shastree, Anantalal Thakur, Chintaharan Chakravarti, A. M. Pawar, Buddha Prakash, R. G. Harshe, P. C. Divanji, A. S. Altekar, S. K. Chatterji, R. N. Dandekar, A. G. Mangrulkar, C. G. Kashikar, V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, V. M. Apte, A. S. Nataraja Ayyar, Umesh Mishra, P. Srinivasachar, P. V. Bapat, K. H. Karudar, J. S. Jetty, H. M. Das, S. K. Gupta, H. G. Shastri, C. R. Naik, D. R. Mankad, N. K. Bhagwat, S. N. M. Sadanand Mishra, R. M. K. Choudhary, H. V. Shastri, H. D. Velankar, A. D. Pusalkar, A. H. Nizami. V. L. Narayan Shastri, N. Venkatrao, M. S. Irani, M. F. Kanga, F. C. Davar, D. D. Kapadia, D. G. Mahajan, Khwaji Muhammad Ahmed, M. N. Shukla, M. J. Pathakji, E. V. V. Raghavacharya, S. L. Katre, S. Y., Dhonde, R. R. Deshpande, M. D. Paradkar, K. Ramakrishnaiya, N. A. Gore, L. G. Parab, Y. P. Shukla, J. K. Mishra, C. C. Das Gupta, T. V. Mahalingam, J. H. Dave. S. S. Jelwas, K. Chattopadyaya, H. L. Hariyappa, Sukumar Sen, P. V. Kane, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, K. C. Pandey, S. N. Shastri, Vishva Bandhu, C. R. Sarkar, Mohan Singh, U. N. Ghoshal, Jaganath, J. M. Banerjee, Subhadra Jha, Udaya Narayan Tivar, Babu Ram Saksena, I. J. S. Taraporewala, V. V. Mirashi, B. J. Sandesara, Nagindas Parekh, Shanti B. Shastri, M. R. Mujumdar, D. B. Diskalkar, H. R. Aggrawal, M. Rama Rao, P. R. Mistri, Vidya Bhushan, Bhagavaddatta.

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, President of the Conference, was in the chair.

(1) The minutes of the meeting of the Council held at Lucknow on 5th October, 1951, were confirmed.

(2) Cooptation of Members: On a motion moved by the General Secretary, the following resolution was passed.

Resolution 1– "Resolved that, as recommended by the Executive Committee the following ten persons be coopted on the Council as per Rules 10, b, i:

(1) Prof. Nagindas parekh, (2) Prof. Prabodh Pandit, (3) Prof. Anantrai Raval, (4) Prof. Miss Esther Solomen, (5) Prof. Yashvant Shukla, (6) Prof. Dr. H. G. Shastri, (7) Prof. Jayantakrishna H. Dave, (8) Prof. Ratnamani rao Jhot, (9) Prof. C. R. Naik, and (10) Shri. Priyabala J. Shah.

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(3) The General Secretary reported that the following valid nominations were received by him in connection with the election of 18 members to the new Executive Committee (1) Ahmed. K. M. (2) Altekar, A. S. (3) Athavale, R. B. (4) Bannerji, J. N. (5) Bapat P. V. (6) Belvalkar, S. K. (7) Bhagawat, N. K. (8) Bhave, S. S. (9) Chakravarti, Chintaharan (10) Chari, V. K. (11) Chatterjee, S. K. (12) Chattopadhyaya, K. (13) Chaudhari J. B. (14) Dandekar, R. N. (15) Das, H. Mohan (16) Dave, J. M. (17) De, S. K. (18) Dike, G. N. (19) Diskalkar, D. B. (20) Diwanji, P. C. (21) Gadre, A. S. (22) Ghoshal, V. N. (23) Gupte, Chandra Bhan (24) Hariyappa, H. L. (25) Harshe, R. G. (26) Jagannath (27) Jain, H. L. (28) Jambunathan, M. R. (29) Jha, Subhadra, (30) Kane, P. V. (31) Kanga M. F. (32)Kapdiya, D. D. (33) Karmarkar, R. D. (34) Katre, S. N. (35) Krishnaswami, Iyengar, (36) Lakshminarasimhayya, M. (37) Mahalingam, T. V. (38) Mallikarjuna Sastri, N. (39) Mirashi, V. V. (40) Mirza, H. K. (41) Misra, H. R. (42) Modi, P. M. (43) Nachane, S. A. (45) Nadvi, N. A. (45) Narashimiah, A. N. (46) Narayan Iyengar K. (47) Nilakanta Sastri; K. A. (48) Pandey, K. C. (49) Parikh, R. C. (50) Potdar K. R. (51) Pusalkar, A. D. (52) Raghavacharya, E. V. (53) Raghavan, V. (54) Rama Rao, M. (55) Rangaswami Iyengar, K. R., (56) Saksena, S. N. (57) Sandesara, B. J. (58) Shanti Bhiksha, (59) Shastri, S. N. (60) Sen, Sukumar, (61) Sethu Pillai, R. P. (62) Shah, H. A. (63) Suru, N. G. (64) Taraporewala, I. J. S. (65) Upadhye, A. N. (66) Vaidya, P. L. (67) Velankar, H. D., (68) Vishva Bandu Sastri.

The Council then proceeded to elect 18 members to the New Executive Committee. The President nominated Prof. A. G. Mangrulkar, Prof. N. V. Vaidya, Prof. C. G. Kashikar, and Prof. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri as Scrutineers for the election.

(4) The President then moved the following resolution which was carried unanimously: "Resolved that the All India Oriental Conference draws the urgent attentihn of Government of India to the following resolution which the Conference had adopted at its Sessions held in Bombay (1949) and Lucknow (1951) and in connection with which no tangible steps have been taken by Government so far: "Resolved that the All India Oriental Conference urges on Government of India the necessity of starting a Central Institute for the promotion of Indological studies. The Conference believes that it is absolutely necessary that such a Central Indological Institute starts functioning at an early date, specially in view of the growing demand abroad for proper knowledge of and training in Indological subjects at this time."

(5) Dr. Baburam Saksena moved and Prof. U. N. Tiwari seconded the following proposal:

"That a separate Section for Hindi be introduced as a regular Section in the Session of the All India Oriental Conference in addition to the 13 Se-

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ctions mentioned in Rule 12 (a) and that Rule 12 (a) be amended accordingly."

The General Secretary communicated to the Council the following resolution passed by it in this connection.

"The Executive Committee considered the proposal for introducing Hindi as a regular separate Section in the Session of the Conference and for amending Rule N. 12 (a) accordingly and resolved that the Committee was not in favour of the proposal."

A discussion followed in which Dr. Saksena, Prof. Tiwari, Dr. Kane, Prof. Vishvabandhu Sastri, Prof. Nilakanth Sastri, Prof. H. R. Aggarawala, Prof. K. Chattopadhyaya, and Dr. A. S. Altekar participated. The President summed up the various points raised in the course of the discussion and then put Dr. Saksena's proposal to vote. Tweny-four members voted for the proposal and thirty-three members voted against it. The proposal was declared to have failed.

(6) Dr. R. G. Harshe proposed and Dr. R. N. Dandekar Seconded the following resolution:

Resolution 3- "Resolved that Government of India be requested seriously to consider the feasibility of appointing qualified Indologists as Cultural Attaches to Indian Embassies in foreign countries with a view to acquainting the people of those countries adequately and in an expert manner with the various aspects of Indian culture and civilisation."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

(7) The proposals sent by Shri D. B. Diskalkar and Shri P. M. Modi were ruled out of order by the President as they were not received in time.

After a vote of thanks to the Chair the meeting terminated.

R. N. Dandekar
General Secretary

S. K. Chatterji
Chairman

The result of the election to the new Executive Committee was announced at I p. m. on the lst November 1953. The following 18 persons were declared to have been duly elected members of the Executive Committee of the All India Oriental Conference.

1.	Kane P. V.	69
2.	Dandekar R. N.	64
3.	Altekar A. S.	60
4.	Nilakantha Sastri K. A.	51
5.	Velankar H. D.	48
6.	Chatteerji S. K.	40
7.	Katre S. M.	35
8.	Raghavan V.	35

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9. Parikh R. C.	...	...	...	...	34
10. Upadhye A. N.	...	...	...	...	32
11. Vishva Bandhu Sastri	..	...	...	...	32
12. Dave J. H.	...	...	...	...	31
13. Belvalkar S. K.	...	...	...	...	30
14. Mirashi V. V.	...	...	...	...	30
15. Taraporewalla I. J. S.	...	...	...	...	28
16. Vaidya, P. L.	...	...	...	...	28
17. Pusalkar A. D.	...	...	...	...	27
18. De S. K.	...	...	...	...	25

(The figure against the names indicates the number of votes obtained.)

R. N. Dandekar
General Secretary

S. K. Chetterji
Chairman

All India Oriental Conference
Minutes of the meeting of the New Executive Committee

A meeting of the New Executive Committee of the All India Oriental Conference was held at 2-30 p. m. on Sunday, the lst November 1953, in the C. N. Vidyavihar, Ahmedabad. The following members were present:-

Dr. P. V. Kane, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Dr. A. S. Altekar, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Prof. H. D. Velankar, Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Prof. R. C. Parikh, Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Prof. Vishvabandhu Sastri, Prof. J. H. Dave, Prof. V. V. Mirashi, Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewalla, Dr. P. L. Vaidya, and Dr. A. D. Pusalkar.

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji was voted to the Chair.

(1) **Election of the President**: Dr. S. K. Chatterji proposed and Dr. P. V. Kane Seconded the following resolution:

Resolution 1- "Resolved that Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of the Indian Union, be elected General President of the All India Oriental Conference."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

(2) **Election of the Vice-President**: Dr. S. K. Chatterji proposed and Dr. P. V. Kane Seconded the following resolution:

Resolution 2-"Resolved that Dr. A. S. Altekar be elected Vice-President of the All India Oriental Conference."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

(3) **Election of the General Secretaries**: Dr. S. K. Chatterji proposed and Dr. P. V. Kane seconded the following resolution:

Resolntion 3- "Resolved that Dr. R. N. Dandekar and Dr. V. Raghvan be elected General Secretaries of the All India Oriental Conference."

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The resolution was carried unanimously.

(4) **Election of the Treasurer** Dr. R. N. Dandekar proposed and Dr. A. S. Altekar seconded the following resolution:

Resolution 4– "Resolved that Prof. V. V. Mirashi be elected Treasurer of the All India Oriental Conference."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

(5) Dr. R. N. Dandekar proposed and Dr. A. S. Altekar seconded the following resolution:

Resolution 5– "Resolved that Dr. S. N. Shastri, Shri P. C. Divanji, Dr. Sukumar Sen, and Dr. H. L. Hariyappa be coopted as members of the Executive Committee of the All India Oriental Conference in the vacancies caused by the election of Dr. A. S. Altekar as Vice-President, of Dr. R. N. Dandekar and Dr. V. Raghavan as General Secretaries, and of Prof. V. V. Mirashi as Treasurer.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

(The New Office-bearers and members of the Executive Committee of the All India Oriental Conference will be as follows:

President–Dr. S. Radhakrishnan
Vice-President–Dr. A. S. Altekar
General Secretaries–1. Dr. R. N. Dandekar
2. Dr. V. Raghavan
Treasurer–Prof. V. V. Mirashi

and other members of the Committee–

(1) Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, (2) Dr. S. K. Chatterji, (3) Prof. J. H. Dave, (4) Dr. S. K. De, (5) Shri. P. C. Divanji, (6) Dr. H. L. Hariyappa, (7) Dr. P. V. Kane, (8) Dr. S. N. Katre (9) Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, (10) Prof. R. C. Parikh, (11) Dr. A. D. Pusalkar (12) Dr. S. N. Shastri, (13) Dr. Sukumar Sen, (14) Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewalla, (15) Dr. A. N. Upadhye, (16) Dr. P. L. Vaidya, (17) Prof. H. D. Velankar, and (18) Prof. Vishva Bandhu Shastri.

(6) Dr. R. N. Dandekar then reported to the Executive Committee that invitations were received from (1) the Annamalai University, Annamalainagar, (2) the Delhi University, Delhi, and (3) the North Ceylon Sanskrit Association, Jaffna, requesting the All India Oriental Conference to hold its next, that is, the eighteenth Session under their respective auspices. After some discussion, on a motion proposed by Dr. R. N. Dandekar and seconded by Dr. P. V. Kane, the following resolutions were unanimously passed.

Resolution 6–"Resolved that the invitation received by the All India Oriental Conference from the Annamalai University requesting the Conference to hold its 18th Session, in 1955, under its auspices at Annamalainagar be thankfully accepted."

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Resolution 7–"Resolved that the best thanks of the Conference be conveyed to the Delhi University and the North Ceylon Sanskrit Association for their invitations."

(7) Dr. R. N. Dandekar then placed before the Executive Committee the letter received from Prof. N. K. Bhagwat, President of the Pali and Buddhism Section, regarding the formation of a Tipitaka Board and the issue of a questionnaire relating to the divergences between Buddhism and Hinduism. After some discussion, the Executive Committee expressed the sense that, for the present no steps be taken in this connection.

(8) A joint meeting of the newly constituted Executive Committee and such Sectional Presidents of the past and the current Sessions as were present at Ahmedabad was held to elect the Sectional Presidents for the next Sessoin. The following result of the election was declared by the General Secretary.

(1)	Vedic	Prof. K. Chattopadhyaya
(2)	Iranian	Dr. J. M. Unwala
(3)	Classical Sanskrit	Prof. S. P. Chaturvedi
(4)	Islamic Culture	Prof. A. Siddiqui
(5)	Arabic & Persian	Prof. Yoga Dhyan Ahuja
(6)	Pali & Buddhism	Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta.
(7)	Prakrit & Jainism	Dr. H. C. Bhayani
(8)	History	Dr. A. D. Pusalkar
(9)	Archaeology	Dr. B. Subbarao
(10)	Indian Linguistics	Dr. M. A. Mehandale
(11)	Dravidian Culture	Prof. R. P. Sethu Pillai
(12)	Philosophy & Religion	Prof. R. D. Karmarkar
(13)	Technical Sciences and Fine Arts	Dr. C. C. Dasgupta.

R. N. Dandekar
General Secretary

S. K. Chatterji
Chairman

All India Oriental Conference

The First plenary meeting of the Seventeenth Session of the All India Oriental Conference was held at 3. 30 p.m. on Friday, the 30th October 1953, in the Premabhai Hall of the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad. The Hon'ble Shri G.V. Mavlankar, the Speaker of the House of People, arrived at 3. 15 p.m. and was received by Shri H. V. Divatia and Dr. R. N. Dandekar. Dr. Dandekar then introduced the General President and the Sectional Presidents of the Session and the Members of the Executive Committee of the All India Oriental Conference to the Hon'ble Shri Mavlankar. All these members then formed the Presidential procession which entered the Premabhai Hall punctually

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at 3. 30 p.m. The proceedings of the Inaugural meeting commenced with prayers and devotional songs. The Hon'ble Shri Mavlankar then formally inaugurated the Seventeenth Session of the All India Oriental Conference. This was followed by the Welcome Speech by Shri H. V. Divatia, Vice-Chancellor of the Gujarat University and Chairman of the Reception Committee. After Shri Divatia's speech, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri formally moved and Dr. A. S. Altekar seconded the proposal that Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji do preside over the Session. The proposal was accepted by the assembly with loud acclamation, whereupon Shri Divatia invested Dr. Chatterji with the President's badge. Prof. R. C. Parikh, the Local Secretary announced that several messages were received by the Local Committee wishing the Session all success. Among the messages read by him were those from Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Indian Union, Dr. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President of the Indian Union, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Governor of Bombay, the Chief Minister of Bombay, and the Minister of Education of the Bombay State. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji then delivered his Presidential address. After the Presidential address, Dr. R. N. Dandekar moved on behalf of the President the following resolution of condolence:

"Resolved that the Executive Committee of the All India Oriental Conference places on record its sense of deep sorrow at the sad demise of the following scholars who have passed away since the last session of the Conference held at Lucknow in October 1951.

(1) Prof. Baranikov, (2) Dr. Richard Bell, (3) Prof. S. N. Dasgupta, (4) Prof. Lakhmi Dhar, (5) Dr. R. E. Enthoven, (6) Prof. A. Foucher, (7) Prof. Rene Grousset, (8) Prof. K. Goda Verma, (9) Prof. Bedrich Hrozny, (10) Prof. R. Krishnamurty, (11) Prof. B. K. Kakati, (12) Prof. V. Lesny, (13) Prof. C. Acyuta Menon, and (14) Dr. NMac Nicol."

The resolution was passed all persons standing.

Dr. R. N. Dandekar, the General Secretary, and Prof. R. C. Parikh, the Local Secretary, then made a few announcements regarding the working of the Session. After this the national anthem was sung and the Inaugural meeting of the Seventeenth Session of the All India Oriental Conference was terminated.

R. N. Dandekar
General Secretary

All India Oriental Conference

The concluding meeting of the Seventeenth Session of the All India Oriental Conference was held at 5. 30 p.m., on Sunday, the lst November 1953, in the C. N. Vidya Vihar, Ahmedabad. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji

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presided. (1) At the instance of the President, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, the Genaral Secretary made the following announcements:–

(i) The following are the newly elected Office-bearers of the All India Oriental Conference.

(1) President–Dr. S. Radhakrishnan

(2) Vice-President–Dr. A. S. Altekar

(3) General Secretaries–(1) Dr. R. N. Dandekar
(2) Dr. V. Raghavan

(4) Treasurer–Prof. V. V. Mirashi.

Other Members of the Executive Committee–

(1) Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, (2) Dr. S. K. Chatterji, (3) Prof. J. H. Dave, (4) Dr. S. K. De, (5) Shri. P. C. Divanji, (6) Dr. H. L. Hariyappa, (7) Dr. P. V. Kane, (8) Dr. S. M. Katre, (9) Prof. A. K. Nilakanta Sastri, (10) Prof. R. C. Parikh, (11) Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, (12) Dr. S. N. Sastri, (13) Dr. Sukumar Sen, (14) Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewalla, (15) Dr. A. N. Upadhye. (16) Dr. P. L. Vaidya, (17) Prof. H. D. Velankar, and (18) Prof. Vishva Bandhu Sastri.

(ii) The following persons are elected Sectional Presidents of the Eighteenth Session of the All India Oriental Conference.

(1) Vedic	Prof. K. Chattopadhyaya.
(2) Iranian	Dr. J. M. Unwala
(3) Classical Sanskrit	Prof. S. P. Chaturvedi.
(4) Islamic Culture	Prof. A. Siddiqui
(5) Arabic & Persian	Prof. Yoga Dhyan Ahuja
(6) Pali & Buddhism	Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta.
(7) Prakrit & Jainism	Dr. H. C. Bhayani
(8) History	Dr. A. D. Pusalkar
(9) Archaeology	Dr. B. Subbarao
(10) Indian Linguistics	Dr. M. A. Mehandale
(11) Dravidian Culture	Prof. R. P. Sethu Pillai
(12) Philosophy & Religion	Prof. R. D. Karmarkar
(13) Technical Science & Fine Arts ...	Dr. C. C. Das Gupta.

(iii) The next, that is, the Eighteenth Session of the All India Oriental Conference will be held at Annamalainagar under the auspices of the Annamalai University in 1955.

(2) Dr. R. N. Dandekar then read out the resolutions passed by the Council of the All India Oriental Conference at the Ahmedabad Session.

(3) Dr. S. K. Chatterji then delivered his concluding address.

(4) After the concluding address, Prof. K. Chattopadhyaya proposed, on behalf of the delegates, a vote of thanks to the Gujarat University, the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, the Ahmedabad Education Society, and the Bharatiya Vidya

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Bhavan under whose auspices the Seventeenth Session was held, Prof. R. C. Parikh, the Local Secretary, the Joint Seeretaries, the Volunteers, and the Organisers of the Entertainment Programmes. Prof. N. N. Chaudhuri of Delhi and Pandit Dikshitar of Bombay seconded the vote of thanks in suitable speeches in Sanskrit. Then, on behalf of the Local Committee, Shri H. V. Divetia thanked all persons and institutions who helped the Committee in making the Ahmedabad Session the grand success that it was. Thereafter, the President announced that the Seventeenth Session of the All India Oriental Conference was dissolved.

R. N. Dandekar
General Secretary

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(APPENDIX I)

ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, POONA—4

Receipts and Payments Account for the year ended 31st December 1951

Receipts		Payments	
To Balance at commencement:		By Printing of Conference Index ...	Rs. 1,783-12-0
With Imperial Bank of India, Nagpur	Rs. 14,831-3-8	Advance against printing ...	,, 2,500-0-0
With Dr. A. S. Altekar	,, 5-0-0	Subvention to Dr. R. N. Dandekar to Istambul ...	,, 500-0-0
With Poona C. C. Bank Ltd., S/A	,, 8,404-6-4	Railway freight, cartage, Coolie charges etc.	,, 231-7-0
Cash on Hand	,, 352-6-0	Printing & Stationery	,, 102-13-9
Life Members' fees	,, 1,300-0-0	Clerk's pay	,, 250-0-0
Interest on Bank Account ...	,, 50-0-0	Audit Fees	,, 25-0-0
		Postage	,, 45-8-6
		Balance at Close:	
		With Imperial Bank of India, Nagpur	Rs. 16,131-3-8
		With Dr. A. S. Altekar	,, 5-0-0
		With Poona C. C. Bank, Poona S/A.	,, 3,110-10-4
		Cash on Hand	,, 257-8-9
Total Rs.	24,943-0-0	Total Rs.	24,943-0-0

Examined and found correct.

Sd. G. M. Oka & Co.
Chartered Accountants

R. N. Dandekar
General Secretary

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Chartered Accountants

General Secretary

ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, POONA—4

Receipts and Payments Account for the year ended 31st December 1952

Receipts		Payments	
To Balance at Commencement:		By Balance of A. B. Press Bill for printing of 14th Session ...	Rs. 89-8-0
With Treasurer at Nagpur ...	Rs. 4,131-3-8	Mr. S. N. Savadi for correcting proofs etc.	185-0-0
With Dr. A. S. Altekar	,, 5-0-0	Audit Fees for 1951	,, 25-0-0
With Poona C. C. Bank S/A ...	,, 3,110-10-4	Clerical Assistance for 1952 ...	,, 250-0-0
Treasury Savings Deposit Certificates	,, 12,000-0-0	Postage & Stationery	,, 111-14-3
Cash on Hand	,, 257-8-9	Miscellaneous	,, 3-8-0
Life Members' subscription ...	,, 200-0-0	**Balance at Close:**	
Aid from Usmania University	,, 499-15-9	With Treasurer at Nagpur ...	Rs. 4,131-3-8
Balance from Secretary, 15th Session, Bombay	,, 1,457-2-0	Treasury Savings Deposit Certificates	,, 12,000-0-0
Interest on S. B. Account from Poona C. C. Bank ...	,, 47-12-0	With Dr. A. S. Altekar ...	,, 5-0-0
2/3rd of Sale-proceeds from Bhandarkar Ori. Res. Institute	,, 1,324-9-0	With General Secretary at Poona C. C. Bank Acct. ...	,, 5,889-8-7
Miscellaneous	,, 1-0-0	Cash on Hand	,, 344-3-0
Total	Rs. 23,034-13-6	Total	Rs. 23,034-13-6

Examined and found correct as per the Books of Accounts produced to us and information given to us during the course of our Audit.

Sd., G. M. Oka & Co.
Chartered Accountants

R. N. Dandekar
General Secretary

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(APPENDIX

All-India Oriental Conference,

A Statement of Receipts and

Receipts	Rs. As. Ps.	Rs. As. Ps
1 Reception Committee Membership fee :		
10 Members 5th Shreni @ Rs. 100/-each	1,001-0-0	
1 Member @ Rs. 50/-	50-0-0	
8 Members @ Rs. 25/-each	200-0-0	
236 Members @ Rs. 15/-each	3,540-0-0	
		4,791-0-0
2 Student Membership fee @ Rs. 2/-each (40 Members)		80-0-0
3 Ordinary Membership fee (532 Members @ Rs. 10/-each)		*5,320-0-0
4 Life Membership fee (3 Members @ Rs. 100/-each)		300-0-0
5 Donations :		
1 Gujarat University	1,000-0-0	
2 B.J. Institute of Learning and Research	1,000-0-0	
3 Sarvajanik Society, Surat	100-0-0	
4 M. S. University of Baroda	500-0-0	
5 Ahmedabad Education Society	1,000-0-0	
6 Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay	1,000-0-0	
7 University of Bombay	200-0-0	
8 Gujarat Research Society, Bombay	251-0-0	
9 Anamalai University, Anamalai Nagar	250-0-0	
10 Usmania University, Hyderabad	500-0-0	
11 Director of Education, Rajkot	250-0-0	
12 Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad	500-0-0	
13 Director of Public Instructions, Orissa	500-0-0	
14 Central Government of India, New Delhi	1,000-0-0	
15 Government of Bombay	1,000-0-0	
16 Miscellaneous	13-0-0	
		9,064-0-0
6 Interest		7-5-0
	Total.....	19,562-5-0

Ahmedabad
Dated : 1st December, 1954

Jethalal J. Gandhi
Treasurer

Rasiklal C. Parikh
Local Secretary

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II)
Seventeenth Session, Ahmedabad
Payments Account (Up to 30-11-1954)

Payments	Rs. As. Ps.	Rs. As. Ps.
1 Life-membership subscription paid to the General Secretary		300-0-0
2 Entertainment		702-1-6
3 Transport		1,175-4-6
4 Messing and Boarding Charges:		
1 Messing Charges	5,401-0-0	
2 Boarding Charges	968-2-0	6,369-2-0
5 Printing and Stationery:		
1 Printing	5,398-11-6	
2 Stationery	286-10-3	
3 Typewriter	1,100-0-0	6,785-5-9
6 Travelling Charges		541-1-9
7 Postage and Telegram Charges:		
1 Postage	502-13-9	
2 Telegram	14-14-0	
3 Telephone	15-0-0	532-11-9
8 Bank Commission Chargee		28-5-6
9 Contingent Charges		240-8-0
10 Establishment Charges		1,011-5-8
11 Workers' (Conference) Social Gathering		246-8-0
12 Audit fee		100-0-0
13 Cash and Bank Balances:		
1 United Commercial Bank Ltd., Ahmedabad	1,375-15-9	
2 Cash on hand	153-14-10	1,529-14-7
	Total.....	19,562-5-0

* Checked & found correct subject to the remark that the Ordinary Membership fee shown at Rs. 5320/- should be Rs. 2660/- and the balance represents the amount due to the Conference under rule 16 (ii) d of the constitution.

H. V. Divetia
Chairman

Naushir M. Marfatia & Co.
Chartered Accountants

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ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

17th SESSION, AHMEDABAD

III. Addresses

I. Inaugural Address of Hon'ble Shri G. V. Mavalankar, B.A.,LL.B., Speaker, Parliament of India.

Dr. Suniti Kumar, Mr. Vice-Chancellor of the Gujarat University, Delegates to the Conference, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me first express my heartfelt thanks to the local Executive Committee of the Conference for having done me the unique honour of a closer identification with the deliberations of the Conference by invititng me to inaugurate this session. I am conscious that judging from academic standards, I am nothing before the galaxy of learned men that are present here in the Conference and yet I have been bold enough to accept the invitation of the Executive Committee because I feel that, though not possessed of any learning or scholarship, I yield to none in my love of education, which includes culture, and I have the qualification of being a sincere admirer and worshipper at the Temple of Learning. All the same, I do feel that it would have been better if some other person who had academic qualifications were to inaugurate this session, as I feel that the person, who inaugurates, shoulders some responsibility at least in the matter of giving an academic lead or direction. However, I rely on the generosity of the learned gathering assembled here, who will, I am sure, not expect any learned words from me, but will be satisfied with my earnestness in promoting the cause of learning and culture.

The present is the 17th session of the Conference. The Conference has been working for the last thirty-five years with the co-operation of, not only Indian, but also of foreign orientalists. Its line of work has, by now, assumed a definite form, and shape, and its objectives have also been fully clarified. But the vast changes in the general world conditions, and particularly conditions in India, require a review of the old methods and ideals; and, in any case, there have to be more rigorous efforts for the achievement, in terms of the independence of India and the expectations of the world from India, of what the Conference has been all along aiming at and wishing for. It is well-known to you all that India is now prominently on the world-map, and is playing an important role for the attainment of the world-peace. In a sense,

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the solution of this world problem lies in the acceptance of the spiritual thought and philosophy of our ancients; and therefore a Conference like this, has a special mission and a special significance, as it represents the collective deliberation and thought of the learned men in our land, who will be able to give the country and the world a solution based on our cultural and philosophical foundation with such adaptations as the new conditions of the world may necessitate. The importance of the Conference is not to be judged by numbers, but by quality, and in its capacity to give a lead to world-thought. In a sense, the Conference has no politics, or it can be equally said, that it has nothing but the world–politics of solution of the problems of the world in a peaceful manner.

I need not go into any discussion of the very wide and complicated problem as to whether and if so how world-peace can actually be achieved, with liberty to each nation to arm itself as it thinks best. But it would be easily conceded that the attainment of world-peace can be possible if only the education of man is given a proper turn; so that men will look upon themselves as belonging to one society and the present competitive basis of life is replaced by a co-operative basis of universal brotherhood. Up to now, each Nation has worked on its own lines with the limitations of its geographical and natural surroundings; and, to my mind, if we want to give a new turn, it will be necessary for the thinkers in each society to go to the root of its development to be able to successfully eliminate what is now not only unnecessary, but positively harmful to world co-operation. This means nothing but research in the past culture of nations, and paricularly in our own, so as to eliminate the elements of conflict. There has thus arisen the necessity of a scientific study of the roots of our culture, free from communal basis, dogmatism and obscurantism. It is the privilege, as also the responsibility of a Conference like this to organise and push forward such scientific study. Materially, scientists have advanced very considerably during the last Century. But, unfortunately, the spiritual side of man is so much neglected that it can be said to have been almost ignored. Man is a combination both of the physical and spiritual, and the problem is to educate the man to grow and thrive both materially and spiritually. And for this purpose, we must study, with a view to be able to give the desired turn to education, the culture of every nation; and herein lies the importance of the cultural contacts and cultural Conferences sponsored by such an international organisation as the United Nations.

Culture has been defined by an eminent anthropologist as social heritage. On one side we have artefacts, goods and technical processes, and on the other ideas, habits and values. Can any people grow and thrive materially and spiritually without a proper understanding of its social heritage? This social heritage will always be with us whether we like it or not, and will make or mar our life

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by its influence. It is impossible to by-pass it. Scientific knowledge based on critical and comparative research of culture is, therefore, a national need, and this is necessary even for the proper fruition of the ideal of a secular State that our Constitution visualises. A truly secular State can come into being only by an adequate understanding of the social heritage based on a scientific study, and not by throwing it into oblivion.

It is for these reasons that the Right Hon'ble Dr. Jayakar in his Convocation Address to the Poona University in 1950 laid stress on the Faculty of Indian Culture as a compulsory branch of study at every Indian University. Unless our graduates have a good grasp of our culture, and have studied it on a scientific basis, it will be difficult, if not impossible, even to adjust ourselves in our relations with the rest of the world. When I speak of the study of culture, I desire to lay stress on our spiritual traditions. The world has great expectations from us as leaders of philosophy; and personally I think, the philosophy of life, which our ancient thinkers have evolved, as set out in the Bhagavad Gītā, and the Upaniṣads, is incomparable. I may again refer to the efforts of the U. N. O., for world-peace and state that it is only the Philosophy of the Gītā and the Upaniṣads which can give the world what it wants, provided that philosophy permeates first, the educational system of our country, and the rest of the world thereafter.

We have a great tradition of Sanskrit learning. It has to be kept alive, and I hope, the All-India Oriental Conference can and will do it. You will see that the fifteen sections in which this Conference will be split up for deliberations, includes a variety of topics pertaining to the different parts of the oriental world. The Sections include the Vedic, the Iranic, the Islamic, the Arabic, the Persian, the Pali and Buddhist, the Dravidian Culture etc.

I feel that there must be some provision for the presentation of Tibetan, Chinese and Japanese cultures as well as those of Burma, Sumatra and Java. I need not remind the learned orientalists here of our intimate cultural contact with these countries.

Only a close study, not of the thinkers representing different sections alone, but a proper co-ordination of all will lead us to the goal of world-peace and progress of humanity.

Coming to Gujarat, I shall briefly touch as to what has been done till now in this direction. We have organised an Exhibition, which was opened this morning by my friend Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai. You will be able to see from it the great tradition of devotion to learning and the catholicity of outlook in Gujarat. To scholars with imagination, I am sure, the exhibits, though inanimate, will speak with a thousand tongues and take us back to the glorious past. His late Highness Maharaja Sayajeerao Gaekwad, the intelligent and patriotic ruler of Baroda, had organised an Oriental Series of publications, which, I believe, is

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now being carried on by the M. S. University of Baroda. But it is not sufficient to have merely researches in this learning. It is necessary to take that store of culture and learning to the masses of people through the regional languages so that they may know the history, literature, religion, philosophy and art of India. Incidentally, such an effort will also show, not only to ourselves, but to the world at large the fundamental unity of India in spite of apparent diversity. In the efforts that are being carried on, I may mention that attention is being paid to the pre-history of Gujarat. But more attention has to be paid to the historical times, and, therefore, to historical archaeology. We have many places which are awaiting excavation to give us glimpses of the historical times, the condition of society, ect. I may cite the example of the wonderful Lake Sahasra Linga at Patan. If work of excavation can be carried out on a larger scale, we can have a much better look at the Art and Culture of Gujarat and we shall be also able to know how deeply religious were the architects who executed works of art under the inspiration of religion.

It gives me great pleasure to have this opportunity of inaugurating the seventeenth session of the A. I. O. Conference and to meet the delegates who form the pick of All-India Learning.

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II. Welcome Speech of Shri H. V. Divatia, B.A.,LL.B., Vice-Chancellor of the Gujarat University; Chairman of the Reception Committee.

MR. PRESIDENT, SHRI MAVLANKAR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It gives me great pleasure in extending a cordial welcome to all the learned and eminent Oriental scholars who have assembled here as delegates as well as visitors to the Seventeenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference. This is the Second occasion when this Conference meets in Gujarat since its Seventh Session was held in Baroda in 1933. After an interval of twenty years it meets this time in the capital City of Gujarat on the invitation of the Gujarat University, the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad Education Society and Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. As the Vice-Chancellor of the Gujarat University, and as Chairman of the Reception Committee, it is my pleasant duty to welcome you all in our city.

Our five-hundred years old city may not have the privilege of being one of the very ancient cities in India but it can be modestly claimed that ever since it came into existence in 1411 A. D. near the site of the ancient Karṇāvatī on the banks of the river Sabarmati, it continued to expand, till after a period of about two hundred years, it was described by foreign visitors like Sir Thomas Roe as equal to London in extent; and the great historian Firista called it 'the most beautiful city' he had seen. It had at that time more than one hundred suburbs with a number of gardens and pleasure resorts. This greatness was not merely due to its being the capital city of Gujarat but because its adventurous and industrious citizens had made it a great emporium of trade and manufacture, unrivalled by any other city in India at that time. Its prosperity hung upon the fine threads of three commodities—cotton, silk and gold—which were woven into cloth of various beautiful designs by expert artisans and was in much demand in all parts of India as well as outside. But however big a city may be, its fate is always precariously dependent on its political upheavals and Ahmedabad also had its share of ups and downs after it reached the height of its glory during the Muslim rule. The fall of the Moghuls brought about the fall of Ahmedabad also. The eighteenth and a part of the nineteenth centuries which saw the collapse of old kingdoms and cultures in India also witnessed the tragic downfall of this great city. The continuous clashes between the Muslim, British, Peshwa and Gaekwar armies on the soil of Gujarat were responsible for the devastation of its capital city; but its dormant soul lay uncrushed under its debris. During the last hundred years the modern city of Ahmedabad rose out of its dust and ashes in a new garb, and with the throbs of the machinery of its mills and factories, the heart of the city

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began to throb with a new life of industrial progress and prosperity. It owes a good deal to the family of Sheth Ranchhodlal Chhotalal who was the pioneer of the textile industry in Gujarat and whose grandson Sir Chinubhai Madhavlal Baronet has made generous endowments for the welfare of the city. But he knows little about the real life of the city who only knows about its textile mills and trading markets. The casual visitor forms his opinion by what he sees of its outward life. The peculiar qualities of the literary and religious culture of Gujarat, which has shaped its life through centuries of harmonious integration of diverse and even conflicting elements escape his superficial observation. Art and literature have gone hand in hand with commerce and industry in this region under Hindu as well as Muslim rule.

To appreciate this fact, we have to take a peep into its past history. The earliest evidence of the development of cultural activities in Gujarat including Saurashtra in historical times, comes from the age of Maitrakas who ruled in Valabhipur from the fifth century till the end of the eighth century. During this period all the three principal religious faiths in India, Brahmanism, Jainism and Buddhism, had flourishing centres of learning round about Valabhipur. A number of Acharyas and Munis as well as Buddhist Monks had opened schools for teaching the philosophy underlying these religious systems. Vincent Smith in his 'Early History of India' says "I-tsing a junior contemporary of Hiuen Tsing, tells us that in his time Nālandā in South Behar and Valabhi were the two places in India which deserved comparison with the most famous centres of learning in China and were frequented by crowds of eager students, who commonly devoted two or three years to attendance at lectures on Buddhist philosophy." The most noteworthy feature of these cultural activities was that they were all patronised by the kings of the day and they carried on their work and worship side by side in a spirit of toleration which has remained their most significant characteristic during succeeding centuries in the whole of Gujarat. It was here in Valabhipur that the second and third Councils of Jaina scholars from different parts of India met for collating their sacred texts and writing down the authentic Jaina Canonical Law. The Vedic learning was much patronised by the early Valabhi kings. The royal religion was Shaivism but their patronage extended to Buddhism as well as Jainism. They had given large grants to learned Brahmins from Vadnagar and other places.

Even before the sack of Valabhipur by Arabs, the Gurjar-Pratihars who had come down from the Punjab had established their capital in Shrimal about fifty miles to the West of Mount Abu, which was then a part of Maha Gujarat. It was a very big city having 84 gates and 1000 Brahmashalas and 4000 Mathas. Here also in the same manner as at Valabhipur, all those three religious faiths flourished side by side. These Gurjars ruled from the seventh century to the be-

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ginning of the eleventh century. What is known by the name of Rajasthan or Rajputana at present was a part of Gurjararashtra which extended in the North at one time upto the limits of Mathura and in the South upto Narmada. Here in Shrimal lived the family of the great Sanskrit poet Magha, the astrologer Brahmagupta, the great exponent of Jaina philosophy Haribhadra Suri, and several other Jaina scholars of repute. Like Valabhipur, Shrimal also succumbed to foreign aggression and very large migrations of Brahmins, Jainas and Rajputs took place towards the South in Gujarat the capital of which was by that time established at Anhilvad Patan under the Chavda and thereafter the Chalukya or Solanki Dynasties. Gujarat was so much enriched by these migrations that it was said that the Shri of Shrimal had changed her abode to Patan. It was at that time that Gujarat began to take its present shape though it was much bigger than what it is at present. The ancient town of Chandravati near the foot of Mount Abu as well as the neighbouring territories were under the rule of Parmar Dynasty who were feudatories of the kings of Gujarat. It was the great good fortune of Gujarat at that period to have three kings who not only extended their territories in all directions but who built the cultural life of Gujarat on a strong foundation by their active patronage of arts, learning and religion. Mulraj, Siddharaj and Kumarpal are the makers of the golden age of mediæval Gujarat which has left its lasting impression on its subsequent unified and broadbased culture. The Brahmins from the North-East of India who were invited by Mulraj to settle down in Gujarat, the Oswals and Pragwat Jainas as well as the Brahmins and Jainas from Shrimal made their permanent homes in Gujarat. Those who took to trade and commerce extended their activities beyond the seas. The adventurous spirit of their ancestors had taken them to distant lands even upto Java and Combodia for barter of commodities, and some of them had even settled there.

But the glory of Gujarat was not limited to business and industry. It really arose from the unique quality of its culture which was broadbased from very early times, and has continued to be so throughout all these centuries. The main reason for this characteric lies in the fact that its literary and cultural activities were not confined to Brahmins as in many other parts of India. That is why there has never been any Brahmin-Non-brahmin problem in Gujarat. Much credit for that goes to the Jaina community which produced not only traders but also administrators, warriors and literary scholars. A large number of Jaina Munis devoted themselves not only to exposition of their religious tenets but to grammar, biography and history. They wrote their treatises not only in Prakrit but in Sanskrit language also. The most prominent among them was the renowned Hemchandracharya Suri whose versatile talents made him a pioneer in various fields of linguistics, grammar and prosody and who rightly earned the title of 'Kalikalasarvajna.' He was mainly instrumental in gaining royal support for literary and religious endowments. Siddharaj and Kumarpal patronised both the

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Brahmins and Jainas to such an extent that it remains a matter of controversy to this day whether they really professed Shaivite or Jaina religion. This royal patronage created an upsurge in literature as well as arts.

As Prof. R. C. Parikh observes in his historical introduction to 'Kāvyānus'-āsana': "Tarka, Sāhitya and Lakshaṇa–logic and the art of dialectics, literature and poetics, grammar and philosophy of Language–were the subjects affected by the cultured citizens of Anahillapur and proficiency in these subjects was a pass-port to the royal Courts and the assemblies of the learned...This atmosphere of learning, of public debates and of literary criticism as also of literary compositions was a significant feature of the times which became more and more marked with the spread of political power of Anahillapur".

The fruits of the literary talent of the Jaina scholars remain enshrined even today in the vaults of various bhandars at Patan, Cambay, Ahmedabad, Baroda and even in the distant Jesalmer in which are stored a large number of books and manuscripts many of which still await the researches of scholars. The real wealth of medæval Gujarat remains still hidden in those bhandars and although in recent times, thanks to enlightened Munis like Sri Punyavijayaji, the interest of modern scholars is considerably aroused in their exploration, it would require much pecuniary assistance and co-operation of learned institutions to help them in fulfilling their task. You will get an opportunity to see for yourselves a part of this literary wealth which has been collected in the exhibition which is being held along with this Conference and I hope that you will get some idea of the valuable material which these bhandars possess for enlarging the knowledge of our ancient culture. Credit for the preservation of Jain Bhandars and the temples goes to the foresight and influence of the leaders of the Jaina community over the Muslim kings of Gujarat and even the Moghul Emperors. Sheth Shantidas Jhaveri, the founder of the Nagarseth family of Ahmedabad, had considerable influence over the Emperor Aurangzeb and that great iconoclast had issued a Firman granting the Hills of Setrunjaya, Girnar and a hill on Mount Abu containing Jaina temples to Seth Shantidas on behalf of the Jain community and enjoining all persons not to make or create any obstruction and 'If anybody makes any claim about that village (Palitana) and the three hills which we have given to him, he will be liable to the censure and curses of the people as well as God". Is it not a great achievement to obtain protection for our temples from an idol-breaker like Aurangzeb who invokes the wrath of God if the temples are not allowed to be peacefully enjoyed?

Side by side with the learned lore of Jain literature, the Shaivite and Shakta sects of Brahmanism were richly patronised by the kings ol Gujarat by generous endowments. It is noteworthy that the temples of the Jaina Tirthankars and Brahmanical gods and goddesses were constructed in close proximity on the Hills

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of Girnar, Abu and Pavagadh. The goddess Ambaji was commonly worshipped by Jainas and Hindus. Buddhism disappeared in the modern Gujarat but these two communities have not only been living together but reacting on the social life of each other. Pure vegetarianism and the spirit of non-violence among the Hindus of Gujarat is one of the results of the impact of Jainism on Hindu life. To illustrate the character of this joint culture, I cannot do better than quote a passage from a recently published book on 'Literary Circle of Mahamatya Vastupal' by one of our eminent Gujarati scholars, Dr. Bhogilal Sandesara. He says "The lirerary culture of Gujarat in those days was a composite one, in which there was an admirable cultural co-operation among the Brahmanical and Jaina Scholars. We find that a Royal priest Someshwara writes Prashastis of Jaina temples and a Jaina Sadhu like Balachandra borrows literary motifs from a great Brahmanical work like the Bhagavata Purana. Moreover, we find that Amarachandra, a Jaina Sadhu, summarises the whole of the Mahabharata in verse and praises Vyas in the beginning of every canto.....The age of long enmity between the Sramana and the Brahmana mentioned by Patanjali and others as if vanished in Gujarat. This non-sectarian outlook in literary matters was not accidental but it came from commendable toleration and the spirit of give and take which prevailed in contemporary life, represented by the great figure of Vastupal in almost all its aspects, as the preceding chapters have shown. It also shows that the Hindu culture, of which the Jaina religion and culture form an integral part, was one and the whole mediæval history of Gujarat gives a picture in which we find this remarkable fusion of Brahmanical and Jaina trends which has left its indelible mark on the cultural life of the whole province."

A brief account may be given here of the cultivation of Sanskrit literature in ancient and mediæval Gujarat. I have already referred to the great poet Māgha, the famous author of Śiśupāla Vadha who was a resident of Śrimāla. In the seventh century the Jaina scholar Dhaneśwara Sūri wrote his well-known S'atrunjaya Mahātmya, but the greatest work of that century is by the poet Bhatti of Valabhipur who wrote a Mahākāvya known as Bhatti Kāvya in which he has woven the grammatical sutras of Pānini in the story of Rāvaṇa Vadha. In the eleventh century a Brahmin of Vadnagar named Uvata wrote commentaries on Prātiśākhya Sūtras and Vājasaneyi Samhitā and another Brahmin of the same town named Dyādviveda wrote a book called 'Nītimanjarī'. Thereafter came the great Hemchandracharya whom I have already referred to above. His contemporary Vagbhata wrote in Patan a book on Alankara called Vagbhatālankāra on the lines of Kāvyānuśāsana by Hemchandracharya both of which show the influence of Kāvya Prakāśa by Mammata. The new literary life infused by Hemchandracharya produced a number of poets and scholars in the thirteenth century. The greatest of them was the famous poet Someśvara Deva, a Nagar

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Brahmin of Vadnagar who, if I may be pardoned for striking a personal note, is reputed to be an ancestor of my family. He was a great friend of the well-known Jaina minister Vastupāla and he had earned the title of 'Gurjareśvara Purohita.' His two poems 'Kīrti Kaumudī' and 'Surathotsava' are full of poetic charm and elegance especially his vivid conception of 'Gurjara Rājyalakshmī'. Nānāk Pandit also a Nagar Brahmin from a town near Vadnagar was another Sanskrit scholar and poet. Amarchandra Suri and Mallishena Suri were also eminent Jaina scholars of Sanskrit in this century. In the fourteenth century Merutungācharya wrote his Prabandha Chintāmaṇi which is still regarded as a reliable source of history. Lastly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the poets, Devavimalagaṇi, Hiravijayaji and Acharya Yashovijayaji among others have written books in Sanskrit on various topics.

Like most of the provinces of India, Gujarat lost its independence and came under the Muslim domination in the fourteenth century. One might think that its glory would begin to fade from that time but remarkably enough, not only did it survive but it took a new form of artistic expression in the composite culture of the Hindu and Moslem faiths. Although the Moslems conquered the soil of Gujarat, its soul remained in tact and it obsorbed the good elements of Muslim culture without detriment to its own. The capital city of Gujarat was shifted from Patan to the new city of Ahmedabad. The period of three centuries which followed thereafter was one of peace and prosperity in which not merely learning but art flourished to an extraordinary degree. From the beginning, the new religious and secular buildings in Ahmedabad were constructed in a harmonious fusion of the Hindu and Saracenic style of architecture in which the Hindu motif is preserved behind the outward facade of Muslim architecture.

During the period of the Hindu kings, the art of sculpture on stone and marble had reached its climax in the marvellous carvings in the Delwara temples at Mount Abu and the Sun temple at Modhera. Prof. Nilkanth Shastri says in his History of India: "From the disorder and confusion attendant on the raids of Mahomud of Ghazni, the recovery was quick and the first two centuries of the second millennium, marked by comparative peace and relative material prosperity in the west under the stable rule of the Solankis and the flourishing commerce with foreign lands, witnessed the creations of the remarkable school of religious architecture in Gujarat and in the neighbouring lands. Nature and man have wrought havoc on the finest buildings of the period, but enough remains to attest the external richness and inward feeling for form and purpose characteristic of Solanki temples, which are as notable for their structural efficiency as for their æsthetic quality. The structures are both Jaina and Hindu, and in the early thirteenth century the two celebreated brothers Vastupala and Tejapala who have been called the 'Indian Medicis' used their power and

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resources for encouraging the arts of Gujarat. The Solanki temples as a whole however were the creation not of a small group of men but of the entire community moved to take an abiding personal interest in their construction, each person according to his capacity. This becomes clear from the inscriptions of the time which mention imposts willingly paid and earmarked for the purpose. The professional masons known as 'Silavats' or 'Salats' who worked by text-book rules of which they had a mastery, readily changed the application of their artistic tradition from temples to mosques when their country passed under Muslim rule."

It will thus be seen that under the Muslim rule the artisans employed in building mosques and minarets were mostly Hindus who created a new composite style of architecture which is so superb and delicate that Briggs and Burgess, Fergusson and Marshall have gone into raptures for its artistic excellence. You can see it in some of the artistic gems of this city, such as the windows of Lal-darwaja, Rani Rupmati and Sipri's Mosques, the shaking minarets at Gomtipur, the Kankaria Lake, The Shah Alam Mosque, Dada Hari's step-well and even the bird roosts (Parbadis) in the various parts of the city. This style of Art is one more example of the absorption of outside influence and still retaining the indigenous art. Another example of this spirit of harmony ought to be noted here. The practical and commonsense mentality of the people of Gujarat has not soared very high in a purely intellectual atmosphere. But although our minds have not been moulded by intellectual subtleties and argumentative dissertations of speculative thought, our religion has grown on a mental soil which has been favourable for the development of a deep devotional mentality and tolerance for all religious faiths which directly appeal to our hearts. Our literature, our sculpture, our music, our paintings have all progressed in this direction promoting harmony and sweet softness in all walks of life. We have written our poetry not only on paper but we have symbolised it on the stones and marbles of the sculpture and architecture of our temples as you can see it in Seth Hathisingh's temple, Swaminarayan Temple and a number of other buildings and even residential houses in the city. As a result the devotional sampradayas of Hindu religion such as Vaishnava Sect of Shri Vallabhacharya, and the Swaminarayan Sect of Shri Sahajānanda Swami have not prospered anywhere, so much as in Gujarat. Even Jainism has taken a more devotional aspect in Gujarat than in any other parts of India. And the most remarkable feature of this peculiarity is that all these have been professed side by side in the same family. Indeed, the mutual respect between the various religious faiths was so great that it was not uncommon to find different persons of the same family living in the same house professing either Jainism, Vaishnavism or Shaivism. However, in spite of this religious toleration, Gujarat has remained mainly conservative. While Vallabhacharya, Sahajānanda Swami and other religious preceptors who preached the Bhāgvata and Puranic religion found a welcome in Gujarat as

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nowhere else, the great reformer Swami Dayanand Saraswati who was born in Gujarat and who preached against idol worship had to leave Gujarat and go outside as far as the Punjab to establish the Arya Samaj.

I must not omit to mention here the great contribution made by Muslim divines and scholars in the fields of historical and cultural literature during the Muslim rule. The authors of Mirat-e-Sikandari and Mirat-e-Ahmadi have written detailed histories of Gujarat which have been rightly regarded as standard books by future historians. Many Muslim scholars popularised among the Hindus the study of Persian and Urdu which were the official languages till the advent of the British Rule. Proficiency in Sanskrit which flourished among the Brahmins as well as the Jainas in the past as I said before, went into background and was mainly confined to Shastris and Puranis and it was considered to be a fashion among the Hindu officials and scholars to study Persian literature and to speak and write in chaste Persian language and play Bait Bazis as the Muslim scholars did. The relations between the Hindus, Jaina and Muslim scholars remained friendly and all of them combined to enhance the prestige of their city.

I hope I have said enough to convince you that the genius of Gujarat is not confined to the domain of trade and industry. Commercial enterprise and devotional religion which has influenced its arts and literature have lived together in the social life of this province. Harmony in the midst of diversity has always remained the guiding inspiration of Gujarati life. It is true that it has not fostered a militant and aggresive spirit but it has favoured its people with compensatory advantages. However hard a Gujarati may be in driving a business bargain, he is tender at heart in his feelings for the wants and sufferings of others. The Jaina spirit of Ahimsa and the deep devotion of Vaishnavism have for centuries permeated the life of Gujarat to such an extent that they ceased to remain as abstract qualities of mind but ultimately flowered in an incarnation in one of the greatest personalities in the history of Humanity. Gandhiji was the embodiment of all that is the best in our Indian culture but that he was born in Gujarat is not without significance. His uncompromising insistence on non-violence, his sublime faith in God, his practical and sagacious handling of the most baffling problems of our country, his intuitive, almost uncanny knowledge of human nature–all these qualities cannot be found together in the mind of any one man however great he may be, but in Mahatma Gandhi, partly inherited and partly acquired as they were, they combined to form an extraordinary synthesis between idealism and realism, between passive resistence and active revolt. His practical idealism assisted as it was by the robust realism of Sardar Patel brought a successful bloodless revolution which will remain unparalleled in the history of the world.

It was the great good fortune of this city that Gandhiji made it his home

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for about fifteen years when he returned to India and thus put its name with the Sabarmati Ashram on the map of the world. The industrial progress of Ahmedabad had begun to outrun its cultural activities. Gandhiji revived our Indian culture by founding the well-known Gujarat Vidyapith with the Gujarat Puratatva Mandir as its integral part. It attracted eminent scholars and educationists from India and enriched the cultural life of this city. This age af renaissance which thus began in Ahmedabad has given birth to several institutions for the promotion of learning and research. The Gujarat Vidya Sabha which is one of the conveners of this Conference, and the oldest cultural institution in Gujarat–105 years old—has established a department of teaching and research in Indological studies known as the Seth Bholabhai Jesingbhai Institute of Learning and Research. The mill agents and other rich persons of Ahmedabad have donated nearly two crores of rupees for the development of higher education and this generous help has enabled the Ahmedabad Education Society to conduct five colleges in the City, under the wise guidance of Shri Mavlankar, Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Shri Amritlal Hargowandas and several other leading persons of the City.

Scholarship and research which thrived in ancient Gujarat as I showed above, have been revived in a new form during the last hundred years by eminent Gujarati Indologists like Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, Acharya Vallabhji Haridutt, Shankerlal Shastri, J. J. Modi, Durgashanker Shastri, Girjashanker Acharya and several others. Linguistics and historical research have been enriched by distinguished scholars like Narsinhrao Divatia, Anandshanker Dhruva, Kamalashanker Trivedi, Keshavlal Dhruva, Hari Harshad Dhruva, K. M.Munshi, K. M. Jhaveri, Pandit Sukhlalji, Muni Jinvijayaji, Muni Punyavijayaji, Rasiklal Parikh, Ramnarayan Pathak, Ratnamanirao Bhimrao, Maulana Abu Zafar Nadvi, Kazi Saheb Nuruddin Hussain, Bhogilal Sandesara, M. S. Commisariat, E. H. Tarapurwala, Pandit Bechardas, R. G. Gyani, Govindlal Bhatt, K. K. Shastree, P. C. Diwanji, M. R. Majmudar, D. R. Mankad and several others. I must also mention here the valuable work which is being done outside Ahmedabad by institutions like the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Bombay, the Baroda Oriental Institute which has published several books in the Gaekwar Oriental Series, the Gujarat Research Society and the research work done at Vallabh Vidyanagar at Anand. Lastly I must mention the establishment of the Gujarat University in this City, which though still an infant, gives good hopes of a promising future for spreading the light of higher knowledge in all parts of this Province.

Some of you must be wondering why I have dwelt so much on the ancient culture of this Province in general and this City in particular in my welcome speech. My main object is to show that it is entirely appropriate that the All-India Oriental Conference is holding its Session, though late, in this

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City, which has a tradition of imbibing and harmonising different varieties of culture in its corporate life and that to my mind is the kind of integration which the Oriental Conference is expected to achieve at the present day. The Oriental World is rapidly coming into its own. It has given philosophy and religion to the whole world and has in turn received modern scientific outlook and political, economic and social organisation from the West. The world which is being knit into one unit in a manner in which it has never been before, is realising more and more today that neither East nor West can stand alone by itself and each is seeking the help of the other in the difficult but indispensable task of integrating the material with the cultural elements of human life. We can make a valuable contribution to the solution of this problem by bringing out those ingredients of our ancient culture which are of permanent value for the progress of Humanity, and it is for an international institution like the UNESCO to give them world-wide publicity for the benefit of those scholars who are now looking back towards the East for giving a new lead to the world.

One of the subjects which has prominently come before us of late is a uniform language and vocabulary of cultural and scientific expressions for our country. As Hindi is to become the official language of India, we have to see that it is also adopted for cultural contacts between different parts of the country in a form which is suitable to all classes of people. Such a language cannot be made to order in a short time. It must be allowed to grow if it is to take deep roots in the linguistic soil. We should not hasten unduly in replacing current scientific expressions and formulae without carefully considering whether their substitutes can be freely used and understood by all. In this connection, I would like this Conference to take note of the recommendations made by the Indian Languages Conference which recently met in Poona.

But, ladies and gentlemen, I should not take up more of your time now on the various subjects which you have to consider as they will be fully dealt with by our learned and eminent President, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, one of the most distinguished scholars of outstanding ability whom it is our good fortune to have for presiding over our deliberations.

I would therefore conclude by once more welcoming the delegates and visitors to this Conference in our City and expressing our sincere hope that you will all enjoy your stay in our midst and return to your homes with happy memories of your visit to Ahmedabad and of a successful session of the All-India Oriental Conference.

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III. Presidential Address of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, General President, All India Oriental Conference, 17th Session, Ahmedabad.

The Presidentship of the All-India Oriental Conference is a distinction of the highest academic significance which lies in the gift of the representatives of Indian scholarship in the field of the Indian Humanities organised in this Conference, to confer upon one of themselves in token of their appreciation of whatever contribution it has been given to him to make in the advancement of knowledge within his special range of studies, and I have accepted it with all humility and gratitude as a gesture of their approbation and encouragement, and as an expression of their friendship and affection. This distinction may be looked upon in some ways as the acme of an active career of study, teaching and research in a particular domain of Indology; and I cannot but look upon with emotion my exaltation to the Presidentship of the Conference, after nearly 40 years of unbroken service to the cause of the Science of Linguistics with special reference to India which I profess,—an exaltation for which I thank you all, Fellow-members of the Conference, as well as Members of the Reception Committee who are our hosts on this occasion.

Of the 17 Conferences including the current one which have so far taken place, I have been privileged to participate in 13, and I had to be absent from 4 either because of illness or because of sojourn abroad. Last time when the Conference met at Lucknow, for our usual two-yearly deliberations, I was away in America, working as Visiting Lecturer at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. It was during my absence that you elected me President of this Conference, and I value your having thought of me while I was so far away all the more, as although out of sight I was not out of your minds. And this confidence of yours makes me feel my responsibilities all the more keenly.

I feel particularly happy that my presiding over the Conference takes place in Ahmedabad, a place I am glad to say I have seen twice before, in 1929 and in 1940, and of which I retain so many happy memories, having made, my wife and myself, so many friends here. This great city is hallowed by memories of Mahatma Gandhi. Ahmedabad is typical of *Gūrjaratrā*, at once its heart and its head—it has its disinctive art and culture, and is scholarly and scientific, as well as eminent in industry and commerce. It was at Ahmedabad that I gave in 1940 under the auspices of the Post-graduate and Research Department of the Gujarat Vernacular Society (now *Gujarāt Vidyā Sabhā)* my eight lectures which

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have since been published in the form of a book "Indo-Aryan Hindi." The Hon'ble Sri G. V. Mavalankar, Speaker of the Central Indian Parliament, who is President of the Reception Committee for the present Congress, then presided over my lectures 13 years ago, and I was privileged to form his friendship at the time which I was happy to renew in Simla and Delhi. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sri H. V. Divetia, Vice-Chancellor, Gujarat University, was a fellow-delegate with whom I had the honour of working together at the Modern Indian Languages Development Conference which was called by the University of Poona in May 1953, and I feel very happy to meet him once again; and the Local Secretary, Professor Sri Rasiklal C. Parikh is an old friend with whom I have kept touch through correspondence all these 13 years.

In a Conference which deals with the history and civilisation of India in all its aspects and through the ages from hoary prehistory to the present generation, it is but meet and proper that we should first give a thought to the Fundamental Unity of India—of an India One and Undivided in her geographical situation, in her economic background, in the basic homogeneity that underlies the outward diversity of her people in language and culture and race—a homogeneity that is the result of a close commingling of the various ethnic and "language-culture" groups from time immemorial, and in her ancient as well as recent history, despite the fact that politically India has been split up into two independent States. As there is no finality in human affairs when they are sought to be shaped by the hand of man, we do not know what the future will reveal to us. But for the present, we can only hope that Indologoical studies in the sister states of India and Pakistan, and also in Ceylon, can only be mutually complementary; and we can only hope for better understanding and more profitable co-operation between the two sister states, offspring of the One and Undivided Magna Mater India that was, through science and a desire to unravel our common past, both for its own sake as a scientific study and for the purpose of understanding the present better.

The subject of Indology, dealing as it does with Indian Culture and History in so many different domains, has a wide scope, and the number of sections we have had to admit in our Conference, 15, will bear an eloquent testimony to this. The sum-total of scholarly endeavour that is significant and successful in all these sections will be quite extensive and it will be beyond the scope of a General Presidential Address to take adequate notice of it all.

Nevertheless, I think I must mention some of the noteworthy work that has been done or has been taken in hand during the last two years in the different branches of Indology, and indicate some new lines of work, some of the *desiderata*, which we might take up, with apologies for all faults of omission and commission.

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In Vadic Studies, on which naturally Indology has to be based for both historical and basic cultural reasons, the *Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala* of Poona after completing their fine edition of the Rigveda Samhita with Sayana's commentary, have taken up the critical edition of the Krishna Yajur-Veda Taittiriya Samhita with the commentaries of Sayanacharya and Bhatta Bhaskara; the *Śrauta-koṣa* or Encyclopaedia of Vedic Sacrificial Ritual, taken up in 1945, is proceeding—it is intended to publish it in 3 editions, Sanskrit, English, and Hindi. The *Viśveśvarānanda Vedic Reseach Institute* of Hoshiarpur, East Punjab (formerly of Lahore), under the energetic guidance of its Founder-Director Dr. Visvabandhu Sastri, is continuing its valuable work of preparing and publishing in the face of financial difficulties a *Vedic Word Concordance* (6 out of the proposed 14 volumes of which are already out), and it is bringing out its critical edition of the north-western recension of the Ramayana of Valmiki.

Mention is to be made of the first critical edition of the text of the Jaiminiya Brahmana by Dr. Raghu Vira and Dr. Lokesa Chandra, and of the late Prof. W. Caland's English translation of the Sankhyayana Srauta-Sutra, both from the *International Academy of Indian Culture*, Nagpur.

In Iranian—particularly Old Iranian (Avestan, Old Persian) and Middle Iranian (Pahlavi etc.) and Zoroastrian Studies—two important works on the Gathas of Zarathushtra have come out from Indian scholars—Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporewala's outstanding *Divine Songs of Zarathushtra* (Bombay, 1951), which is quite a *magnum opus* on the subject with its 1166 pages, giving "a Philological Study of the Gathas of Zarathushtra, containing the Text with Literal Translation into English, a Free English Rendering and Full Critical and Grammatical Notes, Metrical Index and Glossary," including also an English version of Bartholomae's German translation. This work gives in one parcel, so to say, our present-day knowledge of the Gatha texts according to orthodox European Iranology, with Dr. Taraporewala's original study of the Metre of the Gathas, and his own interpretation of the philosophical concepts behind the poems. Dr. J.C. Tavadia's edition of the First Three Gathas of Zarathushtra and the Four Principal Prayers in Avestan with Text, Translation and Commentary is a work of a different and a strictly linguistic character (Indo-Iranian Studies II, *Vishwabharati*, Santiniketan, 1952), in which he seeks to give the Gathas in a philologically restored recension or pronunciation, which has its unique value in Old Iranian and Old Indo-Aryan linguistics. Dr. M. F. Kanga has published a number of Pahlavi Texts, including versions of the Yashts and Yasna I—VIII, and in this way has advanced Zoroastrian studies for the Middle Iranian period.

For Sanskrit Studies in general, the comprehensive Sanskrit Lexicon started on an international basis by the Deccan College of Poona is going on with slow but steady progress with Dr. Sumitra Mangesh Katre at its helm; and the new

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and fuller *Catalogus Catalogorum* which is to be the all-inclusive bibliographical work on Sanskrit literature, of works published as well as in MS., and which is being prepared in the University of Madras under the direction of Professor V. Raghavan is proceeding—Dr. Raghavan is at present on tour in Europe, and he has been inspecting collections of Sanskrit MSS. in different European museums and libraries, and as he has written to me, he has unearthed a number of interesting works which came to be neglected and forgotten. Pandit Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya, mainly under the auspices of the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad* of Calcutta, has been bringing out a very well-documented and valuable series of monographs, and books, in Bengali, on the history of Sanskrit studies in Bengal. The *Dharma-koṣa Maṇḍala* of Wai, Satara District (Bombay) is continuing its valuable *Dharma-koṣa*, an encyclopædic arrangement of all the Hindu religious texts which will be when completed a full compendium on the subject. The Mahabharata work is proceeding in the *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* of Poona, and the Santiparvan is well under way. Mm. Dr. P. V. Kane is continuing to work on his *magnum opus*, the "History of Dharma-Śāstra." The *Asiatic Society* of Calcutta has published Vol. I of the English translation of Bharata's Natya-Sastra by Dr. Manomohan Ghosh, and the second volume is printing. Sanskrit texts as usual are appearing from various learned societies, and publishing houses.

In the domains of Islamic Cultnre and Arabic and Persian Studies, it is good news that the *Dā'irat al-Ma'arif* of Hyderabad–Deccan has taken up the preparation of a new edition of Al-Biruni's Arabic *Indica*, as well as the first edition of his great astronomical treatise the *Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, and of the medical encyclopædia *al-Hawīl al-Kabīr* by Abu Bakr Zakariyya al-Razi, with references to Indian authorities on medical science in Arabic. The *Asiatic Society* of Calcutta has just published the concluding volume of the English translation of that important historical work for Mogul India in Persian, the *Maathir al-Umarā*, done by Dr. Baini Prasad—the first volume by the late H. E. Beveridge was published years ago.

In Buddhistic Studies, Sri Rahula Sankrityayana's edition of the *Pramāṇa-vārttika-bhāṣya* (or *Vārttikālaṅkāra*) of Prajnakara in the original Sanskrit from MS. material obtained by the editor from Tibet has been published by the *Kasiprasad Jayaswal Research Institute* of Patna: the introduction to this work is printing, and it forms a number of the important series of Sanskrit-Tibetan works started in Patna. The *Asiatic Society* of Calcutta has just published Dr. Nalinaksha Datta's edition of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* from Kashmir MSS.

Prakrit and Jaina Studies, with their able exponents like Dr. Hiralal Jain of Nagpur and Dr. Adinath Neminath Upadhye of Kolhapur and other scholars of Western India, though well-known series of works like the *Singhi Jain Series*, are also properly pragressing. The University of Calcutta has published a Jaina

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Canonical Text, the *Kalpa-sūtra* of Bhadrabahu, in Bengali characters with Bengali translation opposite and linguistic and other notes by Professor Basanta Kumar Chatterji, and this work it may be hoped will inaugurate an intensive study and publication of Jaina texts in Bengali.

The History of India as undertaken by the Indian Historical Conference, and by the *Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavana*, are in progress–the first two volumes of the latter are already out. Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Bengal Nawabs* has been published this year by the *Asiatic Society* of Calcutta. In Archæology, the Government Archæological Survey is bringing out as usual its series of inscriptions from different parts of the country, and scholars like R. S. Panchamukhi, N. L. Rao., G. V. Srinivasa Rao, P. B. Desai, Dinesh Chandra Sircar, S. N. Rajaguru, K. N. Panigrahi, and M. Venkataramayya have done notable work. R. B. Pandey's *Indian Palæography* and C. Sivaramamurti's *Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Scripts* are to be specially mentioned as two authoritative works on aspects of the history of writing in India. Dr. R. C. Majumdar's edition of the *Inscriptions of Kamboja* in Devanagari characters has been published by the Asiatic Society this year.

Archæological Excavation work is being carried on by the Government Archæological Survey, and apart from the usual finds in different sites which belong to the historic and pre-historic periods, the excavations at Rupar to the north of Ambala and at Hastinapura (the latter conducted by B. B. Lal) have special interest—the former showing links with Harappa culture, and the latter with its painted grey-ware pottery going back to the first half of the 1st millennium B.C., carrying back the history to the Mahabharata period (c. 10th century B.C.).

In Indo-Aryan Linguistics, Dr. Sukumar Sen's *Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan* and *Historical Syntax of Middle Indo-Aryan: I The Noun* (Calcutta, 1951, 1952) are to be specially mentioned. The researches of Dr. C. A. Sankaran of the Deccan College in Experimental Phonetics and in Abstract Grammar are among the most significant work done in this direction in our country, and for the last two years Dr. C. A. Sankaran and his assistants are carrying on their investigations. Dr. Subhadra Jha's Linguistic History of Maithili and Dr. Uday Narayan Tiwari's similar work on Bhojpuri, two important contributions to New Indo-Aryan Linguistics, are now in the press. A most valuable work published in India has been *Sanskrit in Indonesia* by Dr. J. Gonda of Utrecht University (Nagpur, 1952: *International Academy of Indian Culture)*. Although published in America, Prof. F. Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary* in 2 volumes and *Reader* (Yale University, 1953) form a very important contribution to Sanskrit and Pakrit linguistics. Prof. Edgerton is now in India as Visiting Professor in Banaras, and this *magnum opus* of his needs special notice.

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In Dravidian Linguistics, the Deccan College Research Institute has published in 1951 C. A. Sankaran's *Phonemics of Old Tamil* and A. C. Sekhar's *Evalution of Malayalam* (both 1951). Pro. K. Ramakrishnayya's monograph *On the Telugu Language of the 1st Millennium A.D.* (Tirupati, 1952) is a noteworthy publication. R. P. Sethu Pillai's *Place-name Suffixes in Tamil* (University of Madras) and *Place-names of Tamilakam* (in Tamil) are to be mentioned. Dr. T. Burrow and Prof. Sudhi Bhattacharya's Grammar of Parji, a little-known Dravidian language of Bastar in Madhya Pradesh is expected to be out shortly.

Dravidian Studies are as is only proper creating greater interest among scholars in South India, and the *Comparative Vocabulary of the Dravidian Languages* now being prepared by the departments for the various Dravidian Languages in the University of Madras when ready will be very helpful. Similar work more etymological in scope has been taken in hand by two Sanskritist and Dravidianist scholars M. B. Emeneau of the U.S.A. and T. Burrow of England. Tolkāppiyan's *Porul-atikāram*, edited by E. S. Varadaraja Ayyar (from Annamalai University, 2 vols.) is a welcome publication.

In Philosophy and Religion, we have to note the following: the monumental *History of Philosophy Eastern and Western*, under the general editorship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and sponsored by the Education Ministry of the Government of India, in 2 volumes; Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan's *Gauḍapāda—a Study of Early Advaita* (Madras 1951); Swami Nikhilananda's Second Volume of the Upanishads, English Translation, Commentary and Introduction (New York); and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan's Translation (with Notes etc. and Text in Roman) of Fourteen Principal Upnishads, which is expected shortly; and an outstanding book published from abroad (New York, edited by Prof. Paul A. Schilpp) is the *Philosophy of Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan*, both as an expositor of Indian philosophy and an original thinker.

Prof. Vasudeva Sarana Agravala's Hindi book *Harṣa-carita: Ek Sāṃskṛtik Adhyayan* (Patna 1953) is a very noteworthy work forming a study of this important Sanskrit classic from point of view of both the Fine Arts and the Technical Sciences. The work of Dr. Moti Chandra, of Dr. H. Goetz and of Karl Khandalavala on Indian Art in its various forms and schools is to be noted.

The *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad* of Calcutta (for Bengali), the *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā* of Banaras and the *Hindī Sāhitya Sammelan* of Allahabad (for Hindi) and the various similar institutions for the other modern languages of India are doing their good work of publishing texts in the various languages, and monographs on aspects of language and culture. The *Gujarāt Vidyā Sabhā's* work for Gujarati is well known. The *Udaipur Vidyāpīṭh*, the *Sādūl Rājasthānī Research Institute* of Bikaner with its valuable journal the *Rājasthān-Bhārtī*, the *Rājasthānī Sāhitya Pariṣad* of Calcutta, and other institutions, have infused new life into the study of the speech and culture of Rajasthan.

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I shall close this general survery with a statement of our needs and our *desiderata*. The great Sanskrit Lexicon should be helped to be achieved as early as possible. A series of historical and comparative grammars of the Modern Indian Languages, as envisaged at a Conference of Linguists called by the Deccan College in May 1953 under the presidency of Sir Ralph Lilley Turner from London, should be taken in hand. There is a crying need for a new and a more up-to-date *Linguistic Survey of India*. Translation of specimens of Modern Indian literature in English (and other European languages, if possible) should be encouraged. (We are glad to find that A. P. Barannikov's Russian translation of Tulasidasa's *Rāmāyaṇa* has been published already, in 1949, and the translation into Russian of the Mahabharata is going on—the Ādiparvan has recently been brought out by Kalyanov and Barannikov from Moscow. We are also happy to note that Wadī' al-Bustānī of Beirut has completed his Arabic translation of the Mahabharata, and its printing should be expedited). Literal English translations of Old Tamil Sangam literature, with linguistic and other commentaries are another *desideratum*. Then, side by side with the critical edition of the Mahabharata as undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, there should be a similar critical edition of the Ramayana, and of the major *Purāṇas*. If these could be taken up, we shall have plenty of work in our hand for some years. The problem of the *Pṛthvīrāja Rāso* should also be settled by bringing out a proper critical edition of it. Co-ordination of Islamic studies and researches with reference specially to India should also form part of a systematised programme for Indology. And in the settling of our national problems whether pan-Indian or inter-state, there should be a proper consultation with our Indological experts (as in history and linguistics), as and when necessary.

II

The General President of the All-India Oriental Conference may be expected to give his considered opinion on some broad aspect of Indian history and civilisation in which he is specially interested. My own subject has been Linguistics, and this, as a human science, is intimately linked up with the other human sciences like Anthropology, Ethnology, Sociology, Religiology etc. dealing with the various aspects and expressions of human life and culture. Language is intimately connected with Culture. What may be described as the 'Language-Culture' background or basis of a people is more apparent and on the surface than its race; yet it is no less deep in the mental and spiritual consciousness of the people. This is true especially when the original race has lost its basic character through inter-breeding with other races. From the linguistic and cultural approaches, we may delve deeper into the fundamental racial beings and their pre-historic and historic modifications, leading to the evolution of new mixed types.

I propose as the Theme of my Discourse as President of this Conference the Subject of—

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THE INDIAN SYNTHESIS, AND RACIAL AND CULTURAL INTER-MIXTURE IN INDIA

The word *Indian* is used in its most comprehensive sense, embracing all the various peoples or groups which go to make up the population of India. Within their formal religious or cultural affiliations, there is a basic mixed character which embraces all the peoples of India. This basic character is consciously or unconsciously shared by all, and it has kept its lien with the attitude towards life and being which developed in ancient India, after the Indian people as we find them now became first characterised by miscegenation–the attitude which we might label as *Hindu* in its widest application. This embraces not only the world of the Brāhman, Buddhist and Jaina, but also later specialised expressions of the same attitude—including some aspects of Islam and Christianity as they developed within the Indain *milieu*.

The people and culture of India form a component, a mixture, of at least four distinct types of humanity, which may loosely be called "race." With their various ramifications presenting distinct anthropological groupings, all may be brought under one or the other of the four kinds of "Language-Culture" which we find in India from very ancient times. **The Indian people is a mixed people, in blood, in speech, and in culture.**

At the outset, I think it would be necessary to make a few general observations. The fundamental Unity of Man is a proposition which, if properly realised and not merely theoretically admitted, will enable us to think of racial and cultural miscegenation without repugnance, as a most natural thing in human relations. In India, this Unity of Man came to be regarded as part of the All-comprehensive Reality, the Supreme Self or the Over-Soul: as the Īśā Upanishad says—

yas tu sarvāṇi bhūtāni ātmany ēvânupaśyati,
sarva-bhūtēṣu cātmānaṁ, tatō na vijugupsatē:

"He who sees all creatures in the Self, and the self in all creatures, because of that does not wish to hie himself away from (or hate) any one."

It was in India, too, that this sentiment was expressed in her greatest book, the Sanskrit epic of the Mahābhārata—

guhyam brhama tad idam bhō bravīmi,
na mānūṣāc chrēṣṭhataraṁ hi kiñcit:

"This is the secret doctrine, I announce to you:
There is nothing higher than Man."

The division of mankind into *Ārya* and *Mlēccha*, *Hellēnes* and *Barbaroi*, *Israel* and *Goyyim* (or Jew and Gentile), White and Coloured, Christian and Pagan, *Muslim* and *Kāfir*, Communist and Capitalist, as implying an inherent or divinely ordained racial or cultural superiority of the one over the other, is something

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which cannot be admitted by any rationally thinking person. Yet we find overt or covert feelings of this kind of separatism operating in the minds of men in most lands. The desire for power and pelf which dominates and underlies all organised movements for economic and political, religious and cultural expansion–movements which are generally blind to other deeper factors in life–makes an easy alliance with this sense of separatism. Just as no man is an island unto himself, so is no race or peole or country basically separated or isolated from the others: we are linked with each other inextricably.

It has generally been accepted by competent scholars, both in India and abroad, who have been investigating into **Indian civilisation,** that the fundamental trait of this civilisation may be described as **a Harmony of Contrasts,** or as **a Synthesis creating a Unity out of Diversity.** Perhaps more than any other system of civilisation, it is broad and expansive and all-comprehensive, like life itself, and it has created an attitude of acceptance and understanding which will not confine itself to a single type of experience only, to the exclusion of all others.

The Indian Synthesis, apart from a most remarkable intermigling of material cultures and religious and social cults and customs as well as doctrines and notions, is based on the higher intellectual and idealistic plane on the following: a Sense of the Unity of All Life as an expression of an Unseen Reality which is both transcendant and immanent *(kaṭa-v-ul,* as an old Tamil name for the Divinity puts it); a Desire for Synthesis, seeking to combine apparently disconnected or discordant fragments in life as well as experience in their proper place in an Essential Unity; a rigid Adherence to the Intellect, while seeking to harmonise it in the higher plane with Emotion, with Intuition, and with mystic Perception; a Recognition of the Sufferings and Sorrows of Life, and an Attempt to remove them by going to the root cause of these Sorrows and Sufferings; a Feeling for the Sacredness of all Life; and above all, a great Tolerance for all other Beliefs and Points of View. The realisation of this Ultimate Reality is the *summum bonum* in life, and the paths for this realisation are recognised to be various according to individual training, temperament or predilection—whether of Knowledge, or Love (with the background of Grace), or Self-discipline, or Good Deeds, even as the Ultimate Reality manifests itself in innumerable ways before the ken and cognisance of man. Its conception of the material world transcends time and space, and Matter and Energy are just different forms of the same physical stuff which is but an outward manifestation of this Unseen Reality.

All this synthesising tendency has been induced and made easy of development by the great fact of the presence in the Indian scene from very ancient times of different peoples with their diverse languages and cultures, and modes of living and thinking. These were all inevitably drawn together and were

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accommodated in a composite civilisation in which there was no scope for the establishment of racialism, as from the very beginning race-fusion started as a permanent feature. The name of one dominant race, *Ārya*, very soon lost its narrow ethnic significance or application and became rather a word to denote nobility and aristocracy of character and temperament. With the general acceptance of the Aryan language in North India, and with the admission of its prestige in the South as well, the fact that this language was profoundly modiffed within India by taking shape in a non-Aryan environment reconciled the Dravidians and others to come under the tutelage of Sanskrit as the sacred language of Hinduism and as the general vehicle of Indian culture.

India received all her human inhabitants, who came in successive waves, from abroad. These represent six main races in their nine ramifications, and speaking among them, languages belonging to at least four different speech-families which are still current—and there might have been other ones also which are now extinct. The speakers of these languages which are living till today, whatever their race or anthropological type, thus pertained to four "Language-Culture" groups.

The oldest people to come into India belonged to the Negrito or Negroid race, who arrived in the eolith stage of their culture from Africa along the coast lands of Arabia and Iran and settled in Western and Southern India and spread over to Northern India, and passed on to Malaya and the islands of Indonesia (Philippines and New Guinea). They were mostly killed off or absorbed by subsequent arrivals in India. They survive in a few tribes in South India where they now speak dialects of Tamil, and traces of them are found among the Mongoloid Nagas in Assam. A small number still retaining their language is isolated in the Andaman Islands, which they reached in prehistoric times, in their dug-outs from the south-western tip of Burma, namely, Cape Negrais. The Negroids evidently passed away, leaving hardly any trace in Indian civilisation and among the Indian people.

After the Negroids there came to India from the West, from Palestine, the medium-sized, long-headed, snub-nosed and rather dark-skinned proto-Australoids. Some of these passed out of India and found themselves as far as Australia, where their descendants still live as the Australian aborigines ("Black Fellows"). Those who stayed on in India evidently became characterised into the Austric people, and developed their language and culture on the soil of India. The Austric people spread outside India in the East, and we note two main divisions of them : (1) Austro-Asiatics, represented by the Kol or Munda people of Central India, the Khasis of Assam, the Mons of Burma and Siam, the Khmers of Cambodia, the Chams of Cochin-China, and some other allied tribes in Burma and Viet-Nam, besides the Nicobarese; and (2) the Austrone-

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sians, comprising the Indonesians or "Malay peoples", the Melanesians and Micronesians, and the Polynesians. Everywhere there has been mixture of the Austric people with those of other races—Negroids and Caucasoids. The Austrics of India were known in ancient India as *Niṣādas*, and possibly also as *Nāgas* (as well as *Kollas* and *Bhillas* in post-Christian times). They were a dark-skinned people, speaking languages and dialects allied to Santali, Mundari, Kurku, Gadaba and Savara, and to Khasi and Mon-Khmer dialects, as well as other speeches of the two branches of the family. These Austrics were spread all over India, and they form the most important element among the lower classes or castes throughont the country. In the great plains of North India, they have merged into an Aryan-speaking people and have lost their name and their language. They gave some basic things in the material and spiritual domains to Indian civilisation, like the stick or hoe cultivation of rice, of some plants and vegetables, the domestication of the fowl, the taming of the elephant, the weaving of cotton, and some notions about future life which later were sublimated with the help of other elements into the doctrine of transmigration and *saṁsāra*.

The Mongoloid peoples, with a number of different racial elements possessing certain common physical characteristics (yellow or yellow-brown skin, narrow or slant eyes, high cheek-bones, flat noses and paucity of hair on face), came into India probably before the Aryans, who knew them as *Kirātas*. Evidence of their presence as far down as Mohen-jo-Daro has been found. They entered into India from the East, along the course of the Brahmaputra river and its eastern tributaries, and also by way of Tibet, crossing the eastern Himalayas. They formed wide settlements throughout Assam, Bhotan and Nepal (which are Kirāta lands in India *par excellence*), and also in East and North Bengal, North Bihar and the regions to the south of the Himalayas in North India right up to Kashmir. Some of them appear to have penetrated even further to the South—into Orissa and Central India (Bastar in Madhya Pradesh). The participation of the Kirātas in the common civilisation of India has been confined to the north and north-east only. But nevertheless, we have to take note of them as an important element in the formation of the Indian people in the extreme north, east and north-east, and in their participation in the development of Indian civilisation.

The next "Language-Culture" group which came to India is believed to be the Dravidian. There is strong reason to think that the original Dravidian speakers came to India from the East Meditarranean region, from Asia Minor, and they were mainly a people of the Mediterranean race, mingled with other racial elements like the Armenoid which came with them—all of these apparently united by a common speech. Elements of religion and civilisation these Primitive Dravidian speakers of Mediterranean origin brought with them into India pro-

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bably before 3500 B. C.; and groups of them were settled in Mesopotamia and Persia—Iraq and Iran—before they became established in India. They were a highly advanced people, and the city civilisation of India, as opposed to the village culture which was the creation of the Austrics (Kols, Mon-Khmers) was their great contribution. The Pre-Aryan people of the Panjab and Sindh, known to the Aryan invaders as *Dāsa* and *Dasyu* and later as *Śūdra*, who are believed to have built up the great city cultures like those of Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro, are now generally regarded as having been Dravidian in speech, religion, and social and political organisation. The Brahuis of Balochistan appear to be just a remnant of a Dravidian-speaking *bloc* in Sindh, South Panjab and Eastern Iran.

The Czechoslovak scholar B. Hrozny' has recently (*Histoire de l' Asie Anterieure, de l' Inde, et de la Crète*, Paris, 1947: English translation, Prague, 1953)offered quite a new theory about the origin and early history of the people of Panjab and Sindh who built up the recently discovered centres of culture like what we see at Mohen-jo-Daro, Harappa and other sites. He calls the builders of the Panjab and Sindh culture "Proto–Indians", and he thinks that they were a branch of the Indo-European speaking "Hittites" of Asia Minor with admixture of local Asianic (non-Indo-European) elements, like the Caspian Subaraeo-Hurrites. This mixed "Proto-Indian" people, with its Indo-European language allied to Hittite, brought its religion and culture and elements of a hieroglyphical writing from Asia Minor, and built up the great pre-historic culture of Panjab and Sindh. The "Proto-Indians" flourished through trade with the Near East, but between 2000 to 1500 B. C., Dravidian–speakers from the north-west of India came down upon them and destroyed their culture and their towns. This Dravidian barbarians of unknown provenance, who had absorbed remnants of the "Proto-Indians," were in possession of the country when between 1500–1200 B. C. equally rude semi-nomad Vedic Aryans came into the field and established themselves as conquerors over all the pre-Aryan populations. Hrozny's conclusions are based on the assumption that the Sindh-Panjab script and its language can be explained by the hieroglyphic Hittite script of Asia Minor and the Indo-European speech of the "Nesian" Hittites. All these assumptions are highly speculative, and some of the linguistic and cultural interpretations of Hrozny' (his greatness as an investigator in having deciphered successfully the ancient Hittite script and read the language correctly being always admitted) seem not to be warranted by the actual facts, linguistic and otherwise. The question of the "Proto-Indian" script language, religion and culture, in spite of some very clever suggestions of Hrozny', in which he has intimately linked it up with the Asianic linguistic, epigraphical and cultural background, still remains an open one.

Dravidian-speakers spread all over India, and they appear to have lived side by side with the Austric speakers in the great river-valleys of North India

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from Panjab to East Bengal and Assam, and with the Mongoloids also in the sub-Himalayan tracts. But they were able to make their language and culture paramount throughout the whole of Central India and India to the South of the Vindhya mountains, many centuries before the Christian era—although the Dravidian speech retreated here also before the Aryan in post-Christian times. Place-names of non-Aryan origin all over Northern India, where they are capable of analysis, suggest Dravidian and Austric as well as Sino-Tibetan elements, which are indicative of the presence of speakers of this languages in the land. But the Dravidian is the most important of the non-Aryan elements in the civilisation of India; and the basic culture of India is certainly over 50% Dravidian, although expressed in the main through the Aryan language.

Finally, we have the Indo-Aryans. The Indo-Aryans—*Āryas*, as they called themselves—were a section of the great Indo-Iranian (or *Aryan*, in this specialised sense) branch of the Indo-European speakers who became a powerful force and leaven in the civilisation of the Middle and the Near East and of Europe from about 2000 B.C. The original Indo-Europeans, according to W. Brandenstein, the most significant recent investigator on the subject (1936), were characterised in the dry highlands to the south of the Ural mountains, probably before 3000 B.C. Groups of them went west, and in the moist lands of what is now Poland, developed the second phase of their culture which was the one which passed on further west into Eastern and Central, Northern and Western, and also Southern Europe. In all those lands the original Indo-European speech and civilisation were transformed into those of the Balts and the Slavs, the Celts and the Germans, and the Italians, Illyrians and Hellenes. There were earlier or older branches of Indo-Europeans, like the Hittites (Nesian-Hittites) of Asia Minor, who are now believed by the most recent linguistic scholars, like the American E. H. Sturtevant and others, to have parted company with the main body of the Indo-European people, long before the full characterisation of the Indo-European speech had taken place, as the immediate ancestor of Vedic Sanskrit, Old Iranian, Homeric Greek and other ancient Indo-European languages. This separation of the Hittites took place at a time when we can talk of a pre-Indo-European stage—a stage which has been named "Indo-Hittite", which was the source of primitive Indo-European on the one hand, and of the ancient Hittite on the other. Then there were the Tokharians, who were linguistically closely related to the Celts, the Germans, the Italians, and the Hellenes of Europe but who somehow found their way into Central Asia where they were in evidence from an unknown antiquity throughout the greater part of the first millenium A.D.

The Aryans (Indo-Iranians) are believed to have left the original Indo-Iranian homeland to the south of the Ural Mountains and to have come down,

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according to the two schools of opinion, either to Central Asia, or to the Caucasus regions and from there to Northern Mesopotamia. According to the former view, Central Asia to the north-east of Iran was the place where the primitive Indo-European language and culture were modified to Aryan or Indo-Iranian; and from this *nidus*, the Iranians spread to the south-west, and the Indo-Aryans to the south-east into India. According to the second view, Indo-European tribes which were being modified into Aryan or proto-Indo-Iranian, were first noticed in Northern Mesopotamia, and there they sojourned for some centuries before they trekked further south into Mesopotamia proper. There they took part in local affairs and formed ruling aristocracies in some states, developing their religion and culture by contact with local peoples (particularly the Asianic races to their west, and the Assyrio-Babylonians) and modifying their language to a stage when it became the immediate source-speech for both Iranian and Indo-Aryan. The Aryans left traces of their presence in the records of the local peoples in Mesopotamia and Eastern Asia Minor which have now been unearthed and read, and these records give names and words in the Aryan language representing a pre-Vedic and pre-Avestan form of the speech. Some of their tribes pushed on to the east and settled in Iran, and others went further to the east, and through Eastern Iran they found themselves into India; and here we meet with them first, as Vedic Aryans.

The Aryan-speakers from the lands of the Middle East represented in the main a tall, fair, blond, blue-eyed, straight-nosed, waivy-haired and long-headed people—the Nordics; but scholars have also expressed the view that they included a shorter and round-headed people among them—the Alpines, whom they appear to have absorbed linguistically rather than by blood-fusion. Two distinct ethnic groups are thus noticed among the Aryan-speakers who came into India *after* 1500 B.C. The language they brought became an instrument of the greatest power in the setting up of Indian civilisation. It was the Vedic language, the Old Indo-Aryan speech, which later on as Sanskrit was transformed into one of the greatest languages of civilisation in which the composite culture of ancient India found its most natural vehicle.

We have thus (not taking note of the all but extinct Negroid elements, and other possible languages with their connected cultures now long extinct) these four great speeches and the culture-worlds of which they were the expressions, which came into contact, conflict and compromise with each other in ancient India, when the ancient Indian or Hindu people was being formed, between about 1500 to 1000 B.C. According to F. W. Thomas ("Indianism and its Expansion," University of Calcutta, 1942, p. 7), it was **"the Vedic or Aryan period which witnessed the creation of the Indian Man."**

The Indian Man was created out of a fusion of these four chief elements

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of ingredients which were operative in Northern India—the Austric or Austro-Asiatic, the Mongoloid or Sino-Tibetan, the Dravidian, and the Aryan: to give their Indian names, names ancient as well as modern, respectively, the *Niṣādas* (or Nāga–Bhilla–Kollas), the *Kirātas*, the *Drāviḍas* (earlier the Dāsa–Dasyus and the Śūdras), and the *Āryas*.

So far we know only of these four "language-culture" groups–loosely speaking, four "races." As it has been stated before, and as this might be reiterated once again, there might have been other similar "language-culture" groups as well. In fact, some scholars are suspecting the existence of one such—a fifth—group, of unknown linguistic affiliation, the influence of which as a substratum is dimly perceived below the surface of Dravidian and Austric as well as Aryan. We have to note the presence of the problem language spoken in the north-west of Kashmir, in the stae of Hunza-Nagyr, viz. Burushaski or Khajuna, current among some 26,000 people. This language has been sought to be connected with Austric (Kol) on one hand, and with the Caucasic speech family on the other. It will be quite in the nature of things to imagine that three or four thousand years ago, the area of the source-speech of Burushaski, whatever it was, did actually include Kashmir, North-western Frontier Province, Panjab and Sindh; the unexplained element in the present day Indian languages may then be linked up with some speeches allied to Burushaski. But future research alone will be able to establish it, and to give clear explanations to certain unsolved problems in the linguistics of Aryan, Dravidian as well as Austric.

A reference may incidentally be made to the theory put forward by the late P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar (in his "Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras," Madras 1912) that there was no Aryan invasion of India at all with an appreciable disturbance of the original population which consisted of the Dravidians and other non-Aryans, and that the Aryan language and the Aryan fire-cult came into India from Iran as a culture-drift as the result of culture contacts between the Indians, essentially of Dravidian origin, and Aryans in Iran. According to this view, "the Aryan invasion of India is a theory invented to account for the existence of an Indo-Germanic language in North India." But there are other facts and evidences direct and indirect to show that there was actually a considerable movement of people in ancient times, and the invasions by the Dravidian and Aryan speakers were just some of the most far-reaching among these movements.

The Indian Synthesis now presents a remarkable consistence in which diverse elements have been combined to give the general impression of a remarkable homogeneity. A certain unique cohesion has been given to it by a Philosophy which rises above the contradictory elements which have been sought to be accommodated to each other. The persistent efforts of the best intellects

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of the country for all these 3000 years, from the time of "the creation of the Indian Man" at the end of the Vedic period, i. e., by 1000 B. C., to harmonise everything with this synthesis, has been most remarkably successful. All this has been within a certain theory or ideology regarding its component racial elements and its characteristic social and ethical adjustments which has been framed, bit by bit, through generations of experience. This may not bear the scrutiny of a historical examination, any more than the cosmogony or "sacred history" of Judaism and Christianity and Islam, but this nevertheless has so far shown itself to be eminently logical as a philosophy and serviceable as an attitude, and to keep pace with the findings of modern science at the same time.

Comparison can be made of the formation of the people and its civilisation in India with that in Mexico, as it has been taking place there during the last four centuries. There are certain other countries which also show a similar mixture of peoples and cultures. Ancient Greece shows a most remarkable racial and cultural fusion between the pre-Indo-European and Mediterranean Aegean people (who created the great *Pelasgian* or Mycenean-Cretan-Trojan civilisation) and the incoming Hellenes (who brought their Indo-European Greek speech). This situation in Greece presents a most noteworthy parallel to the union of *Drāviḍa* and *Ārya* in India; only, in India, there were at least three non-Aryan (or non-Indo-European) elements to the one of Greece. This parallel is particularly instructive and explanatory for the Indian racial and cultural miscegenation and synthesis too. Britain saw a fusion of the Mediterranean Iberian with the Indo-European Celt, and then this mixed population, Celtic-speaking, was overlaid by Germanic tribes, also of Indo-European speech. France is similarly Iberian, particularly in the south, Celtic, and Germanic (in the north), overlaid by mixed Italians (Romans)—the last three all speaking different forms of Indo-European. In Russia we have a Finno-Ugrian, an Altaic (Tatar) and a Slav (Indo-European) mixture, with Baltic and Scandanavian elements, the tone being given by the Russian language and social organisation. China shows admixture of only different branches of the same Mongoloid or Sino-Tibetan people, but South-East Asia (Further India, i.e., Burma, Siam and Viet-Nam, Kambuja and the Cham country) shows a commingling of South Chinese, Thai and Tibeto-Burman as well as Karen and Miao-tzu and Man Mongoloids with Austro-Asiatics (Mons, Khmers, Chams and others). The Polynesians, according to the most recent opinion of the Norwegian explorer Thor Heyerdahl, are a conglomeration of a white Caucasoid people from Peru, a yellow-brown Mongoloid people from the West Coast of British Columbia in Canada (who originally came from Eastern Asia by sailing along the coast of Japan and the Aleutian Islands), and a black Melanesian element from the west of Polynesia. The Japanese are mainly a mixture of Mongoloids (of the type of the Ainus and the Koreans) and Indo-

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nesians (Malays). In the northern tracts of West Africa a new people, the Fulbe or Pöl, has come into being through the mixture of the Hamitic tribes like the Tuaregs from the Sahara and the True Negroes of West Africa. These are all cases of racial miscegenation with attendant cultural and linguistic fusion which took place during periods of unrecorded history. Just before our eyes at the present day, a fusion of peoples on a large scale is taking place in America. In the United States through a commingling of elements from among the various groups of peoples in Europe, a new type of a Caucasoid pan-European Man is evolving, with a dash of the Mongoloid in him, both from Mongoloid elements from Europe and small assimilated Amerindian and Chinese and Japanese elements accepted in America. But this racial fusion in America is not comprehensive enough, because it totally eschews other races than the "white race"—Caucasoids of various types (whether Nordic or Alpine, Mediterranean or Dinaric, long-headed or middle-headed or short-headed) alone participating in this mixture.

The racial fusion that started in India with great vigour some 3500 years ago, after the advent of the Aryans, was wider in scope than anywhere else in the world, with the white, brown, black and yellow peoples, Āryas, Drāviḍas, Nishādas and Kirātas, all being included in it. This kind of miscegenation, together with the admission into India of various other types of culture and religious outlook, has perhaps made **the average Indian more cosmopolitan in his physical and mental composition than a representative of any other nation.** Thus, our great heritage, the Aryan speech, together with the Nordic and other Western elements in our population, particularly the mentality that is behind our Aryan speech, is our great link with Indo-European-speaking Europe, and America. Our Dravidian elements are another link with the basic culture and people of the Near East and the Mediterranean area; and the Austric bases of our people and culture have intimate connexions with South-Eastern Asia, Indonesia and beyond. Through our Kirāta or Mongoloid background in Northern and North-Eastern India, we are not only neighbours but also kinsmen of the peoples of the Far East and of Central Asia. Finally, through Indian Islam, which has been a potent leaven in our civilisation for the last 750 years, we have more than a mere contact with the Arab and other Islamic lands; and during the last 300 years we have absorbed racial and cultural elements from modern Europe as well: the Luso-Indians, Anglo-Indians and other Indians of Eurasian origin, with the different forms of Christianity which they profess, represent this latest phase of the Indian people.

I shall now discus in brief **the character and result of this racial and cultural miscegenation, under the three heads of (I) Blood, (II) Speech, and (III) Culture, including Religion.**

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The subject is very vast, and whole books can be written on each of the three aspects of it. I propose to give some of the main arguments under each head. The position is generally being admitted, but a formal statement appears to me to be needed at this juncture, if only to take stock of the situation.

1. Blood or Racial Fusion among Aryan and non-Aryan

Taking certain extreme Indian types (where there has not been much mixing with other peoples) apart, like pure-blooded Kashmiri Brāhmans, Mongoloids like the Garos and Nagas, and Austrics like Santals, we may say that **a Common Indian type, a Common Indian Man, has evolved on the soil of India through Intermixture of the races, particularly on the vast plains of the country.** Dressed in the same kind of 'garb and bereft of distinguishing marks like special ways of doing the hair, beard, moustache etc. and special distinctive paraphernalia like caste-marks etc., the average Indian type, whether in the upper classes or in the middle or lower, will be ordinarily difficult to locate in a particular area. A typical Mongoloid like a Naga from Assam, or a Gurung or Lepcha from the Himalayan areas, is different from a Panjab Rajput or a South Indian tribesman like a Chenchu or a Kadir. But an ordinary middle-class Indian, whether Brāhman or Śūdra, Hindu or Muslim, may be from any province, and there is no mistake about his Indianness. Representation in art from the third century B. C. shows the presence of this Indian type as an accomplished fact on the soil of India for the last 2500 years: and doubtless this type goes back 500 or over 1000 years earlier. The Common Indian Man is ordinarily a brown man, pale or dark, either individually or in groups; he is not pure white, as the Aryan was, or pure yellow like the Kirāta or black like the Nishāda. Although broadly he can be classified as long or middle or short-headed, straight or broad or flat-nosed, a general family likeness which marks him off from neighbouring peoples—Iranians or Burmese, Malays or Arabs—is discernible among the ordinary run of Indians, if he does not in his physical make-up go to to any of the extremes.

This is largely the result of racial mixture which was most thorough in Northern India ever since the Aryans came into the country, and even before that. No part of India, however, was free from this racial admixture. Constant streams of North Indian Hindus, after the formation of the Hindu people, were going to the extreme east, to the Brahmaputra Valley, and Manipur, and even beyond, carrying Brahmanical civilisation with them. They were going to the Deccan and South India, as Brāhmans and Kshatriyas, as merchants and settlers, as soldiers and adventurers, and were merging into the Dravidian-speaking peoples in the more advanced areas. We may note the

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Nambudri Brāhman leaven among the Nayars of Malabar as typical. In this way North, and South, and East and West in India were brought together by racial fusion. The "Indian Man" also pushed beyond the frontiers of India, by both land and sea—into Burma, and Siam, and Cambodia and Champa, into Malaya and Indonesia in the east and south-east, into Ceylon in the south, nto Afghanistan (Ariana) in the west, and into Khotan (Kustana) in the north, carrying his composite culture and his language, Sanskrit and the Prakrits, and some times Telugu and Tamil, with him. But that is a different story.

The Aryans were a fair-skinned people, and judging from the description of the physical features of the Brāhmans as the representative Aryans by even so late an author as Patanjali of the second century B. C., they were a tall, fair, blond people approximating to, if not identical with, the Nordic type. Colour prejudice was not so strong in those days, although it did exist; and after the Aryans found that they had to stay among the dark-skinned non-Aryans, a great deal of the edege of the feeling against colour wore off, particularly when it was found that the sedentary agricultural non-Aryans boasted of a higher material culture than the semi-nomad Aryans.

As a pre-requisite to racial fusion, there must be first, linguistic assimilation: mingling of blood by marriage can only take place on a large scale **when peoples of diverse origin accept one common language and conform to the culture-type of which that language is the expression.** The Aryan's language supplied this need for a common speech to the Drāviḍa, Nishāda and Kirāta; and the want of linguistic unity or cohesion among the non-Aryan peoples of ancient India gave to the language of the Aryan its great opportunity, apart from its prestige as the language of a puissant *Conquistador* and from the inherent strength, expressiveness and beauty of the language itself.

The names of the non-Aryan tribes, *Dāsa*, *Dasyu* and *Śūdra*, who were all of them Dravidian in speech, and their semantic developments in Sanskrit indicate the hostile and contemptuous sentiments of the first Aryans towards them. The word *Śūdra*, as we can see from the Mahābhārata and other works, became synonymous with *Dāsa* and *Dasyu* in the Aryan's language, in post-Vedic times. The word *Dāsa*, originally a tribal name, corresponding to the related or exactly the same tribe in Iran, latterly known there as the *Dahai* (in Greek writings), came to signify "slave" in Sanskrit: we can note a similar change in meaning of the tribal name *Slav* (>"slave") in Europe. *Dasyu*, similarly, took up the meaning of a "robber"; the same tribe evidently was present in Iran, known to the Iranians as *Dahyu*, and this name later appears to have given a common Iranian word to mean "country, land, country-side" (Old Persian *dahyu*, New Persian *deh* or *dih)*. And *Śūdra*, originally the name of a *tribe* living in Southern Panjab, who were observed by the Greeks and whose name was

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recorded by them, came to indicate the lower orders of an Aryan-dominated society—men and women of the Śūdra *caste*. From the prescriptions in the later Dharma-Śāstras or Smriti works in Sanskrit, and from statements as well as references to incidents in the post-Vedic Brāhmaṇa literature and the Mahābhārata and the older Purānas which either describe contemporary conditions or reflect the state of things for some centuries from the late Vedic period onwards (roughly, during the first half of the first millennium B. C.) it would appear that inter-racial, that is, Aryan-non-Aryan marriages and connexions were far too common to be ignored. Of course Aryan orthodoxy, as an expression of the zeal for preserving their blood pure which we find in a conquering people, with pride of race and sense of physical beauty, did not approve of these inter-racial marriages and connexions.

In an uncritical age, people were not very careful about tribal names, and the name of a particular tribe or small group could be extended to an entire "language-culture" group, or even loosely to all peoples of a different race or language who were contacted. Thus in Sanskrit and Prakrit *Yavana* and *Yona* (coming ultimately from the seventh century B. C. Greek form *Iavones*, later *Iaones* and then contracted to *Iones*, through Semitic and Old Persian forms like *Yawan* and *Yauna-*) first meant in India just the Greek people, and then within a few centuries the name was extended to mean any Western Foreigner, and finally, any non-Indian or non-Hindu Outsider, latterly even Indian Musalmans.

It would appear that all non-Aryans within the frame-work of the Aryan(Brāhman)-dominated society which was being developed, a society in which the Aryans, as the masterful, though materially not so much advanced *Conquistadores*, assumed special privileges, were at first given the general name of *Śūdras*, and were relegated to an inferior position with considerable disabilities. But wealthy Śūdras and those of them who were artisans and craftsmen and not merely tillers of the soil or followers of unclean trades, when they became Aryan-speakers, frequently got access within the group or caste of the Vaiśyas, or were given at least equality of status with them. Naturally, in a situation like this when the more ardent Aryans would try to preserve their racial purity, they could not support or tolerate mixed unions. When such unions took place, the "superior" people might allow the creation of a *Mestizo* class by men of their own group taking to wife women of the inferior group; and this was thought natural and proper(what was known in ancient India as *anuloma* marriage), but would resent if it happened the other way (*pratiloma* marrige).

But judging from direct and indirect references in early Sanskrit literature, although frowned upon or glosed over by the later writers including the writers on Dharma-Śāstras or Hindu social codes, these mixed marriages, both *anuloma*

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and *pratiloma*, appear to have been exceedingly common, e. g., during the late Vedic and pre-Buddhic times, as depicted, for instance, in the Mahābhārata. I need not mention marriages, both *anuloma* and *pratiloma*, among the three avowedly *Dvija*, i.e. "twice-born" or Aryan castes: these were quite permissible. But evan a Śūdra marrying an Aryan woman, Brāhman or Kshatriya or Vaiśya, was evidently no uncommon thing. The offspring of all such unions were recognised in both the earlier and the later law-books, the *Dharma-sūtras* and *Dharma-śāstras*, in an Aryanising society, although different degrees of high or low position was allotted to them.

We have a whole host of names of such "mixed castes" in the Mahābhārata and the Dharma-Śāstras and other works., noted with varying degrees of toleration or condemnation. These names have been classified and enumerated by MM. Dr. P. V. Kane (in his "History of Dharma-Sastra", Vol. II, Part I, Poona 1941, pp. 69-103) and by Sailendra Nath Sen Gupta ("The Caste System in Bengal" in "Census 1951: West Bengal: the Tribes and Castes of West Bengal," edited by Asok Mitra, I.C.S., and published by the West Bengal Government, Calcutta 1953, pp. 47-58). In the slightly longer list given in the West Bengal Report for the 1951 Census, Sen Gupta enumerates as many as 209 names of mixed castes, and of non-Aryan groups which at one time or other came to be connected with the Hindu body-politic and were looked upon either as castes due to miscegenation or as degraded Hindus—and of Aryan origin too, as they were considered to be outcasted from Aryan society in many cases. We may mention certain castes of mixed origin which were inter-racial (unlike, for example, mixed castes resulting from *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages among Brāhmans, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas, who were all thought to be of Aryan origin): *Ugra* (Brāhman, Kshatriya or Vaiśya father+Śūdra mother); *Nāpita* or *Pāraśava* (Brāhman or Kshatriya+Śūdra mother); *Dāsa, Niṣāda* (Brāhman+Śūdra); *Dauṣyanta, Mleccha, Gopāla* (Kshatriya+Śūdra); *Karaṇa, Rathakāra, Kaṭakāra, Sūcaka, Āyogava* (also=offspring of Vaiśya+Kshatriya, and Śūdra+Vaiśya), *Takṣan* (Vaiśya+Śūdra); *Caṇḍāla, Sūlika* (Śūdra+Brāhman); *Kṣattṛ, Carmakāra, Māgadha, Pulkasa, Yavana* (=Greek!), *Vaina, Vaidehaka, Tantuvāya, Rañjaka, Sūlika* or *Sūṇika, Niṣāda, Vrātya* (Śūdra+Kshatriya); *Antyāvasāyin, Āyogava, Māgadha, Pulkasa, Vaidehaka, Vaidya, Cakrin, Cakrika* (Śūdra+Vaiśya). It would be seen that there is no unanimity and uniformity among ancient writers about these names. Doubtless, many of these names were confined to a part of the country only, and these were confused later by compilers of Dhama-Śāstras and other works in other parts of the country. Names were given to other groups which originated by further admixture among the mixed castes noted above: for example, *Āpita* (Brāhman+*Dauṣyanta* < Kshatriya+Śūdra), *Āvṛta* Brāhman+*Ugra* < Brāhman, Kshatriya, or Vaiśya+Śūdra); *Khanaka* (Āyogava+

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Kshatriya); *Udbandhaka (Khanaka* or *Śūlika*+Kshatriya); *Kārāvara* (Vaideha-Ka+Nishāda, or Nishāda+Vaidehaka); *Kāṇḍāra* (Maivarta, a Śūdra, possibly Austric+Koca, North Bengal Tibeto-Burman Boḍo); *Ḳukunaa* (*Māgadha*+Śūdra); etc. etc. The list need not be increased, as full lists will be found in the works cited above.

We are at once presented with a parallel in post-Spanish Mexico, where there has been this kind of *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages among the three races found in America—the Amerindian Mongoloids (Aztec, Mixtec-Zapotec, Totonac, Otomi, Maya etc. etc.), the Spaniards or Hispanic Caucasoids, and the Negroes brought as slaves from Africa. Here are some characteristic names for these various mixed groups in Mexico and Latin America: thus, *Mestizo* (cross between Spanish father and Amerindian mother—*anuloma* caste most common); *Castizo* (Mestizo+Spanish woman); *Español*o (Castizo+Spanish woman); *Mulatto* (Spaniard+Negro woman); *Moro* or *Moor* (Mulatto+Spanish woman); *Albino* (Spaniard+Moor or Moorish woman); *Salta Atras* or 'Throwback' (Spaniard+Albino woman); *Lobo* or "Wolf" (Salta Atras+Amerindian woman); *Zambiago* (Lobo+Indian woman); *Cambujo* (Zambiago+Amerindian woman); *Alvarazado* (Cambujo+Mulatto woman); *Barquino* (Alvarazado+Mulatto woman); *Coyote* (Barquino+Mulatto woman); *Chamizo* (Coyote+Mulatto); *Coyote-Mestizo* (Chamizo+Mestizo woman); *Ahi-te-estàs* or "There-thou-art" (Coyote-Mestizo+Mulatto woman). (From Addison Burbank, "Mexican Frieze," New York 1940, p. 21). However, the common name for all with a dash of Spanish blood is *Mestizo*, i. e., Mixed (=French *métis)*, and among the Amerindian peoples in Mexico, the word *Ladino* is also employed. In English, following Spanish we have the words *Half-caste, Quadroon* (with onefourth of a particular racial element, after inter-marriage in the second generation between a half-caste and a pure-blooded person of either race), then *Octroon* (with one-eighth blood, so to say, of one of the component races, when the individual is the offspring of a Quadroon and a pure-blooded person); and after an Octroon, the next generation virtually merges into the basic race.

In the Aryan society, the wife had the right of performing religious sacrifices with her husband: she was his *sahadharmiṇī*, his peer and helpmate in sacred tasks. She could recite the Vedas. This was quite in order, so long as she was of the same Aryan race. Later on when women of non-Aryan origin and of mixed origin came to be taken to wife by Brāhmans and others of pure Aryan blood, this right was then taken away from women. In later Dharma-śāstra prescriptions, we find that women in general as well as Śūdras were not to utter the mystic syllable *Om*, and were not allowed to perform Vedic sacrifices. They could however, as a matter of right, perform the *pūjā* ceremonial excepting that of Vishṇu through the *Śālagrāma* stone. Even when non-Aryan women came to have

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a place in the Aryans' social structure, they were thus debarred by orthodox opinion from the privileges of the Aryans; and their Aryan sisters also shared their disability.

The Aryan, including the Brāhman, was losing, as the result of the climate, of altered ways of life and of miscegenation, his fair complexion. The Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad knows Aryans or Aryan-speakers, who were white *(śukla)*, brown or tawny (*kapila*) and dark or black (*śyāma*) and who studied the Vedas, and the last was the cleverest of the three, knowing all the three Vedas, while the others knew only one and two. Although mixed unions were held in theoretical others knew only ond and two Although mixed unions were held in theoretical disfavour, under the lead of the priestly classes, no stigma was attached to them in practical life. In fact, inter-caste marriages, particularly after the formation of the mixed castes, were very common within the same economic or social group throughout Hindu history, right down to pre-British times. The *Sanātana* or "eternal", immutable nature of caste in Hindudom became an object of historic faith among Hindu *intelligentsia*, only during the last few hundred years.

Satyavatī or Matsya-gandhā, the mother of Vyāsa (who may be described as the official founder of Hinduism by compiling for it its scriptures, the Vedas and the primitive Purānas) was a Dāsa woman, although this was attempted to be explained away in the Mahābhārata itself by bringing in the wild story of Satyavatī having been really the daughter of Vasu Uparicara, born within the womb of a fish. Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva of the Vṛishṇi sept of the Yadu clan was a younger contemporary of Vyāsa, and he was himself a dark complexioned half-caste, his mother Devakī being a princess of an Asura or non-Aryan house and his father Vasudeva was an Aryan Kshatriya. It was Kṛishṇa who, among other things, helped to form a synthesis of the Aryan and non-Aryan thought-worlds, religion and ritualism. (Following F. E. Pargiter, Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri and L. D. Barnett, who based their datation respectively on Purāṇa traditions, on genealogical data in the Brāhmana texts and on Jaina tradition exclusively, I accept the middle of the 10th century B.C., during the late Vedic age, as the time for the Kurukshetra battle forming the historical kernal of the Mahābhārata epic, and consequently as the period for the *floruit* of Vyāsa and Kṛishṇa).

It has also been suggested that Buddha himself, like most of the Gorkhas and other present-day peoples of Nepal, was of mixed Aryan-Mongoloid, or it may be Aryanised Mongoloid origin. Certain social usages among the branch of the Śākya clan to which Buddha belonged would suggest non-Aryan (Kirāta) origins, affinities or connexions.

The process of Aryanising non-Aryan ruling houses by the extension of Kshatriya-hood upon them by the Brāhmans as the leaders of society, has been an age-old device in India, which enabled not only the militarily and culturally advanced aristocracy of non-Aryan origin but also powerful foreign groups like

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the Greeks, the Śakas and other Iranians and the Huns settled in India, to be absorbed within the fold of the Hindu society. This has been noted by other scholars before. We have the ancient Indian solar and lunar dynasties—the Children of the Sun and the Children of the Moon *(Sūrya-Vaṁśa* and *Candra-Vaṃśa)*. It is exceedingly likely that here basically we have a pre-Aryan, possibly Dravidian, notion, which became a part of the inherited and re-edited Purāṇa tradition that developed among the Aryan-speaking people of mixed origin during the early centuries of the first millennium B. C. Later, when some powerful Hinduised aristocracies of Turki and Iranian origin were to be absorbed during the second half of the first millennium A. D., we have the new Kshatriya clans of the Children of the Fire (*Agni-kula*). The Ahoms, a Thai or Sino-Siamese people who came to Assam in 1228 and gradually extended their power over the Hinduised Tibeto-Brahman Boḍos of the Brahmaputra valley, were adopted within the Brahmanical fold, and their rulers were described as the Children of Indra *(Indra-Vaṁśa)*. The Boḍo royal house of Ḍimāpur and Kachar were made into descendents of Bhīma, the Pāṇḍava hero, through his Rākshaī or non-Aryan wife Hiḍimbā; and the Meithei kings and upper classes of Manipur, as well as the Boḍo (Tipra) rulers of Tripurā, at some unknown mediaeval period, obtained the status of *Candra-Vaṁśa* Kshatriyas. Even the native priesthood of the non-Aryan tribes, on their Hinduisation came to acquire the sobriquet of *Varṇa-Brāhmaṇas*, i. e., Brāhmans attached to the particular Hindu caste into which the tribe was transformed. With the exaltation of the general status of the tribe, the recognition of these Varṇa-Brāhmans as proper Brāhmans was a matter of course.

It was not that there was an absolute wholesale or all-embracing miscegenation. Doubtless a great many Aryan groups jealously guarded their purity of blood and they have succeeded through the endogamus caste system in preserving in many cases some sort of racial purity. But once the terms *Ārya* and *Brāhmaṇa* modified their old racial connotation, and became words indicative of an aristocracy of moral or intellectual superiority without the old sense of racialism, such as we find in the Rig-Vedic terms *Ārya Varṇa* and *Dāsa Varṇa*, admission as Brāhmans and Kshatriyas of the intellectual and aristocratic classes of mixed groups and of pure non-Aryans was facilitated, and objection to their union with pure-blooded Aryans within the same area, when the economic and cultural background was the same, became weaker and weaker.

The new Aryan-speaking society could no longer remain compartmental, vertically or horizontally or in both ways. With a wide gamut or range of colours in the people, ranging from the white of the Aryan blond to the black colour of the pure Niṣhāda, or the yellow of the pure Kirāta, like the merging colours in the solar prism, passing on imperceptibly from violet through indigo, blue, green, yellow and orange to red, *apartheid* was not possible in practical life,

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howsoever the *theory* might have appealed to the Aryanising snobdom which was exalted in certain groups to an orthodoxy of faith. We find almost an identical situation in Mestizo Mexico. From the pure Spanish descendents of the conquerors and subsequent settlers who are known as Creols (*los Criollos*), which continued to be reinforced by fresh arrivals from Spain (latterly known as the *Gachupines*), during the three centuries of Spanish colonial rule (1521-1820), we have, through different shadings of white and yellow and brown resulting from all kinds and degrees of intermixture, the brown or yellow Amerindian massess at the other end of the scale, the pure 'Indians' (*los Indios*). An ever-expanding mixed group is perpetually encroaching upon the purity of the pure whites at the top and the yellow or brown 'Indians' at the bottom. Already the mixed group, with Spanish as their language, forms nearly 60 p.c. of the people of Mexico, with some 30 p.c. pure Amerindians and less than 10 p.c. pure whites. Ultimately the purer groups will be absorbed into the Mestizos, leaving a single type of man, generally speaking, master of the field—the Modern Mexican Man who is already in the predominance. In 1805 the pure Spanish or white element in Mexico's population was estimated at 18 p.c., Mestizos at 30 p.c. and pure Amerindians at 44, and other groups 2 p.c.; in 1910, the percentages were respectively 7.5, 53 and 39. These figures disclose how the pure Amerindian element and pure white are both merging into the Mestizo.

Varṇa or skin-colour—white or yellow or brown or black—was the basis of the division of the diverse types of humanitty in the first period when Ārya and Dāsa, Kirāta and Nishāda, stood face to face with each other. Later, it became unmeaning with the invasion of the coloured elements into Aryandom, although tradition harking back to these very early times is still suspicious in present-day India of a black Brāhman and a fair Śūdra. The skin-colour became irrelevant with racial mixture, and there was a new theory of caste in which the original racialistic notion of the Vedic Aryan was lost; and **it was only birth within a recognised profession or industry or trade-group, within a guild, so to say, that formed the essential argument for caste. The economic aspect rose superior to the racial, the social to the biological. Caste has been supported or tolerated by the Indian people as it generally helped the stability of their economic existence, all racial implications being lost.**

Caste began to crystalise and become rigid with the establishment of a Muslim state by the Turks, and then by the adoption of the Turki-Muslim traditions by Indian Muslims either of pure Indian or mixed Indian origin (respectively through conversion and miscegenation). The Hindu States were destroyed and the Hindu social order under Brāhman domination lost its natural patrons in the Hindu aristocracy. Yet Hindu culture was too strongly in-

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grained in the people to permit their being swept away by the flood of Muslim aggression. With its inherent force of inertia and its spirit of bowing before the storm, and with the innate spirit of harmony among the various castes each with its recognised place, its rights and duties within the Hindu society which was evolved as the direct result of the Indian synthesis under the leadership of the Brāhman, the Hindu body-politic resisted the threatened disintegration of itself through this Muslim impact by its method of a general non-co-operation. This non-co-operation was of a passive sort, and it meant having nothing to do socially with that unappreciative and unsympathetic foreign ruler, the Turki Muslim, and sometimes his client the *renonçant* Indian Muslim, and each caste unit in Hindu society offered opposition in a piecemeal fashion by stiffening itself up in self-defence and by becoming more rigid within itself. This stiffening up and rigidity, and this non-co-operation, became a force not only against the foreigner, but also *vis-á-vis* the other groups or castes within its own world. With the passing of centuries this rigidity grew stronger and stronger; and during the last two centuries, certain other new factors came in—which strengthened the present-day caste ideology which would regard miscegenation to be pernicious and reprehensible in a divinely ordained social order—the *Varṇāśrama Dharma*—which existed from the beginning of the golden age. The new factors which were operative in this direction were the growth of individualism in the place of collectivism; the tendency to a new type of economic exploitation, a new sense of aloofness taking its root from imperfect or incomplete miscegenation fortified by the imported European "Aryanism;" and a revival of orthodox notions and attendant snobbery with fantastic or extravagant ideas of personal purity and caste pride, the exaggerations of which would be patent in any sensible society.

Ancient Indians have been reproached with the absence of the historical sense. They had certainly a conception of life as a static thing, not as a process of dynamic or historical development. The racial and national aspect can never be dissociated from the history of the political vicissitudes of any people, and if in ancient India the writing of the history of a particular people, as a distinct element of the population, had developed, then the tendency towards the fusion and harmonisation of the traditions of the diverse peoples, not on a basis of a separatist political consciousness, but on an appreciation of the universal human values, would not have characterised the Indian Synthesis. Thus the Muslim historians of India in general are conscious only of a two-fold division of the people of India, by religion—Muslims and Hindus, and this religious cleavage was always perpetuated. without any attempt at bringing them together as members of the same people. In the earliest Indian literature we have just echoes of an Ārya *versus* Dāsa (or Śūdra or Nāga or Nishāda) com-

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plex, on a racial or colour basis. But the racial aspect of it grew dimmer and dimmer as the inevitable result of a mutual assimilation, and these tribal names were translated into the region of mythology. The intransigence of racialism was totally lost, and a crude pride of birth through race gave place to a sense of humility through philosophy when the idea of *saṁsāra* as an eternal moral law determining a man's place in life came to be universally accepted. After the strands of diverse racial origins have been inextricably woven into the finished stuff of a composite Indian society, it is now at least 2500 years too late to try to revive them once again now, as an engineered upsurge, e.g., of a suppressed Ādi-Drāviḍa or primitive Dravidian in the extreme south of India against the so-called Aryan from the North. It would be as futile as to try to separate the Saxon from the Norman or the Celt from the German or the basic Iberian from the Indo-European in the composition of the present-day British people.

There is no caste in *sannyāsa* or the path of renunciation—in Indian monasticism, so to say. This is another expression of the racial synthesis in Indian ideology. The Upanishadic *Jñāna* or knowledge, and later the post-Vedic mysticism of love and faith—*Bhakti*, both moving with the self-discipline of *Yoga* or path for union with the Ultimate Reality, *Jñāna* and *Bhakti* as the philosophical and emotional obverse and reverse of the quest for God, both transcended racial implications.

Racial and Cultural Fusion, profound or on the surface, sublimated by a broad spirit of Synthesis through Philosophy which transcended or modified, although it could not wholly eradicate, the memory of race and colour (the weaknesses and prejudices of human nature being what they are), thus **has given the basic character or tone to Indian Civilisation.** As Rabindranath Tagore, with his poet's vision colouring the scholar's reading of the predominant trait of his people's history and culture, has expressed in his great poem in Bengali, the *Bhārata-tīrtha*—

hethāy Āryya, hethā Anāryya, hethāy Drāviḍa, Cīn,
Śaka-Hūṇa-dal, Pāṭhān-Mogal, ek dehe ha'la līn:

"Here the Aryan, here the Non-Aryan, here the Dravidian and the Chinese (the Mongoloids), the tribes of the Scythians and the Huns, the Afghans and the Moguls, have all merged into one body."

II. Linguistic Interaction and the Evolution of an "Indian Character" in the Languages of India.

At the present moment, as has been mentioned before, we see four distinct speech-families represented in India, languages belonging to which have all evolved or developed on the soil of India for the last 3000 years and more. These are (i) Indo-European, (ii) Dravidian, (iii) Austric, and (iv) Sino-Tibetan.

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The language of the first inhabitants of India, **the Negroids,** has not survived on the soil of India—it is found in the Andamans, and it is not fully known. There is no possibility of finding out if elements from the speech of the Negroids have, in any way, survived in the speeches of the later peoples who came to India. I have suggested that among a possible small vocabulary from the Negroid speech which may have been continued in Indian languages, we may reckon the Bengali word for the "bat", *bāduḍ*, which is based on a form like *wat*, *wad* etc. (with the pleonastic affix *-uḍ* from early Bengali *-a-ḍī—bāduḍ<bād-a-ḍī)*, found in Andamanese and the dialects of Austro-Asiatic current among the Negroid Semang and the Austric Sakai in Malaya.

The Austric languages, as we have seen, fall into two groups—(i) Austro-Asiatic, and (ii) Austronesian. The Austric languages of India, which come under (i), are distinct in their structure from Dravidian: they are prefix, suffix and infix adding languages, and have an elaborate process of word-formation. Austric-speaking tribes had in pre-historic times spread throughout India, and in the great river-valleys of North India they appear to have been transformed into the present-day Aryan-speaking masses of Indians, both Hindu and Muslim, with admixture with other ethnic groups, the Mongoloids and the Dravidians and the Aryans. Some Austric speakers in India, who continued to live from very ancient times in a primitive state in the hills and forests of Central and Eastern India, or who had retired there through pressure of the later peoples, live in their descendents as the various Kol peoples, Santals and others, as mentioned above, still retaining their language. Others in the sub-Himalayan tracts were absorbed by the later Mongoloid settlers, but the language of the Austro-Asiatic Kols has modified that of the new-comers, giving rise to what are known as "Pronominalised Tibeto-Burman Speeches", of the sub-Himalayan areas in Nepal and to its west. In Assam, the Khasis appear to be a Tibeto-Burman people who have accepted an Austric language.

In the development of the Aryan language in India, Austric (Kol or Munda, and Mon-Khmer) languages have exerted a considerable influence, particularly in vocabulary and idiom. The study of mutual Aryan and Austric influencing in language has become an important branch of Indian linguistics, with repercussions on the history of the development of culture in India. The French orientalist Jean Przyluski made valuable investigations into the question of an Austric substratum in Indo-Aryan, and he has shown how a number of common words in Sanskrit like *kārpāsa*, *tāmbula*, *kadalī*, *kambala*, *bāṇa*, *lāṅgala*, *lakuṭa* etc. etc. are of Austric origin. Others have followed Przyluski along the line of research virtually opened up by him, and a notable work in this field is F. B. J. Kuiper's "Proto-Munda Words in Sanskrit" (Amsterdam, 1948, pp. 178; the author gives an additional seventy words from Sanskrit as being Austric in origin).

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In the evolution of at least two modern Indo-Aryan sister-speeches in Bihar, the Maithili and the Magahi, there has been a very likely influence of the Austric (Kol) languages, which evidently were suppressed by the Aryan Māgadhī Prakrit and Apabhramsa, in the peculiar device of pronoun-incorporation in the verb, which is so foreign to the nature of both Aryan and Dravidian.

In the matter of a richness in onomatopoetic jingles and expressions which Indo-Aryan is found to develop gradually in the course of its evolution (such onomatopoetic terms are too few in Sanskrit, but they are on the increase in the Prakrits, and still more so in the New Indo-Aryan languages), and in that of doubling of words, full or partial, for various purposes, noted partly in Middle Indo-Aryan (Pali and the Prakrits) and very largely in New Indo-Aryan, we are certainly to see a Kol or Austric substratum in Indo-Aryan: and this substratum is very vital, too, for New Indo-Aryan.

The Sino-Tibetan languages and dialects present in their number the largest groups of speeches in India, but from the point of view of the numerical strength of the peoples speaking them, their cultural significance as well as the extent of their terrain, they are the least important. But of course they have their great value in the historical and comparative study of the great languages of the family, like Chinese, Tibetan, Burmese and Siamese. These Sino-Tibetan speeches current among the Kirātas, or Indian Mongoloid tribes, are now confined to Assam, and East and North Bengal, and the south Himalayan slopes from Bhotan to Panjab, including of course Nepal. But in early times there is evidence that the Kirāta peoples had penetrated into Central India and Sindh also, though numerically they were not so strong in the plains of Northern India and the hills and jungles of Central India.

Kirāta peoples in India are certainly as old as, if not older than, the Vedic Aryans: we find them already mentioned in the Yajur and Atharva Vedas. (Their antecedents and their participation in the development of Indian history and culture I have discussed in my "*Kirāta-Jana-Kṛti*: the Indo-Mongoloids and their Contribution to the History and Culture of India", Asiatic Society, Calcutta 1951, pp. 94 ff.) They could not exert such a widespread influence in the development of Indian culture, and their contribution to the formation of the Indian people was restricted by their geographical position or the lands which they occupied. Kirāta predominance is the most noteworthy thing in the people and culture of the greater part of Himalayan India, of Assam, and of East and North Bengal and North Bihar.

The subject of the modification of the Aryan speech by the Kirāta dialects has not been taken up properly, but it is very likely that a respectable Kirāta vocabulary exists in Indo-Aryan place-names, and ordinary words, and there are Kirāta influences in some present-day Aryan speech-habits also. The

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toponomy of Eastern and Himalayan India is largely Sino-Tibetan in origin. Assamese and Nepali (Parbatiya, or Khaskura) show Tibeto-Burman elements in their vocabulary. The habit of using too frequently, the verbal conjunctive participle may very well be due to Sino-Tibetan influence on Indo-Aryan, although a similar syntactical character is found in Dravidian. The dental pronunciation of *c, j, ch, jh*, as *ts, dz, s, z* etc. in the Himalayan Aryan speeches, in East Bengali and in Assamese, also is, in all likelihood, the result of the influence of a Sino-Tibetan substratum; and the substitution of the dentals and the cerebrals by alveolar stops and aspirates in Assamese and in a number of other Aryan speeches in the Himalayan regions can also be connected with Tibeto-Burman.

We now come to **the Dravidian speech-family in India, and its interaction with Indo-Aryan.** Anthropological, ethnological and cultural as well as religious considerations have all suggested that the proto-Dravidians of India were an Asianic and East Mediterranean people. We may regard the pre-Aryan builders of the Sindh and Panjab culture as being of Dravidian speech. The proximity of the Dravidian-speaking Brahuis to Sindh and Panjab lends some support to the view that Dravidian was the speech of the entire North-West, when the Aryans first entered India round about 1500 B. C.

There are also unsolved problems in connexion with the etymology of quite a number of Indo-Aryan words and locutions which may be connected with substrata of other lost pre-Aryan origin. But in the broad lines of the development of Indo-Aryan in the course of over two millennia, we see a tremendous influence of Dravidian, and partly of Austric (Kol). The nature of this influence is not superficial or just literary, but it is that of a substratum, profound and at the same time wide in scope. **There has been through some 3,000 years a gradual approximation of the Aryan speech towards the Dravidian, in its system of sounds, in its trend in morphology, in vocabulary, and above all in its syntax or order of words.**

The original character of the Indo-European language has been very largely preserved in Vedic Sanskrit, in Avestan and Old Persian, and in Homeric Greek; and some aspects of it can also be deduced from the other forms of Old Indo-European, like Latin and the Italic speeches, Old Irish, Gothic and other Old Germanic, Old Armenian, Baltic and Old Church Slav, as well as from Tokharian; and Nesian Hittite of Asia Minor has thrown unexpected light into the character of pre-historic Indo-European. Yet already in Vedic there are plentiful evidences of Indian non-Aryan influences, particularly in phonetics and in vocabulary: influences in syntax and morphology are as yet not so clear.

In Phonetics, the paucity of vowels in Vedic and Old Iranian (Indo-European *a, e, o* being all reduced to *a*) as contrasted with Greek, is a noteworthy thing. The Dravidian vowel system is also very simple: it has five simple vowels

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a i u e o, both long and short (*ē ō*, of course, originated in Indo-Aryan at a later post-Vedic stage from earlier *ai au*, and in Middle Indo-Aryan short *ĕ o* also developed). The quantity of vowels in Indo-Aryan, originally based on individual etymology, now became subservient to speech-rhythm. New way of emphasis e. g. by consonantal doubling also came in.

The Indo-European aspirated stops, voiced and unvoiced, were retained in Vedic. It is quite conceivable, as Jules Bloch thought, that Primitive Dravidian possessed aspirated stops; and some at least of the modern Kol speeches like Santali also show aspirates. Consequently, their retention in Indo-Aryan was helped by the non-Aryan background. In India, whatever spirant sounds the Aryan language, the immediate source of Vedic, possessed, were virtually all lost, excepting for three unvoiced sibilants *ś ṣ s*, and the voiced aspirate *h*.

The most important change in the phonetic system of Indo-Aryan was its adoption of the retroflex or cerebral sounds, *ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ ḷ ṣ*, beside the tongue-tip dentals *t th d dh* (*n l s*). Indo-European and Aryan did not have these, although the Scandinavian languages Swedish and Norwegian have developed them independently from earlier *r*+*t*, *r*+*d*, *r*+*n* in recent years. The Aryan speech in India may have similarly developed them independently. But the retroflex sounds are so very characteristic of the Dravidian languages that their admission and establishment in Indo-Aryan in the first instance might have been due to Dravidian speakers accepting the Aryan language. As the centuries pass, the retroflex pronunciation, either through the influence of *r* (and *l*), or spontaneously, is on the increase. These retroflex sounds are a point of remarkable agreement among the languages of the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austric (Kol) families in India: it is not known whether Austric had them independently, or took them up from Dravidian equally with Indo-Aryan. The distinction between the pure dentals and the retroflex sounds is a very prominent thing in the sound-system of the Indian languages—only the Sino-Tibetan languages do not have this distinction: they have a single set of alveolar sounds in place of the two sets of pure dentals and cerebrals.

Jules Bloch in a significant paper (English translation in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1919, pp. 191 ff.) suggested that Indo-Aryan and Dravidian showed a somewhat parallel phonological history, with consonant clusters both initially and medially, but initially these were simplified, and medially they were assimilated (e.g. *dr- pr-* became *d- p-*, *-rk- -tr-* became *-kk- -tt-*, both in Indo-Aryan Prakrit and in Old Dravidian languages as these developed out of their more ancient forms). Approximation to Dravidian tendencies or habits in sound-change may have been induced in Indo-Aryan by Dravidian. The widespread habit of anaptyxis *(svara-bhakti* or *viprakarṣa)* in the treatment of Sanskrit loan-words in Prakrits presents a parallel to what we see in the cultivated Dravidian languages also.

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In certain other matters relating to Morphology, Syntax and Vocabulary, Vedic Sanskrit stands apart from Classical Sanskrit, from Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit), and from New Indo-Aryan. The last three show a community of spirit which is not shared by Vedic. In Morphology, a matter of capital importance is the loss of the Old Indo-European *prepositions* in Indo-Aryan. In Vedic they still have their separate existence, retaining a good deal of their old function in governing nouns put in various cases (as much as in Greek, Latin, Gothic, Old Irish, Old Slav, etc.); the prepositions are movable, and have not yet become wholly *preverbials (upasargas)* glued to verb roots. The total loss took place of these prepositions when their original force was gone, and they became preverbials in Classical Sanskrit, and in Middle Indo-Aryan; the prepositions becoming preverbials only survive in mutilated forms as integral parts of some verb roots in New Indo-Aryan, e.g. *pra* in *pra-viś*>New Indo-Aryan *pais*, *ā* in *ā-viś*>New Indo-Aryan *āis*, *upa-viś*>*beis*, *upa-viṣṭa*>*baiṭh*, *ut-pāṭayati*>*upāḍe*, *ut-tarati*>*utare*, *ud-eti*>*ue*, *nir-vā*>*nibā*, *pari-īkṣ*>*parakh*, *sam-arp*>*saṁp*, *saṁp*, *vi-krī*>*bik*, *abhi-añj*>*bhij;* etc. etc.

In place of the prepositions, for a time the case-inflexions sufficed to indicate the various case-ralations, but as these began to change phonetically, a new device was taken recourse to. In this matter, the habits of both Dravidian and Austric (Kol) and also of Sino-Tibetan invaded Aryan. These languages indicate case-relations by means of *help-words* which are joined to the noun and pronoun at the end. These help-words, as they became established in Middle Indo-Aryan and in Classical Sanskrit, became through phonetic decay the *inflexions* and *post-positions* of New Indo-Aryan. Some verb-forms and full nouns are also found as post-positions in New Indo-Aryan. The Aryan language in this matter has completely been transformed according to the spirit of Dravidian.

The formation of the plural of the noun and the pronoun by agglutinating or adding a noun of multitude is another principle which has been naturalised in Indo-Aryan from the late Middle Indo-Aryan stage: e. g. the use of words like *sakala*, *kula*, *gaṇa*, *loka*, *sabhā*, *sarva*, *mānava* etc. in their Old, Middle and New Indo-Aryan forms, which through phonetic decay have in some cases been transformed into what are virtually new affixes in New Indo-Aryan. Herein we see the work of an inherent principle of formation from Dravidian.

In most of the New Indo-Aryan languages we note, as in Dravidian, the absence of the affix for the dative-accusative case for neuter or inanimate nouns.

The use of the genitive case for the adjective is another Dravidian aspect in syntactical extension of the declension of the noun. The Indo-European speech indicated a comparison of the adjective by affixation: e. g. *-īyas*, *-iṣṭha; -tara*, *-tama*, in Sanskrit. This habit is still preserved in English, e. g. *wiser*, *wisest*, from *wise*, and in Persian, *bih-tar*, *bih-tarīn*, from *bih* "good". But New Indo-

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Aryan has completely abandoned this practice and follows Dravidian (and Austric Kol) in having a new syntactical device with the ordinary (and the only) form of the adjective standing for both the comparative and superlative. This device is already seen in Pali, which would show that the Dravidian and Austric leaven is operative in pre-Christian times in this direction.

In the case of the Verb, too, there were far-reaching changes. An almost wholesale disuse of moods and tenses reducing the verb-system of Aryan to an indicative present form (and in some cases an indicative future), a past participle giving the basis for the past tense, a present participle supplying similarly the basis for some other tenses, a conjunctive or absolutive, some verbal nouns, and a passive indicative present, characterised the development of the Indo-Aryan verb. The whole principle of phrase-building tended to become nominal or adjectival from verbal: in place of Old Indo-Aryan inflected forms like *sa agamat, sa agacchat* or *sa jagāma*, Classical Sanskrit as well as Middle Indo-Aryan preferred a participal expression like *sa gataḥ*, Prakrit *so gato*, or *gado* or *gao*, whence we have New Indo-Aryan (Braj-Bhakha) *so gayau*, Bengali *se gela*(where the participle form has been reinforced by an *l*-affix). Herein there is a very likely influence of Dravidian, for in Dravidian, the verb has an adjectival force, being really a noun of agency with reference to the subject. The Dravidian tenses developed out of participles; and in the development of Aryan we find a gradually increasing employment of the participle forms to the exclusion of the Indo-European finite verbal forms. The periphrastic future of Sanskrit *kartā*="a doer" to mean, "he will do," *kartā*+*asmi*=*kartāsmi*="I am a doer", to mean "I shall do", is Dravidian in principle. The structure of the past and future verb in modern Magadhan languages (Bengali, Oriya, Maithili, Bhojpuri etc.), in showing the root+past or future base derived from the participle affix+personal pronominal affix, affiords a remarkable parallel to Dravidian. The importance attached to the conjunctive with the sense of "having performed or finished an act", and its lavish use, are common to both Dravidian and New Indo-Aryan, and is undoubtedly an idiom borrowed by Aryan from Dravidian, very early in the history of Aryan, with possible influence from Sino-Tibetan.

The inflected passive of Old Indo-Aryan is lost to or considerably restricted in New Indo-Aryan, which, like Dravidian, forms passives by means of compound verb constructions, in which the roots meaning "to go, to fall, to suffer, to eat", etc. function as passive-forming auxiliaries. Herein the idiom is probably Dravidian.

With the want of prepositions (or preverbials) to modify meanings of verb roots, both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian have developed the use, in a most curious and idiomatic way, of conjunctives and participles with an adverbial function, giving rise to what is known as the "Compound Verb." Thus, in

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Sanskrit we have *ni-*, preverbial, + root *sad* = English "sit down", but Bengali *basiyā paḍā* "sit down", beside *basā*="to sit"; so Hindi *baiṭh jānā*, beside *beiṭhnā*. In Dravidian languages, like the Indo-Aryan modifying roots, certain roots like Tamil *koḷḷu* "to take", *varu* "to come", *vidu* "to live", *pō* "to go", *uru* "to come", *adi* "to strike", *paḍu* "to suffer", Telugu *konu* "to buy or take", *uesenu* "to throw", *iccu* "to give" etc. are used. For example. Tamil *cey viṭṭān'* ="has finished", Bengali *kariyā diyāche;* Telugu *vrāsi vēyu* = "to finish writing, to write off", Bengali *likhiyā phelā*, etc. This kind of adverbial or prepositional use of an auxiliary verb goes back to Middle Indo-Aryan: e.g., Pali *sampādetvā adaṁsu* ="completed", literary "having finished, gave", compare Bengali *kariyā diyāchila; patitvā gataṁ*="fell down", Bengali *paḍiyā gela; maccu ādāya gacchati* = "death takes away", literally "having taken, goes", cf. Bengali *laiyā jāy*. Evidently, this novel device characterising also the Dravidian was becoming adopted in Indo-Aryan from pre-Christian times, as in Pali.

Another principle which we note in New Indo-Aryan is the employment of a root meaning "to do" + a noun to express the simple idea of a verb root, e.g., Bengali *jijñāsā karā* = "to make a query", for the simple root *puch* "to ask". We have in Tamil *muttañ ceydan'* = "made a kiss", for "kissed", *pāvañ ceydan'* = "made a sin", for "sinned", Telugu *pāḍu cesenu* = "waste-made" for "wasted", *vrayamu cesina* = "expending having-made", for "having spent". This has become a characteristic thing in modern Indian languages, Aryan or Dravinian, so much so, that this principle of compounding a noun or adjective with the verb "to do or make" has been taken over from Hindustani in the formation of Basic English. Already in Pali we have this device, e.g., *āhāraṁ karoti, kalahaṁ karoti, saññaṁ karoti*, etc. etc., and it is found in the earlier phases of Modern Indo-Aryan and Dravidian also.

In Syntax, which is regarded as being of greater importance as an inherited peculiarity than Phonetics or Morphology which is easily acquired or modified, we find that Indian Dravidiandom and Aryandom are one. A sentence in a Dravidian language like Tamil or Kannada ordinarily becomes good Bengali or Hindi by substituting Bengali or Hindi equivalents for the Dravidian words and forms, without modifying the word-order: but the same thing is not possible in rendering a Persian or an English sentence into a New Indo-Aryan language. The most fundamental agreements are thus found between New Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, and all this began from early Middle Indo-Aryan, as would be seen from a comparison of the syntax of Pali and thn Prakrits with that of the modern Aryan languages. "The syntactical arrangement of a Tamil sentence is in many respects similar to that of an ordinary Sanskrit sentence. As a rule, first comes the subject with its attributes, second the object with its enlargements, third the extension of the predicate, and lastly the verb. As in Classical

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Sanskrit, so in Tamil, there is the usual predominance of gerunds and the clauses formed by them, of the relative participles which take the place of relative clauses, and of the *oratio recta* instead of the *oratio obliqua*". The omission of the copula is preferred by both Indo-Arayan, generally, and Dravidian.

The most remarkable similarity in idioms is found in both. Thus, we have the use of a conjunctive meaning "having said", in the sense of "as, because", recapitulating and introducing a conditional clause; employment of the infinitive for the polite imperative; use of the verb "to give" in forming the imperative, or permissive mood; etc. In some of the above points there is also agreement with Sino-Tibetan; but on the whole, generally Indo-Arayan possesses common traits of syntactical expression with Dravidian rather than with languages of other families.

The use of Onomatopoetic Formations and of what are known as "Echo Words" form other great points of agreement between Aryan and Dravidian in India. Through these "Echo Words," the idea of "*et cetera*, and things similar to, or associated with that" is expressed: e.g., Bengali *ghoḍā-ṭoḍā*, Maithili *ghorā-torā*, Hindi *ghoḍā-uḍā*, Gujarati *ghoḍo-boḍo*, Marathi *ghoḍā-biḍā*, Sinhalese *aśvaya-baśvaya* = "horses etc., horses and other animals, horses and equipage"; cf. Tamil *kudirai-gidirai*, Kannada *kudure-gidure*, Telugu *gurramu-girramu*.

Finally, we find that the Aryan speech has been borrowing words from the Dravidian ever since the former made its advent into India. The study of the nature and extent of the Dravidian loan-words in Indo-Aryan now forms an important subject of Indian linguistics. A great many of the *deśī* words in Sanskrit and Prakrit and Modern Indo-Aryan, of which counterparts are not found in other Indo-European languages, are very probably of Dravidian origin—in some cases, of course, they might be even pre-Dravidian and pre-Austric. R. Caldwell, H. Gundert, F. Kittel and T. Burrow and others have made notable contributions in appraising the Dravidian loan-element in Indo-Aryan. It is remarkable how significant a Dravidian element we have in the Indo-Aryan languages from Vedic Sanskrit onwards: some of the commonest words of Indo-Aryan are from this source, showing the very deep and intimate influence exerted by Dravidian in transforming Indo-Aryan.

All this would indicate to what an extent the Aryan language has changed its character in its non-Aryan (Dravidian, Austric and Sino-Tibetan) environments in India. This type of change, as has been suggested before, is due primarily to the Aryan language being adopted by large numbers of original non-Aryan speakers, modifying it according to their own speech-habits, and then by sheer weight of numbers swamping, so to say, the native speakers of Aryan, and forcing them, through influence of new environment, to accept these modifications and innovations. Little by little the approximation became

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complete. The situation during the forgotten epochs of the linguistic absorption of non-Aryan speakers in Northern India was one which can be visualised through what we actually see in those areas of India where the non-Aryan languages as speeches of backward "Aboriginals" *(Ādi-bāsīs)* are slowly receding before the continuous and unabated pressure of Aryan: e. g., in the Kol-speaking areas of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, in the Tibeto-Burman tracts in Nepal, Bengal and Assam, and in the Kurku-speaking and Gondi and other aboriginal tracts in Madhya Pradesh. In the late Vedic period, there were just scattered islands of Aryan speech in the Panjab and Gangetic India, in a land of Dāsas, Dasyus and Śūdras, of Nishādas and Nāgas, and of Kirātas. By the middle of the first millennium B. C., the tables were turned, and in the time of Buddha, the country from Gandhara to Magadha was mainly Aryan-speaking, with islands of Dāsa or Śūdra (i. e., Dravidian) and Nishāda or Nāga (or Austric) speech in the country-side and beside the virgin forests of Northern India. We hear in the Pali *Jātaka*, for instance, of *Caṇḍāla* villages in Northern India where only the non-Aryan *Caṇḍāla* speech, whatever it was, was spoken.

Evidently this was the time when Aryan-speakers, of pure or mixed Aryan origin, understood, some of them at least, the local (native) languages: witness the case of Vidura warning Yudhishṭhira through *pralāpa* or "gibberish," i. e. some non-Aryan speech not understood by others, as we find in the Mahābhārata. The non-Aryan languages gradually died out in Northern India probably for these reasons: **(i)** the prestige of the Aryan speech as that of a *Herrenvolk* which had established itself in the country, and to which the allegiance of the conquered peoples was a matter of course; **(ii)** absence of cohesion among the polyglot non-Aryans of Dravidian, Austric and Kirāta origin, living side by side, with the Aryan speech coming to the forefront as a very convenient *lingua franca;* **(iii)** the spirit of *laissez faire* and an evident policy of non-intervention with reference to the non-Aryan languages—nobody ever seems to have tried to put a stop to or restrict their use; and this policy of letting the non-Aryan speeches have their own way while ignoring them in all domains of serious study (there could not be the question of setting up a single Austric or Dravidian dialect before others) was most effective; **(iv)** the liberal policy shown, doubtless as a matter of convenience, by Brāhmans and other custodians of the Aryan's language towards non-Aryan vocables and idioms,—the gradual and unrestricted entry, mostly by the back-door, of a large non-Aryan vocabulary first in Vedic and in the Prakrits and then in the Classical Sanskrit, took away the edge of opposition to Sanskrit and other forms of Aryan, if there was any such opposition at all: the gradual approximation of Sanskrit and the Prakrits to the spirit of both Dra-

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vidian and Austric made the Aryan's language easily acceptable to non-Aryan speakers; **(v)** the fact that Sanskrit and other Aryan became the vehicle of a great composite culture, all-inclusive in scope, that was being built up through the combined efforts of Ārya, Drāviḍa, Nishāda and Kirāta, helped to maintain its supreme position in a new Indian population of mixed origin, directed more or less by groups like the Brāhmans boasting of a pure Aryan tradition; **(vi)** the early development of a literature in Sanskrit through the collection of Vedic Hymns and sacrificial texts, and through the redaction of masses of national legendary and semi-historical tales and traditions as in the Purāṇas, gave to Sanskrit an immense advantage over other languages. We do not know what literature the Sindh-Panjab "Proto-Indians" (as Hrozny calls them)—whether Dravidian-speakers or not—had: probably what little literature the pre-Aryan peoples had was confined to an exclusive priestly class; and with the first writing down of Sanskrit in a form of proto-Brahmi script (derived, as it would seem, from the latest linear phase of the Mohenjo-Daro writing, probably sometime in the 10th century B.C.), intelligent Mestizo thought-leaders like Vyāsa started to gather whatever was available of the extant oral literature of religious hymns as well as tales and legends and genealogies, and this quick action gave a start to the Aryan speech which assured its future for ever; **(vii)** it is exceedingly likely that there was no effective linguistic or cultural patriotism (if there was any at all) among the leaders of the various non-Aryan groups in Northern India: particularly when the Brāhmans through their intelligence and prestige were able to give a theory of society which ignored the racial and linguistic aspects and included the whole of Indian humanity within a single scheme. Finally, we have to consider **(viii)** the inherent beauty and force of the Aryan language which was something which fulfilled the intellectual requirements of the Indian Man, satisfied his aesthetic sense, and at the same time was not foreign to his mental atmosphere if he still spoke or lived in the atmosphere of a non-Aryan tongue. As time passed, what was originally just "the language of poetry" *(chāndasa)* and "the current language" *(laukika)* became a veritable "language of the Gods" *(Devabhāṣā)* with the general acceptance of the ideology of the Brāhman's world.

The Aryan speech spread in this way, and the entire country became Aryanised in language. The non-Aryan languages in the Northern Indian plains went to the wall. But while dying out, they left their undying impress upon Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan, particularly the New Indo-Aryan languages as they evolved out of Prakrit. It was Prakrit which largely supplanted the non-Aryan speeches. But "Greece captured her captor". The Aryan language with its *Sprachgut* of basic elements inherited from Indo-European, became

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reinforced by non-Aryan words and roots, and was reshaped according to the thought-processes of Dravidian and other non-Aryan. The waters from the original Aryan stream now found a new channel—the dried up one of the non-Aryan languages. And thus a composite people got a modified speech—the classical Aryan speech of ancient India, Sanskrit, and the spoken Prakrits of ancient and mediaeval India, and the modern *Bhāṣās*—all falling in line with Dravidian and Austric, and to some extent with Sino-Tibetan as well.

III. Aryan and non-Aryan Cultural and Religious Fusion

The economic background due to the geographical environment determines material culture. The Aryans, while living in the drier and colder lands of Iran and Northern Mesopotamia, were, as a people, partly nomadic (depending upon stock-raising and horse-breeding) and partly agricultural (doing some cultivation of barley by ploughing with oxen), and they had built up a way of life which they had perforce to change profoundly in the country of India which in those days was much more wooded, even in Panjab and in Sindh, and much moister than Iran. Their food, dress and habitation, everything had to be altered according to the requirements of their new home and the new climate.

The food of the Aryans as of their kinsmen the Greeks of Hellas consisted mostly of meat (beef, mutton and goat-meat, and pork to some extent, possibly also horse-flesh, though the slaughter of the horse was later confined to a religious ritual of an exceptional type which evidently went back to a hoary antiquity in Aryandom), and barley (as roasted grain or meal or bread) and milk preparations of various kinds (including butter, ordinary or clarified, curds and some kind of cheese), and honey was a great delicacy with them. They partook freely of, and offered to their Gods as well, a kind of spirituous drink called *soma* (from Indo-Iranian **sauma* whence also Iranian *haoma*), made from some plant which grew in the hills, which was pounded between two stones and mixed with milk. They had also another strong drink made from honey. Barley they knew in their primitive homeland to the south of the Ural mountains, and wheat they would appear to have found in Mesopotamia; and either in Eastern Iran or in India they found the rice, and various kinds of lentils, which quickly became popular with the Aryans in India, more than wheat. The typical Indian food at the present day is rice (or wheaten bread in the Panjab and in the Upper Ganges Valley, or some kind of inferior grain like the millet in the poorer areas) eaten with lentils of various sorts, seasoned with butter or oil and with spices, and with some milk product, if that can be afforded. In the coast lands and in the predominantly Mongoloid eastern tracts, however, the main diet consists of rice and fish. This kind of food, rice and *dāl* or lentils, came to be adopted by the Aryans too; and the old

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Aryan habit of eating meat regularly and plentifully, which we find discussed in the Mahābhārata, gradually became restricted or abandoned, through milk as well as vegetarian food being plentiful in the land and more suited to the warmer climate of India, and through ideas of non-injury to life *(Ahiṁsā)* which came to dominate the life of the mixed Indian people from after 1000 B. C. In the 4th century B. C., to which date the original redaction of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭlaya can reasonably be taken, *ārya-bhakta* or the food generally eaten by "an Aryan person of the middle class", consisted of a measure of rice, one fourth measure of *sūpa*, i. e., prepared *dāl*, with ghee or oil of one fourth of the quanity of the *sūpa* and salt measuring one-sixteenth of the portion of the *dāl*. For inferior *(avara)* persons, probably *Śūdras* and others, the food was of the same kind. So rice, *dāl* and ghee or oil formed the basic Indian food in the 4th century B. C. *(Artha-śāstra*, II, xv, 61, 62, 63: it must however be noted that, as in Asoka's inscriptions, *sūpa* might mean some kind of meat-curry as well). It was so also in the early centuries of the Muslim conquest, when Persian-using Iranian, Turki and Afghan invaders, accustomed to eating wheat bread with mutton at home, observed with wonder that Hindus "ate grain with grain" *(ghalla-rā ba-ghalla mī-khurdand)*. The Dutchman F. Pelsaert (early 17th century) also noted that the food of the masses in India was rice and pulses with a lump of butter. Similarly, the basic food of pre-Columbian Mexico—flat cakes (like Indian *chapatis)* made from maize dough, with a kind of beans or lentils *(tortillas* and *frijoles* in Mexican Spanish)—still forms the staple food of the Amerindian and the Mestizo population of the country, bread and meat of course being covetable additions to the diet but never complete substitutes for the native alimentation.

The dress of the Vedic Aryans consisted of garments of wool, linen and skin, with some prominent kind of head-dress for men, and wimples for women, as well as sandals of leather, and the whole body was fully covered. The dress of Persian men and women in Achæmenian sculpture may reasonably be taken to be representative of the old Aryan dress. It is likely that coming as they did from a cold climate, some sewn garments at least were in use among the Aryans: the verbal root *sīv* in Aryan indicates a knowledge of sewing. In India, although some very elaborate types of head-dress and ornaments (often made with cowrie shells) for both men and women are noticed in the art of pre-Christian times, the basic dress consisted of two (or three) pieces of unsewn cotton cloth, one being used as the loin-cloth, one as a covering for the upper body and the third as a turban for the head. Women's dress had only two pieces—one for the lower limbs from the waist to the ankle, more or less in the style of the Indonesian *sarong*, and another as a covering for the upper part, but the breasts were generally left exposed, as

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in Malabar until recently and in the island of Bali, easternmost outpost of Hindu civilisation. This kind of dress also came to be adopted in Aryan society, only the wimple or veil was retained as a distinctive mark of a married women among the upper classes of people.

The Vedic Aryan wore a beard and had long hair, and the hair for convenience was made into a knot at the top of the head. This is the old Brāhman way, as we find in the representations of Brāhmans in the most ancient classical art of India as at Sanchi and Gandhara, and in the pictures of the *rishis* and Brāhmans which we find in the Buddhist and Brahmanical art of Central Asia, China, Japan, Indo-China and Indonesia. The Buddhist and Jaina, indicating a reaction against the Aryanism of the Brāhmans, enjoined complete shaving of the head and face, and this, with the addition of a top-knot, became later on the accepted custom among Brāhman house-holders also.

The Aryans as in Vedic literature lived in houses made wholly of wood, and building timber was quite easily obtainable in North India which was not as yet denuded of its forests. The style of architecture was influenced by that of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. Later, stone and brick were substituted for wood. Pre-Aryan Indian architecture was in brick as in the cities of Panjab and Sindh, and the poorer people had frail dwellings of bamboo or wattle smeared with mud and thatched with grass or reeds or palm leaves. All that became the rule in India, with the exception of the cities where wooden architecture, particularly as facings for houses, balconies etc., continued side by side with brick buildings and stone palaces. Use of stone for building purposes came into India rather late, from the 4th century B.C., and through Persian influence too; and the first stone structures in India imitated in every way the earlier wooden architecture.

The house-hold furniture—pots, cups, receptacles and vessels, spoons and ladles, were at first mainly of wood among the Indian Aryans, as among their kinsmen like the Slavs, the Germans and Greeks of ancient times. Skins were also used for storing food and drink. The pre-Aryan people seem to have preferred earthenware, and for temporary use earthenware became generally adopted in Aryan-speaking Indian society as well. Bronze and copper vessels were known to the Aryans, and these also came to have a greater vogue in India when vessels of an enduring character were required. In Vedic sacrifices the old custom of having vessels, cups, goblets, spoons, ladles etc. of wood, and not of metal or terracotta, was continued as an antique practice and therefore sacrosanct.

Food and drink, dress, houses and furniture—all these of the local pre-Aryan Indian types had to be adopted by the Aryans, after they realised that they were staying in the country, and after miscegenation was well under way.

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The Aryan system of computation was a decimal one, and the ten fingers of the two hands formed the basis of this computation. Two other systems were in vogue in pre-Aryan India, among the Austrics, whose highest number of computation was twenty, and among the Dravidians, who counted by eights. The Sino-Tibetans, however, seem to have had the decimal system like the Aryans. The Austric habit of counting by twenties has been preserved by village folk in North India, together with an original Kol word, Bengali *kuḍi*, Hindi *koḍī* "score", as it would appear. Computing by eights and divisibles or multiples of eight (four, sixteen, thirty-two, sixty-four) was adopted by the Aryans also; and as a combination, 10+8=18 became a favourite number in India.

There are too many big or little matters with regard to social usage and way of living and personal habits in which it would be found that it is the pre-Aryan manner which has triumphed. But all this might appear to be a little too speculative. I shall now pass on to certain fundamental things in religious beliefs and practices, and myths and legends where the Aryan-non-Aryan synthesis appears to be quite clear.

Indian tradition has all along admitted two strands in Indian religion, philosophy and ritual—the Vedic, and the non-Vedic traditions—the *Nigama* and the *Āgama*, respectively, to give the Sanskrit names. The non-Vedic *Āgama* tradition is "that which has come down" from the time immemorial: it embodies the special teaching of Śiva imparted to Umā, and the Tantric doctrines and ritual and Yoga ideas and practices come under it. The *Āgama* tradition is non-Aryan in origin, and it is exceedingly likely that it is very largely Dravidian, although Austric and Sino-Tibetan elements were in course of time engrafted on it. The *Nigama* tradition is "that which has come inside", evidently as a later cultural imposition, like the Vedic fire ritual *(homa)*, from outside. One would suspect that the names *Āgama* and *Nigama* were first given by a supporter of the Āgama or Tantric system who believed in this doctrine to be the one earlier for the people and the country. However, Vedic ritual and Vedic ideas formed the national heritage of the Aryan settlers, particularly the Aryan aristocrats; and the pre-Vedic, that is the pre-Aryan ritual and ideology were ignored, naturally enough, by the Vedic priests. But among the masses, specially the growing masses of Mestizos, the offspring of *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages, the older ideas and ritual can only be expected to persist, openly or surreptitiously, according to the predominance or power of the protagonists of Aryanism or Dravidianism.

To unite the Aryan and non-Aryan into one people, it was necessary that the *Nigama* should be combined with the *Āgama*, that the thirty-three Vedic gods, forces of nature with a slight amount of anthropomorphism or

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humanisation, should form members of the same Pantheon as the great non-Aryan divinities of a cosmic significance who represented the stupendous physical as well as the subtle moral forces operating in the universe, and were at the same time very human in their personified conceptions. These divinities later became Śiva and Umā and Vishṇu and Śrī, among others, in a combined Aryan-non-Aryan Brahmanical *Sudharmā* or "Assembly of the Gods". It was necessary also that the Vedic ritual of the fire sacrifice, the *homa*, was to concede some place at least to the non-Aryan (both Dravidian and Austric) rituals of the flower offering and blood offering.

Homa or the Fire Ritual, and *Pūjā* or the Flower Ritual, represent two distinct worlds of religious thought or conception. The Flower Ritual of the *Pūjā* is unknown to the Vedic religion: there the ritual is everywhere *homa*. The idea behind the *homa* is this. The gods are 33 in number. They are in the sky. Agni or Fire is their messenger. The worshipper is not very keenly conscious of any divine *Mana* or Force pervading the Universe: he knows only some individual gods and goddesses who are humanized forms of natural forces, like Fire, Wind, Sun, Dawn, Thunder, Rain, the Sky-Vault, Earth, etc. who are potent in giving or withholding their bounty in the shape of riches (cattle, horses, flocks and harvest in plenty), sons, and victory over enemies. They are approached in a spirit of friendly reliance; his attitude in worship is that of *do, ut des (dadāmi, uta dadāsi)*, "I give, so that you may give in return." He gives as offerings the food he himself eats—meat and fat of a sheep or goat or cow or horse which he kills, barley bread, milk and butter, and an intoxicant (the *soma*), which he burns in fire kindled on an altar. The gods feel the savour of the burnt offering, and are pleased, and give in return what is prayed for: the worship is done. The idea is simple and very primitive. It is the old Indo-European ritual of worship. It was the ritual current among the extra-Indian kinsmen of the Indo-Aryans—the Iranians, the Slavs, the Hellenes, the Italians, the Celts and the Germans. The Germanic word for the Divinity, *God* (as in English) meant only the libation to be poured into the fire itself personified (Indo-European **ghutóm*=Sanskrit *hutám*). Where they got this ritual from is not known. The Sumerians, and following them the Semites, had a similar ritual of burnt offerings, but not the Egyptians, nor again the Aegeans who simply made offerings of food before the images or symbols of the gods, offerings which were placed on raised stands or altars. The Indo-Europeans knew no images or symbols.

The *Pūjā* ritual stands on quite a different footing. For the worshipper, the whole universe is filled with a Cosmic Force or Divine Spirit, and the worshipper wants to have a personal communion or touch with it. For this purpose, he is taught that a magic rite calling the Divine Spirit is potent

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enough to make it (or a portion of it) come and be installed within some symbol prepared to represent it—an image, a pot, a pebble, a tree or a branch of a tree, a picture, a design. Called through this rite, the spirit comes into the symbol, and then it at once becomes a Living Presence for the worshipper endowed with faith; and it is after that treated as an honoured guest, like a king on a visit to a subject of his. Water is poured over the symbol; flowers, leaves and fruit, and grains of rice or other corn as produce of the earth are offered to it; and cooked food, delicacies of all sort, are placed before it and offered, to become consecrated food with special sanctity. Dress and ornaments and jewellery are used to bedeck the symbol, particularly if it is an image. The divinity present in the symbol is regaled with incense and with music and dance. Lights are waved before it during worship, in token of homage. When the divinity is worshipped under a terrible aspect, animals are sacrificed before it by decapitating (the Vedic or Aryan method of sacrifice was mostly by strangulation), and the blood of the victim is either placed before the image or symbol in a flat cup, or it is smeared over the image. Red sandal paste and vermillion were some-times used and these are doubtless substitutes for the red blood of the victim. Sandal paste as something cooling and fragrant is applied to the image or other symbol. Then, after this ritual, the worshipper is at liberty to come to a personal relationship with his god by prayer and appeal and meditation. The image or symbol may be made, according to the wishes of the worshipper, a permanent or a temporary abode of the divine spirit, so to say. When the latter idea is in view, another magical ritual may be performed, and the spirit releases itself from the symbol, which becomes forthwith a useless material object with no further spiritual or religious potency.

The ideas of *homa* and *pūjā*, as it is apparent, had their birth in different *milieus*. The mixed Hindu people, and the Brahmanical faith of mixed origin, inherited both. The *homa* was exclusively Aryan, to which non-Aryans had no right as it was the special privilege of the Aryan. But everybody was welcome to the *pūjā* ritual. *Homa* was a rite in which ordinarily animal sacrifice was a necessary part: it was known also as *paśu-karma*. In *pūjā*, flowers are essential: it was, so to say, a *puṣpa-karma*. Now, on this basis, the word *pūjā* of Sanskrit has been explained by Mark Collins as a Dravidian word—*pū* meaning "flower", and the Dravidian root *cey, gey* meaning "to do" giving a compound form, in Primitive Dravidian of Vedic times, **pū-gey* = *puṣpa-karma* "the flower ritual", whence Sanskrit *pūjā*. (Jarl Charpentier suggested another derivation, from a Dravidian root *pusu* or *pucu* "to smear", anointing with sandal-paste or vermillion or blood being according to this view the basic element in the *pūjā* rite.)

In the Mahābhārata itself, there are passages discussing worship with

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flowers, and the ritual there is supported as something which is beautiful and acceptable to the gods. In the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, Krishna is recommending the value of religious worship in realising God, and various modes of this worship are accepted there, and in verse 26, Chapter IX, the *pūjā* ritual is specially mentioned as one which is equally acceptable to God with the Brahmanical or Aryan fire ritual, if it is offered in a spirit of sincerity. Here we have a virtual admission of a ritual which is essentially un-Vedic and non-Aryan.

The racial intermixture which had set in loosened the foundations of the idea of a *Herrenvolk*—the *Conquistador* spirit—which the Aryans had brought. Men of Aryan origin, pure or mixed, were already questioning the use of the elaborate Vedic sacrifices to the gods: nay, they were even questioning the very existence of the Vedic gods. According to the Puranic tradition, Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva, while he was living among the (possibly non-Aryan) cowherd people, refused to give honour to Indra, the Aryan god *par excellence*, and lent his support to a cult of the Govardhana hill which was more in accordance with non-Aryan mentality.

In ancient Greece, the legends of the gods and heroes, which we find in early Greek literature were believed by Sir Arthur Evans and other scholars as being largely of pre-Hellenic Aegean origin. It was even suggested that the Iliad and Odyssey were renderings of a pre-Hellenic Mycenean epos into the Indo-European Greek language, after it became established in the land of Hellas. This view has been to some extent at least vindicated by the finding of a number of small artefacts giving plastic representations on gems of certain legends of ancient Greece,—e.g. that of the Return of Persephone, of Artemis the Huntress, and of Oedipus. A similar thing doubtless also happened in ancient India, as in many other countries. It is exceedingly likely that a great many legends of the Purāṇas, which seem to antedate the middle of the second millennium B. C. when the Aryans are believed to have first come into India, go back really to pre-Aryan antiquity. With the Aryanisation in language of the Dravidian and other peoples of pre-Aryan India, their legends also were re-told in their new language.

Like Śiva (cf. Old Tamil *Civan'*, later *Śivan'*, which may be based on a Primitive Dravidian **Kiwa–*) who was identified with the Aryan Rudra, and Vishṇu whose attributes mainly came from a Dravidian Sky-god (cf. Tamil *viṇ* "Sky"), other lesser gods of non-Aryan origin were adopted as a matter of course in the new Pantheon. One such god is Hanumān. As F. E. Pargiter suggested long ago, in 1913, Hanumān was probably a primeval Monkey-god of Dravidians dwelling by forests—the *Male Monkey*, whose Dravidian name (cf. Tamil *aṇmaṇti*) was first translated into Vedic as *Vṛṣā-kapi*, and then Sanskritised as *Hanumant-*. From Rigveda X 86 we can see that there was at first opposition from some Aryans (represented by the goddess Indrāṇī) to the admisson of this

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"native" god into the Aryan Pantheon, but this opposition was evidently overruled. (Other arguments will be found in my contribution to the "History and Culture of the Indian People: Vol. I, the Vedic Age," edited by R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker, London, 1951: pp. 141-168, Chapter VIII, *Race Movements and Primitive Culture.*)

Some of the deepest things in Hindu religious culture, like the practice of Yoga, certainly go back to the pre-Aryan period. The remarkable find of the Mohen-jo-Daro amulet or seal depicting the prototype of *Yogiśvara, Ūrdhva-liṅga (Lakuleśa), Virūpākṣa, Paśupati* Śiva, with all the attributes suggested by the Sanskrit words, and various other symbols and ritualistic poses of later Puranic Hinduism, is exceedingly important for tracing the history of Indian religion, back to pre-Aryan times, in some of its basic elements.

The Vedic as well as extra-Indian Indo-European notions about future life were very vague, and not at all highly philosophical. The Indo-Europeans believed that after death, a good man, i. e., a proper warrior, joined his ancestors, which was in the nether regions of the world, or in some special abode of the Gods, where they lived in perpetuity, more or less re-enacting their previous life on earth. In India this Vedic eschatology was sublimated in other ways to a philosophical conception which is based on some of its elements at least on non-Aryan ideas. The belief in the transmigration of souls and in the moral law behind the conception of the *saṁsāra* originated on the soil of India in the post-Vedic period through a commingling of the deeper notions regarding life and being and the future world which were current among the thinking sections not only of the Aryans but also of the Dravidians and the Austrics. The ideology behind the Vedic Hymn of Creation (Rigveda, X 129) may be Austric. The extra-ordinary elaboration of the sacrificial ritual in the *Brāhmaṇa* period may also, in certain respects, be a reflex of pre-Aryan conceptions and usage in the matter of religious ceremonial.

All these things can be posed by an objective and a purely anthropological approach to the question of the racial background, cultural origins and social evolution in India. We know that in the history of religious evolution certain ideas come within human experience with the enlargement of man's vision and the unfoldment of his mental and spiritual powers. It was a far cry from primitive faith to the philosophical conceptions of a more enlightened age. A primitive religion which made a mere bargain with the unseen powers would take centuries to evolve ideas of *Jñāna* and *Bhakti*, of *Karma* and *Yoga*, and of the concepts of *Ahiṁsā* and *Maitrī* and *Karuṇā* in human relations. This development appears to have been rather quick in India, and a finished philosophy seems to have come into being and suffused the entire Indian Synthesis with its spirit during the great days of the period 1200 to 500 B. C., **in the**

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later part of the Vedic age and the age of the Upanishads. And this was the period **when the Indian Man with the great Synthesis of diverse races and cultures in his being came to be established, as one of the evolution of Humanity.**

Vandee Maataram. Jaya Bhaarata.

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IV Addresses of Sectional Presidents

Section I : Vedic

By Prof. H. D. Velankar

The Creation Hymns in the Rgveda, Mandala X

In the following article I propose to discuss the few important hymns in Maṇḍala X which deal with the creation of the world. Thus I shall take up for discussion hymns Nos. 72, 81, 82, 90, 121, and 129, and try to find out if it is possible to reconstruct the Ṛgvedic theory of creation of the world and the Ṛgvedic notions about the Creator. Hymn No. X. 72 has 9 stanzas; the main aim of the poet is to describe the birth of the eight Ādityas, but more particularly of the Sun, called Mārtāṇḍa, who is more vitally connected with the poet's own mortal world than the rest. The poet tells us in the concluding stanza how Aditi, the mother of the Ādtityas, brought back with her from the world of earlier gods the Mārtāṇḍa for the sake of regulating birth and death of creatures (punningly also to undergo what resembles birth and death namely the daily rising and setting). We might compare the statement at Ṛv. X. 55. 5d about the rising and the setting of the moon *(adya mamāra sa hyaḥ samāna* 'Today he died; but yesterday he lived again (after similarly dying on the previous day)'. The names of the other Ādityas are not given, but their birth is vividly described in vv. 6 and 7. They are said to have become restless and agitated in the primorial waters, evidently in the womb of their mother Aditi, like the young ones of a bird struggling to come out of the egg, until they rose up and filled the worlds by their greatness. At the time of rising however, they found as we are told, that one of them was unable to fly up like them from the place of their birth as his egg was dead, not being sufficiently hatched. This one was our Sun called Mārtāṇḍa on that account. They therefore took him up with themselves out of the waters (v. 7). When their mother Aditi realized what had happened, she took all of them to the early generations of gods, but rejected Mārtāṇḍa, whom however, she brought back to the mortal world as said above. It is assumed in the hymn, that the birth of these Ādityas was subsequent to the generation of the other tribes of gods created by Brahmaṇaspati (v.2) by a process which resembled

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the blowing out of metals by an iron-smith *(dham)*. It would appear that these earlier gods were already existing even when Aditi, the mother of the eight Ādityas herself was born from Dakṣa (v. 2cd, 3a). The author of the hymn tries to complete the story of the birth of the eight Ādityas by telling us incidentally about the parentage of Aditi herself. So he describes how in the beginning there was mere Asat or the non-developed world and from it, when it became ready to be delivered *(uttānapād)* the Sat, the Developed, i. e., the existing Earth (Bhū), sprang up. From this Sat or the Bhū called Sat as it was the first developed entity, there arose the quarters *(Āśāḥ)* (vv. 3-4). After the Quarters, Dakṣa came into being (obviously from the Quarters), for the sake of Aditi *(aditeḥ hetoḥ arthāya)*, and from him Aditi was born as his daughter (v. 4d, 5ab). From this Aditi were born the Ādityas who became associated with the immortals or the early gods (v. 8c, 9b).

In this hymn the great god, the supreme Creator, is called Brahmaṇaspati; his creation of the other earlier gods is said to be before the creation of the elements, which latter again is not given in a regular order. Earth is mentioned as the first Creation and Waters are mentioned only in connection with the birth of the Ādityas, but not as an independent object of creation. It should be noted that I have not accepted as correct the interpretation of v. 4cd, according to which Aditi and Dakṣa created each other, which Yāska in his Nirukta has first adopted and since then has been implicitly followed by almost every one. But in view of the express statement in v. 5ab, I have held that the word *aditeḥ* in v. 4c is a genetive case and not an ablative; further that this genetive has the sense of *arthāya* or *hetoḥ* as also seems to be suggested by the expletives *u* in v. 4d and *hi* in v. 5a. I may refer to Whitney, Sec. 1130.

In the next hymn—or rather a pair of hymns, Nos. 81-82, the supreme Creator is called Viśvakarman. His process of Creation too is described by the root *dham* (81.3) as in 72.2, but also by another root *takṣ* (81.4). He is said to have created Heaven and Earth without having any standing place for himself and also without any wood out of which to fashion them (81.2,4). This Viśvakarman is said to have eyes, faces, arms and feet on all sides and everywhere (81.3ab). In this respect he is comparable with the Puruṣa of 90.1-4. In hymn No. 82, however, another god is mentioned in addition to Viśvakarman who is alluded to only once in v. 2. This second god is not given any name but is merly called *prathamam garbham* (v. 5c) and *ekam* (v. 6c) said to have been brought forth by the Waters as their first child. We are further told that in this *ekam* all gods meet together and all created beings find their resting place, but who is himself fastened down to the *Aja* placed in his navel, which word very probably refers to Viśvakarman himself who

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corresponds to the first all-pervading and Unborn Puruṣa of 90.1-4. This Ekam whom the Waters developed as their first child from whom the creation arose, is very likely the same as the Hiraṇyagarbha of X. 121 for whom see below.

Proceeding next to hymn No. 90, the well known Puruṣa Sūkta, we find that the Supreme Creator is here called Puruṣa. In the first four stanzas the poet describes him as the all-pervading god with a thousand heads, eyes and feet. He is to be understood as Aja or 'Unborn' as against the other Puruṣa who is said to be *jātam agrataḥ* in v. 7b. From this all-pervading first Puruṣa a god, or rather a pair of gods, is said to have arisen; it is Virāj and the second (born) Puruṣa. The former appears to be conceived as Female, the latter as Male. Similarly as in Hymn No. 72 even here gods are said to have existed before the other creation. It is these gods, who along with the Sādhyas performed a sacrifice where the second 'born' Puruṣa, born of Virāj, was offered as a victim (vv.15,16). This second Purusa, when offered, turned into something which the poet calls Pṛṣad ājya, out of which all creation came forth. It will be noticed that the Aja Puruṣa of this hymn corresponds to the Aja Viśvakarman of hymn No. 82 and the second 'born' Puruṣa corresponds to the Ekam or Prathamam Garbham in that same hymn. It is also evident that the poet of the Puruṣa Sūkta seems to hint at the transformation of the Supreme Creator into a two-fold being, containing in itself the male and the female elements as at hymn No. 129.5 or at Br. Upa. 1.4.3, and Manusmṛti 1.32. But the two elements are not said to have arisen simultaneously; the female one i. e., Virāj arose first and then the male one viz, the Puruṣa arose from Virāj (v. 5). It is also noteworthy that this second Puruṣa though said to be sacrificed is yet supposed to have supervised his own evolution as is apparent from the use of the word *cakre* in v.8. This would mean that the sacrifice is not annihilation, but transformation or evolution, the image of a sacrifice being used for the glorification of a sacrifice, as is evident from v.16. On the other hand in Hymn 82 Viśvakarman is credited with active Creation, though even here the poet seems to mean that Viśvakarman placed himself as the seed or child in the Waters (82.5-6) and thus evolved the world out of himself without the help of any external means (82.2,4). In Hymn No. 72 again, Brahmaṇaspati is said to have directly created the generations of gods (v. 2), but later, he appears to be merely watching and supervising, like the Puruṣa in Hymn No. 90, while the process of creation goes on. Again in Hymn No. 72 the creation of the heaven (actually the quarters) and the earth is actually mentioned; in Hymn No. 82, the creation of all creatures and gods in general is also mentioned in addition to that of the heaven and the earth, while in Hymn No. 90 details of the creation of the different parts of the world are given.

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Hymn No 121 is the next Creation Hymn. Here the Supreme Creator is called Hiraṇyagarbha in anticipation. The name really applies to Agni (cf. 2.35.10), the sacrificial Fire (cf, *agnim-yajñam* vv. 7b, 8b), as he arose from the Waters (v.7a,8a) as the sole breath of the gods. But it is anticipatively applied to the 'god among the gods', the Supreme Creator who is called Prajāpati in v. 10 and Hiraṇyagarbha in v. 1, who supervised while the Waters carried the child, i. e., himself as the Hiraṇyagarbha or the Sacrificial Fire, (v.v.8), like the Puruṣa in Hymn No. 90. The hymn however is not primarily a Creation Hymn, the reference to Creation being found only in vv. 7 to 9. Otherwise, it describes Prajāpati–Hiraṇyagarbha as the all-supporting god, the Supreme Sustainer, the existence of the creation being presupposed. Among the things created by this Prajāpati-Hiraṇyagarbha the heaven, the earth and the Waters alone are actually mentioned in v.9. Others are suggested by the word *viśvā jātāni* in v. 10b. The words *hiraṇyagarbhaḥ jātaḥ* in v. 1ab, *garbham agnim* (compared with 2.35.10) in v. 7b *(garbham* stands for *hiraṇyagarbham)* and *dakṣam Yajñam* in v. 8b ought to leave no doubt that the Great God, himself born from the Waters as all-creating and all-sustaining Sacrificial Fire, is anticipatively called Hiraṇyagarbha in v. 1a, but ultimately called Prajāpati in view of his all-sustaining nature in the last i.e., 10th stanza.

Hymn No. 129 is considered as the most important one among the Creation hymns of the 10th Maṇḍala. It is primarily concerned with the great philosophical problem of Existence springing from Non-existence, where in view of the treatment of the subject in the hymn, one is forced to the conclusion that ASAT is not absolute 'Non-existence', but the same Supreme Principle, in its unevolved form, which by means of the process of evolution becomes transformed into the so-called 'existing' world, or 'Existence', Here the Supreme Creator is not mentioned under any names, but is merely called *tad Ekam* (v.2) in the context of Creation and *asya Adhykṣa* (v. 10) in view of his supreme Rulership of the entire world. It is said to be living without breathing any air (v. 2c) by means of its own Will merely, and being absolutely one without a second, nothing like space or regions or waters having existed beyond it (v. 1). The poet indeed concedes that it was perhaps pitchy darkness or the boundless waters which surrounded that Ekam at that time before the creation (v. 3). This darkness or waters, the poet seems to conceive as the water in the womb in which the foetus is placed, the foetus or the child being the would-be world. Out of this water or darkness, we are told, that Eka sprang into existence by the greatness of its Tapas. As soon as that Ekam achieved 'Existence' in this way, Kāma or the Will which is really the initial seed or germ of the Mind, took possession of that Ekam (v. 4). This Kāma corresponds to the Īkṣā or Kāma of the Upaniṣads, by which the Brahman

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is said to have evolved the creation out of its own self. As our poet rightly observes in v.4cd, this Kāma is the connecting link or the binding factor which holds together the Sat and the Asat. Without the 'will to create' nothing can come into existence and this the poets found out by introspection. In v. 5 the poet without doubt refers to the transformation of that Ekam into a double Being, having the characteristics of both a male and a female, namely, the dropping of the seed and the developing of it into a child. It reminds us of the passage in the Br. Up. 1. 4. 3. After this however, the poet desists from describing the actual creation of the world any further. He only remarks that a first-hand knowledge of the Maker of the Creation is impossible since even the gods were subsequent to the creation and therefore could not have known Him (v. 6). In short the hymn philosophises about the stages that intervene between the Supreme Creator and the Creation itself, namely, (1) the rise of the Abhu Ekam from the surrounding Waters or Darkness; (2) the rise of the Kāma to create in this Abhu; and (3) the rise of a double Being with powers of procreation and sustenance. After this the poet seems to mean that the creation was bound to be automatic.

In this connection I refer to a Creation Hymn No. 39 occurring in the midst of the Indra hymns in Mandala III. In this hymn the Supreme Creator is not given any particular name, but is called Asura, or Pūrvo Vṛṣabhaḥ or Vṛṣabho Dhenuḥ and is said to be endowed with the nature of a Cow as well as of a Bull, i.e., of the sustaining Female and a procreating Male as in X. 129.5. The main purpose of the hymn is however, to emphasize the difficulty of comprehending the Originator of the creation (vv.1–2). But its importance lies in another fact also namely, that it speaks of the gods who assigned different names to the different forms which the Asura went on assuming (v.7). This very nearly presupposes the theory of Creation being nothing more than the Nāmarūpa-vyākaraṇa of the Upaniṣads.

To sum up, we find that in these Creation Hymns of the Xth Mandala (namely Nos. 72,81,82,90,121 and 129) the Supreme Creator is conceived as an intelligent Principle, which produces out of itself the external world, either directly or indirectly through the medium of a couple consisting of a Male and a Female principle. This Supreme Creator is called by various names like Pūrvo Vṛṣabhaḥ, Vṛṣabho Dhenuḥ, Brahmaṇaspati, Viśvakarman, Hiraṇyagarbha, Puruṣa and the like. He is unborn and all-pervading, omnicient and omnipotent. The Creation of the early generations of the gods by the Supreme Creator through some process which resembles a smith's blowing out of metals or a Carpenter's cutting out of vessels etc., from wood, is presupposed as a preliminary to the creation of the mortal world. The connecting

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Link between the Creator and the Creation—i.e., between the Asat in the sense of 'undeveloped or unevolved' and the Sat in the sense of 'evolved or manifested' is very rightly said to be Kāma (equivalent to the Īkṣaṇa or Saṁkalpa of the Upaniṣads), which is again described as the Seed, the Creative Power, of the Mind. In the creation of the external world Heaven and Earth are generally mentioned, together with Waters, the last one being sometimes also described as the medium through which the Creator first manifests himself either as the secondary creator or as an important part of the creation itself.

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Section II: Iranian

by

Ervad M. F. Kanga

President, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The presidentship of the Iranian Section of the All-India Oriental Conference is a high academic honour. Words are inadequate enough to express my heartfelt thanks to the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference who have honoured me by appointing me President of the Iranian Section and have considered me worthy of a place in succession to distinguished Scholars like Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi, Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporewala, Dr. Jamshed Unwala, Dr. J. C. Tavadia, Mr. Sohrab J. Balsara and Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, who have adorned the President's Chair of the Iranian Section of the Conference. Although by profession I am not in the field of education, yet the Iranian Studies have lured and fascinated me so and hold such a fixed grip on me that not a single day has been passed by me without the study of Iranian languages and literature and other allied subjects such as Saka, Sogdian, Manichaen, Turfan, Toxarian etc., in my leisure hours out of mere love for these subjects. Believe me when I speak that I highly appreciate this honour, coming as it does, from my fellow-workers, the votaries in the temple of Oriental learning. For I feel overwhelmed by the burden of responsibility which this office has thrown upon my shoulders. The Iranian Section of the All-India Oriental Conference, as you are all aware, does not deal only with the Ancient Iranian Languages but also with history, Culture and Civilization of Iran based on the researches in the various dialects and inscriptions, Numismatics and Archaeological findings. Conscious as I am of my failings and shortcomings, I hope that with the hearty co-operation and wise guidance of you all, I may be able to carry out satisfactorily the responsibilities of my office and the work of this session will maintain the high level attained by its predecessors.

We are highly indebted to the organisers of the First Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Poona in 1919 A. C. to include in its various Sections, the Iranian Section, with due deference to the wishes and aspirations of the late Shams-Ul-Ullema Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Modi., who represented along with other Parsi Scholars of the time, the microscopic community of the Parsis, although the Conference by its very appellation "All-India"

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might have comqosed of the Sections of Indian languages and Literature, Religion and Philosophy and Culture and Civilization of India.

Since we met last at Lucknow two years ago, the icy hand of Death has been rather heavy in summoning from amongst us eminent Iranists in India and abroad. With your permission I shall make special reference to these Scholars not only because their work in their respective spheres was of outstanding merit but also because they were personally known to me. Iranian Studies have suffered a great lose by the sad death of Professor Adrien Barthe'lemy, Fr. Guiseppe Messina S. J. of Pontificio Instituto Biblico, Roma, Italy, Prof. Roland G. Kent, Prof. Emeritus of Indo-European Linguistics, University of Pennsylvania and Ervad Bomnaji N. Dhabhar, Lecturer in Avesta-Pahlavi, Mullan Pheroze Madressa, Bombay, and Prof. J. H. Kramers, Professor of Oriental Studies, University of Leiden.

Prof. Adrien Barthelemy

First, let me refer to Prof. Adrien Barthelemy. He was born in Paris in the City, on the 24th August 1859, orphaned at 15 and though a brilliant and studious pupil, he knew the painful life of the poor student. He followed the courses of Sanskrit and Avesta at l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes and received his diploma in 1884 with a Dissertation giving the translation of the Pahlavi text Gujastak Abālish. At the same time he obtained at the School of Oriental languages (l'Ecole des Langues Orientales) the diplomas for Arabic Literature, Turkish and Persian. A. Barthelemy then entered Foreign Affairs on 10th Dec. 1884. In 1909 he entered simultaneously the Oriental School of Languages and the Practical School of Higher Studies, where he had to remain till he was held up by the age limit in 1929. He had to put to profit the leisure hours of a retired life which almost to the last moment had remained studious before his death on 18th Dec. 1949, at the age of 90 at Emance, near Rambouillet.

A. Barthelemy was a great Professor, who knew how to leave to his good pupils a grateful Souvenir of his teaching. He was equally from the start of his career passionately devoted to Scientific Research. Being enthusiastic already at the age of 14 over Persian Grammar, he gave simultaneously the translation of the Pahlavi Text of Ardā Virāf Nāmak and in the Asiatic Journal the Text and translation in an Arab Syrian Speech of the story entitled "History of King Naaman" with grammatical notes.

A. Barthe'lemy left besides a store of unpublished works, a French Pahlevi lexicon, an Arabic vocabulary, a phonetical study of the Iranian dialects, a study on the Kurd–the Guileki and the taleche.

Fr. Joseph Messina S. J. (1893–1951)

On the morning of 28th June 1951, at the "Ignatian" college at

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Messina, Fr. Joseph Messina S. J., Professor of the History of Iranian language and literature, and of the History of the Old Testment in the Pontificio Instituto Biblico was taken away by a premature death.

He was born on the 6th day of January 1893 in the city of San Cataldo (of the province of Caltanisetta in Sicily). As a boy he went through his preliminary studies at the Jesuit College at Messina. When he was not yet fourteen, he entered the Novitiate of the Society of Jesus on 4th April, 1907. He passed through the studies prescribed by the rules of the Society with excellent result. The Superiors sent him to the college of the French Priests which was then situated in the island of Jersey to complete his philosophical studies and the college of St. Ignatius at Valkenberg to prosecute his theological studies, where he achieved great success. Fr. Messina was sent to the Pontificio Instituto Biblico to teach and for this task he prepared himself by one year's course at the Institute itself and by a three year's course at the University of Berlin, where he studied under the distinguished Iranist Professor Marquart, whose memory he always cherished. He wrote a thesis on "Der Ursprung Der Magier Und Der Zarathushtrische Religion" for which he was conferred the Ph. D. Degree of the University of Berlin. He began to teach from 1928 Sanskrit, Pahlevi Avesta and New Persian in the Instituto Biblico Pacifico, to which he gradually added readings from the history of the religion of the ancient East, specially that of Buddhism, Manichaenism, of the Hellenistic religion, and their relation with the Christian religion, and last of the post exile history of Jewish people. These studies were published in his excellent work "Christianesimo, Buddhismo, Manichaeismo nell' Asia Antica," Roma 1947. From 1929-1941, he was also the Prefect of the Library of the Institute. He travelled twice to Iran in 1936 and 1938 for the sake of studies of the languages and civilisation of Iran and through travels and explorations Fr. Messina gathered for himself a vast knowledge of Iranian studies, which gleaned magnificently from his numerous writings as well as articles. Under Professor Marquart, he not only acquired a great erudition but also learnt a solid method in scientific research, which coupled with the sharpness of his intellect, with an unflagging zeal in research and study, and with a great diligence and constancy in his work proved of immense use to him and these characteristics are clearly visible in his numerous publications. He gradually became well versed in the Semitic and Iranian languages and history of those regions, their literature and culture and in the religions flourishing in those places. Whatever he wrote was partly of a strictly scientific character, partly something written for the purpose of making more cultured men know scientific conclusions. Thus in a brief period of merely twenty years he edited thirteen scientific books, one after another, of which five are edited in the Series

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Biblica Et Orientalia. I may complete his necrology by mentioning a few of his works which gained the applause and admiration of the Oriental scholars. These are as under:–

(1) Der Ursprung der Magier und die Zarathushtrische Religion, Roma 1930.
(2) I Magi a Betlemme e una predizione di Zoroastro (Biblica et Orientalia N. 3 Roma 1933.)
(3) Inizi di Lirica ascetica e mistica persiana (Biblica et Orientalia N. 7 Roma, 1938)
(4) Libro Apocalittico Persiano: Ayātkār i Zāmāspīk (Biblica et Orientalia N.9 Roma, 1939)
(5) Christianessimo, Buddhismo, Manicheismo nell' Asia Antica (Roma 1947).
(6) Edition of J. Marquart's Das erste Kapitel der Gatha Ustavati (Roma, 1930).
(7) J. Marquart, A Catalogue of the Provincial Capital of Ērān Sahr. (Roma, 1931).

Ervad Dhabhar

The Parsi Community and the Iranists have lost an erudite and learned teacher and a silent, sober, sound and unostentatious venerable Pahlavi Scholar by the sad death of Ervad B. N. Dhabhar. This eminent Iranist of great erudition has rendered invaluable and selfless services to the Iranian studies. He passed away at Bombay on 2nd December 1952, at the age of 83. The late K. R. Cama, the father and founder of the Iranian studies in India, appointed him a lecturer in Avesta Pahlavi at the Mulla Phiroze Madressa. He possessed a deep and vast knowledge of Oriental languages and had a good command over Avesta, Pahlavi, Sanskrit, French, German, Persian, Gujarati and English languages. He was a teacher of French and Mathematics at the Sir J. J. School, Bombay. But he dedicated his whole life to the studies of Avesta and Pahlavi. Besides being a thorough priest, he was well-versed in the religious customs and rituals and owing to that he interpreted very well certain Pahlavi texts which defy easy rendering. He was held in high esteem for his unique scholarship by the scholars of the East and the West.

Professor Poure Davoud is the greatest scholar of the Iranian studies at Tehran University, and has translated the texts of the Gathas and the Yasts in the sweet modern Persian. Ervad Dhabhar was entrusted to examine the proofs of these works and made valuable suggestions to Professor Poure Davoud during the course of examining the proofs. In return Professor Poure Davoud has showered applause and admiration for Ervad Dhabhar's erudition and scholarship. He had deep and unflinching love and enthusiasm for things

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Iranian. He had dedicated his whole life for the cause of advancement of learning and of the Iranian studies. Orientalists in general and Parsi community in particular, will ever remain indebted to him for his selfless service to the community, to the Zoroastrian religion and to the Iranian literature.

Ervad Dhabhar to his credit has the following important works which I enumerate as under :—

(1) Pahlavi Yasna and Visparad—Text and Glossary
(2) Epistles of Manuscihr, edited and translated into Gujarati with notes.
(3) Pahlavi Rivāyēt accompanying Dātistān-i-Dēnīk.
(4) Handarz i Osnar Dānāk, a Pahlavi Text edited and translated into English with notes.
(5) Zand i Xartak-Avistak.
(6) The Rivayet of Hormazyar Framarz.

Besides, he has contributed learned papers to almost all the memorial volumes published in honour of the great Iranists in the East and the West. The Society for the promotion of Avestan Research at the suggestion of its President has undertaken to publish in one volume all the articles and monographs scattered in various Festscripts. They will undoubtedly prove of immense use to the students and scholars of Iranian studies alike.

The Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat Funds and Properties have entrusted the work of compiling a Dictionary of Pahlavi language many years ago to Ervad Dhabhar. But this herculean work, it seems, could not be completed by him on account of his various activities and failing eyesight.

Prof. Dr. J. H. Kramers

On December 17th of the year 1951 death put a sudden end to the fruitful life of the well-known Orientalist Prof. J. H. Kramers, then Professor of Arabic and Islamic studies in the University of Leiden. Professor Kramers was a scholar with a field of interest of unusually wide scope. Especially in his earlier years most of his attention was devoted to the Iranian studies, Turkish and Persian languages as well as to Ancient Geography. Afterwards his scholarly interests turned more and more towards Arabic. Many will still remember him as the heart and soul of the XVIIIth Orientalist Congress in Leiden in 1931, where he acted as Secretary. For many years he served the Oriental Society of the Netherlands, first as Secretary, in the later years as its President. Analecta Orientalia firms a collection of Prof. Kramers' "Opera Inedita" supplemented by reprints of his smaller treatises which have appeared in various periodicals. His most important monographs are : (1) The Earliest Period of Iranian History; (2) De Achaemeniedisch-Elamitische Inscriptie Dar Susa; (3) De Zoroastrische Gelo ofsbelijdenis; (4) L'Iran dans L'histoire et dans la legende; (5) Mithra; (6) Iranian Fire-Worship etc.

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Proffessor Roland G. Kent was Prof. Emeritus of Indo-European Linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania. He took keen and acute interest in the study of Old Persian inscriptions and this interest resulted in the publication of his monumental work on "Old Persian Grammar, Texts and Lexicon" in 1950. Shortly after the appearance of this important book I learnt the sad news of the death of Prof. Roland G. Kent in 1952. He was connected with the American Oriental Society and has contributed from time to time various papers to the Journal of the same society on old Persian and Avestic studies. By the death of Prof. Roland G. Kent, the American Oriental society has lost a member who not only had a fine record of public service, but also had a wide reputation for scholarship, especially in relation to the language of Ancient Persian.

It is customary for the Sectional President in his Presidential Address to make an appraisement of all the recent works that have been done in the field of Iranian Studies, not only in our country but also abroad, and to refer to the activities of the scholars in this domain. It must be confessed that no great activity on our part marks the period that has elapsed since we met last at Lucknow. The output of research work by Parsee Scholars has not consequently been large, but even as such it has been of great value. I shall attempt to give an account of the progress made by European and Parsee Scholars in Iranian studies in recent years.

A work of great and immense use to Iranian studies was the publication in 1950 by the American Oriental Society of **Old Persian Grammar, Texts, Lexicon** by Prof. Roland G. Kent, Prof. Emeritus of Indo-European Linguistics, University of Pensylvania. On the foundations laid by the decipherment of G. F. Grotefend and H. Rawlinson, who first made known the contents of the Achaemenain inscriptions of Persia, a small band of scholars have laboured over 150 years to secure the best possible text and interpretation. The material is important alike to history and to linguistic studies. Iranists, Indologists and scholars in the comparative grammars of the Indo-European languages have laboured together. As heir to all his predecesors' knowledge, Prof. Kent has presented us with a treasury of Old Persian Learning. We find in the book Texts meticulously established with exact translations, preceded by full grammatical analysis (sounds, forms, syntax) and followed by a Glossary with full references. Each inscription is carefully described. In the broken inscriptions great care has been expended to fill the proper and appropriate lacunae as far as possible. The aim and end of the author has been to offer a comprehensive treatment of all extant old Persian linguistic material in Cunieform, which was so far lacking in the works already published by his predecesors. The work is divided into 3 parts—Grammar (chapters 1 to

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7), the Texts and Lexicon and Concordance. Pages 1 to 5 are devoted to the general Bibliography of Old Persian studies. He has been able even to anticipate, by the kindness of Prof. G. G. Cameron, future improvements in the readings, which result from the latest methods applied to the Behistun inscriptions, of which an account can be read in the National Geographic Magazine, Dec. 1950. It is good to be able to recognise that the author has attained his aim: Reliable Texts based upon full discussions of all difficult passages. The absence of equivalents from the Elamite and the Akkadian Versions for all passages where they exist is rather regretted. Their inclusion here would have been a great help and service. In the Gramatical portion a conservative moderation is excercised so that the Indo-European form accepted dose not show anything of the latest speculation on early Indo-European. The Bibliography to each item of the Glossary is copious. The Lexicon includes a concordance to the words in the inscriptions as well as materials for etymologiacal comparisons. The author has not made use of the new discovered languages of the Sogdian, Saka and Khotanese which have offered us a wider background of Iranian knowledge whereby we may prefer different interpretations. Everyone interested in old Persian will learn much from this book. It is a life-time's most admirable achievement.

The second work of outstanding importance and merit is *"Zoroaster and His World"* by Prof. Ernst Herzfeld, published in two volumes which has not been so far reviewed in the oriental journals. Few scholars of our generation have contributed so much to increasing our knowledge of the sources for the study of ancient Western Asia in periods or directions of which little was previously known as Ernst Herzfeld. Being an established scholar of considerable reputation not only in his own University Berlin by 1910, his early work was encouraged by Eduard Meyer, the Historian, and aided by the active co-operation of Friedrich Sarre, whose outstanding achievement there has yet been little chance to appreciate. He finally went to Princeton University to futher advanced studies there. During those last years he was involved, as any man who undertakes much pioneer work always is, in a number of polemics and controversies. His writings, always a little too compressed for clear reasoning in exposition, for he aimed, as he said somewhere, at that impossible goal "to express everything mathematically" became much involved in the difficulty of using a foreign language. One may be allowed to bear witness to his culture, to the intellectual power he brought to the consideration of details in the wide field he covered and to his power to stimulate in new directions. Even where he persisted, in which appear mistaken opinions, there was something to be learnt. He was a great Philologist and archaeologist. Herzfeld's *"Zoroaster and His World"* cannot be properly called a review of

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Nyberg's book. Although Herzfeld often quotes the views of other authors, yet he seldom criticises or refutes them. His book has a distinct function, to show historical allusion and information scattered in the Gāthās and the Later Avesta as well as to bring Zarathushtra in direct relation to the Royal Houses of Ancient Media and Persia. This relation is absolutely doubtful and the rôle of politician ascribed to the Prophet is more doubtful. Inspite of all these defects, the book remains a veritable fountain of useful informations. The book is lacking in method and system followed by European scholars. It is really a pity that the author has not given an index and bibliography.

Prof. W. B. Henning was specially asked to deal with this bewildering problem raised by these emminent scholars Nyberg and Herzfeld, whether the Prophet was a witch-doctor or a politician, in his Rattanbai Katrak Lectures, 1949. This he has done in a book "Zoroaster," showing the intenability of both the views and giving his own. Thus Prof. Henning has rendered a meritorious service to the memory of Zaradustra by endeavouring to wipe away some of the distortions of his picture, which have received a wide publicity and a considerable degree of acceptance among those who are not specialists in the subject. The same can be said of Prof. Duchesnes-Guilemin's standpoint in his excellent work, "Zoroastre, Etude Critique avec une traduction commente des Gāthās."

Of late, Gāthās or Psalms of Zarathushtra have attracted the attention of both European and Parsee scholars. Prof. Taraporewala has published *"The Divine Songs of Zarathushtra: a Philosophical Study of the Gathas of Zarathushtra."* Prof. Taraporewala has been a student, professor and research scholar since the turn of the Century. He has gone through the various versions of the text of the Gāthās, stanza by stanza, with an ingenious system of word numeration, that permits even a novice to check the translation and criticise its value. An English rendering of the German translation by his *Guru* Prof. Bartholomae is also given, which adds to the usefulness and importance of the work. In his translation Prof. Taraporewala has rigorously followed a fundamental principle which most of the scholars have ignored viz. "a Unit of verse is also a unit of sense", and he has given his renderings in simple readable and at the same time lucid and thoroughly intelligible language, which appeals to the heart and the head. The philological and learned discussions will prove very useful to the students and scholars of Iranian studies. In his exhaustive and scholarly introduction, Prof. Taraporewala has enumerated the main principles which have guided him in the work of translation and interpretation of the message of Zarathushtra. The unconscious tendencies to read into the text the beautiful things that one would like to find there for one's own satisfaction and spiritual comfort, which is known by the term

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"subjectivism", is noticed in this book and has exerted considerable influence on the author's exposition. At the outset, the author has discussed at length the Amēsa–Spentas who figure so frequently in the Gāthās. Here he differs from the views of Western scholars, who have always regarded these names as "personified qualities" of the Supreme. According to Prof. Taraporewala they are to be considered as distinct entities or beings and they can be best regarded as "Rays" or "Aspects" of the Godhead. No scholar has dealt with the theme of the Gāthā metre so exhaustively and so systematically as Prof. Taraporewala has done. The 2nd Appendix deals with "the family of Zarathushtra." It was published in the New Indian Antiquity, April-June 1946. This theme is rather polemical. It is not understood why the author has made efforts to turn Zarathusthra into a celibate. In the entire atmosphere and tradition of Indo–Iranian culture in its ancient stages and more especially in all the historically known Zoroastrian tradition the trend is definitely against such a conception. The value of the work is enchanced by its Glossary and General Index. As Fr. Esteller remarks (Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society Vol. 27 part 1, 1951, 79ff):" This voluminous work could be properly termed a "Summary Encyclopedia of the Gāthās"; and a real encyclopedia it is, not only on the religion and ethics of the Zarathushtrian sermons–songs but also on their language both philologically and stylistically, and on their text-criticism. It is the right fruit of a life's work in which love's labour and labour's love have created a monument of painstaking scholarship and scholarly reverence and devotion. As a complete Vademecum to the gāthā-study it neglects no aspect which may interest the scholars. To the Gāthās he is and will remain a veritable modern Sāyana with all the qualities and limitations of that great and encyclopedic Skr. scholar and his work will constitute a milestone.

Another outstanding work on the Gādās is a posthumous publication of the late Mr. Anklesaria, vig., *the Critical Edition of the Gathas-Text and Word-by-word Translation into English*. This work is published under the auspices of the "Rāhnumāi Mazdayasnān Sabha." Mr. Anklesaria's work has a feature of its own and will exhibit the results of life-long study of Iranian lore. The translation of each chapter of the Gāthās is preceded by the Introductory remarks and main ideas, which will be of interest to the public in understanding the text. Literary value of the book would have been enhanced if the author had given philological and explanatory notes. Everyone interested in the study of the Gāthās will learn much from this work.

In Belgium Prof. Jacques Duchesne–Guillemin has translated the Gāthās in his important work *"Zoroastre Etude Critique avec une traduction Commentee des Gatha."* After a series of twelve Stndies in Iranian Religion,

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beginning in 1936, the best known of which is *Les Composes des l'Avesta* (Paris Liege 1937), Prof. Duchesne-Guillemin brings them to a head with this work on Zoroaster and the Gāthās. This century has produced much work on this fascinating figure and his tantallizingly difficult literary remains, the Gāthās. In fact the flood of critical study and publication has rarely subsided ever since Anquetil du Perron brought back from India and published in Paris in 1771 the first complete text available to the West of what he unfortunately entitled the Zend-Avesta. A considerable importance was given to Avestan studies by Johannes Hertel of Leipzig. Coming from Sanskrit to Avesta, he telescoped the connection a bit, placed Zoroaster with Vishtāspa, father of Darius the Great. He was followed more or less closely by the much quoted Ernst Herzfeld. Both these champions of a lost cause are even now beginning to wane, Hertel suffering most and sometimes least justly in this respect. Herzfeld in the end became the avowed disputant against the outstanding landmark in the Zoroastrian studies of the first half of the xx Century, H.S. Nyberg, who has gathered into himself the Soderblem School and commpressed in surprisingly few years an average life time of work into a great book entitled in Swedish *"Irans fontinda religioner"*, published in 1937, in excellent German translation by H.H. Schaeder as *"Die Religionen des Alten Iran"*, Leipzig 1938. Now comes this neat little excellnet Volume in French. Leaving Zoroaster in an indefinite haze in time and space, an attempt is made by the author from Zoroaster's own words to separate his distinguishing features from the rather hazy world about him. Particularly apt to the reader's mind is the statement on the subject use of the Instrumental, to illustrate the way in which the Entities or Ideas combine with and relate themselves to the Essence, Lord Wise (Ahura Mazda), in Zoroaster's mind (P. 149). In fact, the attitude towards Nyberg is perhaps the greatestwe akness of this book. Finally, it is a matter of great gratification to see Zoroaster's Gāthās in a flowing French Version after many years. The principle taught by Prof Sylvian Levi, that one must translate everything has much in its favour; it has also its limitations and may be variously interpreted. Then follows a list of much used terms whose varieties of meaning in modern terminology warn the reader. To find always staring on in the face Ārmaiti as "Devotion", Cisti as "doctrine", daēnā as "Conscience" is more than a little disconcerting. In appreciating this new French translation one is reminded of Prof. Kaj Bdrr's half-jesting impression: "the more I try to read the Gāthās, the less sure I feel, that I know what they say" and that still remains true. He has used the Avestan text, and he reveals Zarathushtra as a powerful thinker who equated justice with the good and holy, who felt the kingdom of God as something to be desired and fought for; and that the

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road to One World leads of necessity through a long journey of struggle between the two forces—light and darkness, good and evil, truth and falsehood.

He reconstructs the background of Zarathushtra's life in his Introduction and in addition to translating the Divine Songs, provides a running commentary on them. Since *the order* in which the Gāthās appear in the Avesta Text is false, he has rearranged them by following clues in the text and thus attempts to give a consistent picture of Zarathushtra's dramatic career. Vide L'ovdre des Gāthās by J. Duchesne-Guillemin. I may add finally that this French work of Duchesne-Guillemin has been translated into English by Mrs. M. Henning in the "Wisdom of the East Series", in London, 1952.

Prof. W.B. Henning is sn indefatigable scholar in the field of Iranian Studies and constantly contributes learned and erudite papers to the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London. In addition to the various monographs, he has published his work entitled "*Sogdica*" (James G. Forlong Fund Vol. XXI p.67).

In this book Prof. Henning has undertaken the difficult task of editing some of the most fragmentary and repelling scraps of paper containing Sogdian words in his collection of Central Asian Material. Plate XIV given in J.R.A.S. 1945 p. 151 provides an illustration of what such fragments can look like. The greater part of the book is devoted to fragments of Manicheen Glossaries, where the Sogdian equivalents of Mid. Pers. or Parthian words are given. Unknown words occur in many entries; the gloss provides an explanation in some cases, in others one of the equivalents is missing or of uncertain reading. In these cases a certain amount of conjecture concerning similar looking word in the field of Iranian languages was unavoidable. Prof. Henning's Commentary to the Glossaries will be indispensable to any student of Iranian lexicography. It is really gratifying to find the soundness of the author's judgment confirmed by fresh material as in the case of 'ndrnyr–Skr, indranila, or eyngry' "harp" (Cf. BSOAS.XI. 727) A number of entries remain obscure or uncertain.

Sogdica also contains valuable material illustrating relations between Sogdian and non-Iranian literatures. The Colophon of a Sogdian Buddhist fragment states that the work was translated from the Kuchean language. Two Sogdian fragments of the Manichean Confession Prayer (Khwastwaneft) confirm earlier suggestions that the Turkish Khwastwaneft had been translated from a Sogdian Original. The Text of the seven fragments which constitute the first part of the Sogdica is arranged in columns each line of which contains a single word only. These fragments include a list of parts of the head and the list of Nations on which Prof. Hennings' important article "Argi and the Tokharian" (BSOAS IX. 545 ff.) was based.

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A young scholar, a product of London and Rome Universities, Dr. Ilya Gershevitch is at present a Lecturer in Iranian studies in the University of Cambridge and has published papers and books on Iranian Studies which will prove of interest to the Iranian scholars. These are:

(1) "On the Sogdian Vassantara Jātaka" (JRAS. 1942)
(2) Sogdian Compounds (Transactions of the Philological Society 1945)
(3) On the Sogdian St. George Passion (J. RAS. 1946)
(4) Iranian languages 'Avesta' and "Zoroaster" (In the latest edition of Chambers' Encyclopaedia 1947)
(5) Iranian Notes (Transactions of the Philological Society 1948)
(6) A resume of George G. Cameron, Persipolis Treasury Tablets in Asia Major, New Series Vol. II 1951.
(7) "Ancient Survivals in Ossetics" (BSOAS 1952 Vol XIV)

His book entitled "*A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*" is due to appear this year, to be published by the Oxford University press. This work is the author's Ph. D. Degree dissertation. This work will be of immense use to the students and scholars of Iranian studies alike. Besides Dr. Ilya Gershevitch along with other Professors of the University of Cambridge has contributed the Chapter on "Iranian Literature" in a book to be published in the Wisdom of the East Series entitled "Literatures of the East: an Appreciation."

Oriental Scholars in India may not be aware of the name of Prof. G. Widengren, a pupil of Prof. H. S. Nyberg of the University of Uppsala. This scholar has written the following works:

(1) the Ascension of the Apostle and the Heavenly Book, Uppsala 1950;
(2) The great Vohumanah and the Apostle of God–Studies in Iranian and Manichaean Religion;
(3) Mesopotemian Elements in Manichaeism–studies in Manichaeism, Mandean and Syrian–Gnostic Religion, 1946.

I may in this address give a short survey of the third work mentioned above, as the first two works are not available to me. "These studies centre round accounts of the origin of Man, his change of state, and his hope of salvation, proclaimed by the less known religions or Christian Sects of Western Asia during the early centuries of the Christian Era. Specialists will find this collection of Text stimulating and usefull. The book counters the view that Manichaeism was a reformed Iranian Religion, by showing that terms used in Mani system occur in Manichaen and Christian writings and go back to Pagan tets. The material available, thanks to Polotzki, Henning and Allberry among others, is now much ampler than formerly. The author attributes the use of some figures to ancient conception or rituals transmitted to the Manichaens through Christina texts. In chapter 8 references in the Manichaen Psalm–book to purifi-

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cation in "Holy waters" or in "dew-drops of thy joy" are considered clear evidence that the Manichaen rites included one resembling Christian Baptism, and the Mandean washing at the moment of death is brought into the same category. Though the general conclusions at the end of the book seem fairly well-balanced, *the obiter dicta* inspire some lack of confidence. Even in the final conclusions there are incautious or hasty statments such as that in the Manichaen myth "we are confronted with an Iranian interpretation of a Mesopotemian myth," namely, the Tammuz Story. This is incautious partly because that Tammaz story originated in Sumer, and partly because of the author's assumption that the God Tammuz "played a prominant rôle" in a fusion which led to the worship of the "Great Man" as "Saviour."

Whether Mani was guided mainly by political motives or was primarily a religious teacher, whose doctrines led to political consequences, he and his followers were aware of their differences from other religions. Prof. Widengren knows this: "the basic thoughts in his [Mani's] religious system are Iranian, but the language is that of the Mesopotamian Gnostic with Christian sympathy." He is a meticulous critic. Allberry's translation "the news of the skies" cannot be correct. He says: "it is of course not especially the news of the skies but those of the heavenly kingdom." The late Prof. Burkitt, who translated Syriac *Makse* (tax-gatherers) is said to have missed the precise meaning of the technical term, said to mean "the customers", an obsolete and puzzling word for "the collectors of customs". The Syriac word cannot be compared to customs, for the taxes meant were often excise levied on internal production as well as imports, while the Akkadian *miksu*, to which reference is made, means simply a percentage impost on produce. Throughout the book there is a tendency to use the wrong word, although the great dificulties of using a foreign language should induce care and caution."

The name of Prof. Pagliaro, professor of Oriental studies at the University of Rome is wellknown to all the Orientalists and the Iranists. He has published in 1951 a work in Italian on the Pahelvi Text "*Mātīkan i Catrang*" entitled "II Testo Pahelvico Sul Guioco Degly Scacchi". This work was published by my friend Mr. J. C. Tarapore in 1932. The text deals with the explanation of the game of Chess and the invention of the game Nēv-arta-xsēr". The text is very interesting and the author has made use of the researches carried out by his predecessors Salemann, Olaf Hansen and others on this subject and has pointed out their merits and demerits. The author has divided the work into four parts-introduction, transciption, translation, and notes. The description given in the introduction is very illuminating and interesting. Therein he has compared the account of the game of Chess given in the Shahnama. Translation is lucid and thoroughly intelligible and shows

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a great improvement on the previous works. Yet the author reads dēvi-sarm as against yaśodharman read by Hansen and compares it with the Indian name Dēva-śarman. He equates letters d y p *to* d ē v (p=v), vide Dēvīk in Skand-Gūmanīk 3. 17. He ingeniously explains the name *Taxtritus* and derives it from Taxt: Table, "tavola" and ritus=ancient Indian Kriduh, meaning "player". Reference may be made to the article on "Skr. works on the game of Chess" by Chintaharan Chakravarty in "the Indian Historical Quarterly XIV-1938.

Dr. J. C. Tavadia, Lecturer in the Uaiversity of Hamburg and the Visiting Prof. of Zoroastrian Studies, Visva-Bharati, has published his researches done by him during his two years' stay at this institution. Dr. Tavadia was a pupil of the distinguished Prof. Hans Reichelt and has made his name known by publishing his works Sāyist-Nē-Sāyist, Sur Saxvan, a Pahelvi Text and by his numerous monographs in various Oriental Journals. He has reviewed all the important works on Iranian studies published in Europe for the Cama Oriental Institute Journals. He presided over the Iranian Section of the 15th All Indian Oriental Conference held at Bombay in 1949. A mention may be made of his recent articles published in Germany. They are: 1. On the Fire Temple in OLZ 1943; 2. On an Old (Indo-European) Fire Rite among the Zoroastrians in Persia in ARW 36; 3. Zur interpretation der Gāthā des Zarathushtra (i.e. the interpretation of the Gāthās of Zarathushtra); 4. Zur pflege des Iranischen Schriftums Im Mittelalter. (the literary activities of the Parsees in the middle ages, in ZDMG. 98 Neue folge Bd. 23 pp. 294-339). The last named contains *inter alia* a new translation of certain very important Colophons which Dr. Unwala did not discuss in his work on the subject. Besides the author has given on p. 332 a new geneological tree of the composition of the Avesta-Pahlavi yasna. These researches carried out by him at Shantiniketan are published in two Volumes entitled "*Indo-Iranian Studies I and II, 1950 and 1952*. The first volume contains seven subjects viz. (1) Comparative study of Indo-Iranian; (2) Indo-Iranian Studies in India and in the West; (3) Iranistic and Islamic Studies; (4) Zarathustra's Path of Peace; (5) Some gleanings from Al-Biruni (6) Some remarks on a Sanskrit-Chinese glossary with special reference to Iranian words therein, and last (7) A didactic Poem in Zorastrian Pahlavi. The second article forms a Presidential address delivered by the author before the Iranian Section of the XV th All India Oriental Conference held at Bombay, in 1949, and deals with the criticism of the work done in the field of Iranian Studies in India and in Europe. In this he rightly suggests that for the study of the Avesta an elementary knowledge of the Sanskrit should be taught to the students of Avesta-Pahlavi. In the fourth article, the author has treated of the second

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chapter of the Gāthā Ahunavaiti Yasna Hā. XXIX. He has given a beautiful translation together with the commentary. This article was written by the author for the World Pacific Meeting at Shantiniketan, 1949. In the last monograph the author has selected the last text of the "Pahlavi Texts" ed. by Jamasp-Asana, entitled "Apar Xēm ut Xrat i Farrōx-mart" and has attempted to find out by means of scanning whether paras 3 and 16-19 of the text were regular verses. He established a verse of eight syllable lines, which is most primitive Indo-Iranian Verse form known to us from the Yasts. In this connection Prof. Henning's remarks given in his article on "A Pahlavi Poem" reprinted from the BSOAS. 1950 XIII/3 will be very useful. Here Dr. Tavadia has given the text and translation of Sec. 3 and 16-19 and has given the notes in the footnotes which are illuminating and erudite. In para 16 better reading would be "grift hom" instead of "Kart hom" given by the author. In para 16a the author has left out the reading of Pahl. an r sp n, which I read "hurisp" vide my Pahlvi Text 'Apar Xēmut Xrati Farrox-mart, 1952 p. 3. The word is very common in Dēnkart specially in Vol. XII ed. by Sanjana. It means "distress." In para 19 the author has shown the word vēhtar instead of the correct form X aptar. In the same para the author follows the reading suggested by the editor in the footnote 'pahlomtar.' Text gives p aa rtr, which I read pahrtar=bahr-tar (p<b) and translate "more fortunate, more lucky".

'*Indo-Iranian studies I*' bears ample testimony to the sound, accurate scholarship and research, critical acumen and painstaking care of the erudite and distinguished author in the preparation of this fine volume. The authorities of the Visvabharati are to be congratulated for its publication.

Indo-Iranian Studies II embodies the researches made by the author on the First three chapters of the Ahunavaiti Gāthā (Hās 28-30). The first Chapter (Hā 29) vividly describes the lament of the world over its miseries and the call of Zarathushtra to end them. The second chapter (Hā 28) brings a beautiful prayer and a noble programme of his for this perpose. And the last and the third chapter (Hā 30) contains his sermon on Good and Evil in the world, the choice from between them, and the consequences of it. It is Nyberg who for the first time introduced the system of naming the Gāthās after their contents by catch-words, like "Vision Gāthā", "Wedding Gāthā" etc. Prof. Herzfeld uses the same or similar nomenclature. Following Nyberg and Herzfeld, Dr. Tavadia called the yasna Hā 29 "The Lament of the Cow" or "World-Pain (Welt-Schemerz) Gāthā." The second piece, yasna 28 may be entitled "Prayer and Programme of Zarathushtra" and the third piece, yasna 30 is designated by the author as "World-drama". Herzfeld called it "The Gatha of Good and Evil." Dr. Tavadia's reconstructed pronounciation of Avesta

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as published in his Edition of the first three Gathas appears to me to be a very fine piece of linguistic scholarship.This he has done by omitting the repetition of verbal prefixes and unnecessary enclitics, epenthetic and other redundant vowels and dipthongs. The revolutionary views of Prof. Andreas in demanding O–vocalism and spirants instead of mediae have found following only among his pupils. Benveniste's system of restoration is a proper one-vocalism is brought in conformity with that of Skr; but short dipthongs are written ai and au. The translation is literal but lucid and intelligible. Commentary occupies many pages of this volume and is very important and reveals the author's depth of learning and scholarship in the field of Iranian Studies.

I have published recently a Pahlavi Text "Apar Xēmut Xrat i Farrox–mart", the last text given in the Pahlavi Texts edited by Jamasp Asana. The title given to the text is not appropriate as the text does not deal with the charactertics of a fortunate man but also with those of the illiterate and needy man, the arrogant and the conceited man and the blind and the needy person. Like Draxti Asurīk and Xusrav i Kavātān ut Rētak, this text contains many words which are scarcely found in other Pahlavi texts. My transcription and translation are based upon the text as given in the Pahlavi Texts edited by Dastur Jamasp Asa, 1913 pp. 162–167. Besides notes on important and unusual words are given. In the Appendix, I have added Prof. Pagliaro's reading and translation of a part of Sec. 20 of the text published in "Note di Lessicografia Pahlavica" in Rivista Degli Studi Orientali: Vol XIX 1941, 289 ff, for the sake of comparision.

Prof. F. Altheim's *Awestisch Text Geschichts* is not a very useful work. The whole theory is based on wrong translation of the Dēnkart as well as of the Aramaic Inscription which does not even contain any Iranian text, but Indian as Prof Henning ably shows. Hence I have not thought it fit to give a full survey of it here.

Now after having finished with the survey of works published in Europe and India, I will give in the following lines *the progress made by Persian scholars iu the field of Iranian Studies* and notes on scholarly serial Publications in Iran. The University of Teheran has established at the Faculty of Literature Chairs of Avesta, Pahlavi, Ancient Persian and Ancient Iranian Culture. The University of Tabriz has established the chairs of (a) Pahlavi (b) Ancient Persian and (c) the History of Ancient Iran. It is really gratifying to learn that the following important books have been published by the University of Teheran:

(1) Mazdaism and its Influence upon Persian Literature by Dr. M. Moin (Publication No. 9)

(2) History of the Sassanian Culture by Prof. Sayed Naficy

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(3) The Sassanian Music by Dr. M. Barkeshti
(4) Iranian Epic Narration by Dr. D. Safa.

The Ministry of Education has published "The Philosophy of Illumination and the Ancient Iranian Culture" by M. Moin. Journals in the Persian language, which from time to time contain articles of interest to scholars abroad, are little known outside of Iran. Likewise, publication in series or by fascicule, especially dictionaries and the like, deserve attention from those interested in Iranian Studies. Fortunately, the Department of Iranologie of the Institute Franco-Irania regularly supplies the Revue des Etudes Isalamiques with a bibliography of Works published in Iran, but Journals are not included. The Journal *Meher* has resumed publication with Volume VIII under the editorship ot Majid Movaqar and takes an important place in Persian literary activity. Two other journals must be mentioned among those which publish serious articles of interest to the Orientalists. The more literary of the two is *Yaghma*, published by Habib Yaghmai, descendent of the famous Persian poet with the same name. The other is more sporadic *Dānesh*. There are other Journals which infrequently carry articles of scholarly interest but which should not be neglected by the student. For example, the Bulletin Bimestriel de la Commission Nationals Iraniene pour l'Unesco 3 (No. 3-4, 1951), 43-52, carries a singnificant article In English by Prof. W. B. Henning on "The Decipherment of the Pahlavi Inscription". In the same issue, there is a contribution on the same subject by M. Mustafavi, Head of the Museum of Antiquities in Teheran. The Journal of the Faculty of Arts of Tabriz University, begun in 1949, carries articles on the history of Azarbaizan as well as local dialects Turkish and Iranian.

The Burhan i Qāti, famous Persian Dictionary, is published by M. Moin in Volume I from a to th, 550 pp. It is far more than a new edition of the dictionary, containing etymologies and extensive notes with important introductory essays by several scholars. The Series Iran Kudè edited by Mahmud Moghadam, Professor of Avesta and Old Persian, in the University of Teheran, is concerned with Philology. Eleven numbers in equal volume have been published; several concerning local dialects (No. 11 was on Vafs, a district near Hamadan) are of interest to the scholars.

Prof. Poure Dawond has brought out a book under the title of *Farhang-e-Iran-ebāstān* in Persian of 380 pages, in which he dealt very exhaustively with about a dozen subjects such as mihan, frahangistan, Rati, dabir, Khrafstars etc., giving almost all references where the words occur in Ancient Avesta, Pahlavi and other texts. He has also given copious references to works of European and Parsi scholars, who have tried to interpret the various terms. The article on *Dasatir* will be found of great interest as the learned author

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has dealt with not only the contents of the text but aslo with the grammar of the language used in it. Next in importance is the treatment given by the author to the twelve months of the Zoroastrian calendar. Other subjects dealt with include animals such as the dog and the horse and birds such as the eagle and the cock. The author has enriched the book by giving interesting references from the Shah-nameh touching the various subjects dealt with.

The ancient Iranian people formed a branch of the Indo–European people and were very closely related to the ancient Indo–Aryans. Hence the language, literature and culture of the Iranians and Indians are akin to each other. It is, therefore, not only beneficial but essential that the Iranian literature should be studied side by side with the Ancient India, i.e., Vedic literature for the proper understanding of both the Cultures. With this necessity in view, the *Vaidika Samsodhaua Mandala, Poona,* opened on 20th July 1951, a centre for Iranian Studies under the able guidance of the well known Iranian scholar Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, who was formerly the Director of the Deccan College Post–Graduate and Research Institute, Poona. He conducts Avesta classes for Sanskrit scholars and research students. Vaidika Samsodhana Mandala is to be congratulated for the introduction of Avestan studies. It is proposed to bring out for beginners "An Avesta Reader" with a comparative grammar of the Sanskrit and the Avestan language and this work has been entrusted to Dr. Irach Taraporewala who is now engaged in it.

It is really a matter of great gratification to learn that the Poona University has now agreed to introduce and recognise Iranian Studies as a subject for study in the higher examination and has asked the Joint Committee of the Board of Sanskrit and the Board of Linguistics for working out the details. I hope earnestly that the other Universities may follow the example of the Poona University and try and introduce in their curriculum the Iranian Studies–Avesta, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian for all examinations.

Thanks to the laudable efforts of the late Mr. K. R. Cama, Avesta, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian were introduced into the entire curriculum of the Bombay University in 1894. They were taught and are being taught even at present in the Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhoy and Mulla Feroze Madressas respectively under the able guidance and principalship of Dr. Jamshed M. Unwala, M.A,PH.D. (Heidelberg) as the Colleges of Bombay have no chair for these studies. The Uuiversities of most civilised nations of the world find in them interest and inspiration.

By the sad death of Ervad B. N. Dhabhar, the work of Pahlavi Dictionary has been nipped in the bud. The importance of the Pahlavi dictionary is very great and I suggest that the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayat

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Funds and Properties should take up the services of the distinguished Iranists like Prof. H. W. Bailey, Prof. W. B. Henning, Prof. H. S. Nyberg, Prof. Menasee, Prof. Benveniste, Prof. Kaj Basr and Dr. J. M. Unwala in the preparation of this important and herculean task. Otherwise, these above-named scholars may be asked to prepare a separate glossary of the Pahlavi Texts, such as Dēnkart, Dātistān-i Dēnīk, Bundahisn, Mātīkān i Hazār Dātistān etc. At present we have got the Pahlavi glossaries of Nyberg Hang and West, Dastur Jamasp Asana, Bharucha etc., but these are not enough for the advancement of the study of Pahlavi.

A new translation of the entire Avesta and Pahlavi literature on the model of the Sacred Books of the East Series edited by F. Maxmuller is absolutely requisite on account of the discovery of new materials and studies of Saka, Sogidan, Manichean and Turfan, as the translations given in those volumes have become obsolete. For this purpose new and critical editions of the Pahlavi and Avesta Texts are necessary as well.

Friends and Fellow-delegates, I have tried your patience for a long time and it is time to stop. I thank you for the patient hearing you have given me and crave your indulgence for the dry nature of my address. I believe this Conference has a great part to play in the future progress of our couutry by aiding in the revival of ancient learning and Culture and I trust it will prove itself worthy of this hard and responsible task.

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Section III
Classical Sanskrit

By Lieut. Col. R. D. Karmarkar e.d.

Mr. President and delegates.

It is my duty at the outset to thank the organizers of the All-India Oriental Conference for having elected me President of the Classical Section for this Session. It may be known to some of you that nearly 34 years ago, I was one of the General Secretaries of the First Oriental Conference at Poona and I am glad to be one of the Office Bearers at this Session, though after such a long lapse of time.

The Classical Section is one of the most comprehensive of the Sections of the Conference, inasmuch as it comprises all non-Vedic literature, excluding the technical sciences and religion and philosophy, but in a sense it can be taken to be one of the most important, because the aspirations and the thoughts of the common man are reflected more in the Classical literature of a country than in any other form of literature. A nation's greatness can certainly be judged from the eminence it has attained in the domain of Philosophy and the discussion and exposition of what are called the Eternal Verities; but it is equally true that a nation is more widely known to other nations by the greatness it has attained in the sphere of drama, poetry and other common forms of literature. Take for instance, the case of England. England is certainly far better known as the producer of Shakespeare and Milton than a producer of philosophers like Locke, Hume, Berkley or warriors and statesmen of great eminence. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us to see that Indian classical literature is made known to as many people on this earth as possible and that too as early as possible. I shall refer to this matter further on in the final part of my Address.

I shall now deal in some detail with Classical Sanskrit Literature, referring briefly to what has bee done during the last few years and what requires to be done in the near future:—

(1) As regards the Epics—the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, we can pride ourselves on the fact that considerable progress has been made regarding the critical edition of the Mahābhārata undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. It is now evident that the end is in sight and possibly in the course of the next few years the complete edition would be published, though the Epilogue to it has yet to be undertaken.

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The Bhandarkar Institute has made a plan for a critical edition of the Harivaṁśa and arrangements are also being made to write out the Epilogue on proper lines.

As regards the Rāmāyaṇa, it is pleasant to note that the M. S. University of Baroda has been actively engaged in bringing out a critical edition ot that Epic. "The Journal of the Oriental Institute Baroda" has been, since its inception two years ago, publishing research papers on the various aspects of the Rāmāyaṇa studies.

(2) As regards the Purāṇas, not much is being done and we are not yet prone to pay as much attention to the Purāṇas as they deserve. Barring the work of Prof. Hajra, I do not find any scholar definitely devoting himself to this literature. More and more scholars are required to take to this work seriously. It is quite true that as yet we have no authoritative editions of the Purāṇas. My suggestion here is that instead of waiting for a perfect critical edition, it is advisable to print all the eighteen Purāṇas and sub-Purāṇas from a few reliable manuscripts and give proper annexes to their contents so that scholars would have sufficient material to go on with criticism of this kind of work. It would be ruinous to wait before a complete scientific edition is prepared. I do not think it is necessary to dilate upon the importance of the Purāṇas, even though scholars like the late Dr. A. B. Keith, have persistently been crying down the Purāṇas as unreliable. It is time that this high-brow attitute towards the Purāṇas is changed. Several scholars are now convinced that there is a lot of reliable, historical evidence in the Purāṇas, which can throw fresh light upon the political, social, religious and economic problems of ancient times. Though Pargiter and others have laboured on these topics, my personal opinion is that they have all been too cautious to come to any definite conclusions, partly owing to their prejudice aud partly owing to the environments in which they had been working. But now that India has become a free nation, it is up to us to make a fresh beginning in the interpretation of these works, not necessarily in a partisan patriotic spirit, but certainly with greater sympathy and greater appreciation of the traditions underlying this form of literature.

Some valuable reference books for the study of the Purāṇas have been recently published, such as the 'Purāṇa Index' by Prof. V. V. Dikshitar, which deals with only five Purāṇas, 'A Concordance of Purāṇa Contents' by Sri Yashopal Tandon, which though small in size, is very useful for locating the broad subjects dealt with in the main Purāṇas, the Harivaṁśa and the two epics, 'A Cultural Index to the Purāṇas' by Dr. A. P. Karmarkar is almost ready and would soon be published by the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona. It is desirable that some established Research Institute should undertake the publication of the Purāṇas.

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(3) As regards the drama, prose and poetic Kāvyas and similar forms of literature, a great deal has been done, but here also a complete bibliography of these works has yet to be made. Especially in the field of drama, we find so many new names of dramas appearing in works recently found or discovered, but the dramatic works proper have not yet been made available. In this connection, it is necessary to make a nation-wide attempt to unearth and make public all the manuscript material that has still remained to be tapped. Government help is absolutely essential if this work has to be done expeditiously and thoroughly. It is hoped that the Government of India would come to the help of the Oriental Conference if it launches upon a scheme in this connection.

A large number of scholars (Professors Bhat, Deosthali, Aggarval, Choudhnri etc.) have been working in this field and some good monographs have been published, dealing with dramas and kāvyas in all their aspects. Last year I published an edition of Śākuntala, where I have tried to show that the Bengali Recension of that play has not had a fair deal, and that the Śākuntala was originally intended to be a Five-Act drama. The question of Kālidāsa's date is still being debated npon as keenly as ever. Professor Shembavanekar in his 'Glamour of the Guptas' vehemently pleads for the earlier (1st century B. C.) date for Kālidāsa. There is some force in his arguments, but the matter obviously requires further investigation and proof. My own view about such problems is that established traditions should not be discarded as untrustworthy unless there is unimpeachable evidence to do so.

'A Concordance of Kālidāsa's Poems' composed by T. K. Ramchandra Aiyer, has been recently published by the Madras University. It would perhaps have been better if Devanāgarī type had been used instead of the Roman type and the Concordance had comprised verses from all genuine works of Kālidāsa. Tne 'Bharatakośa' by M. R. Kavi, which is a dictionary of technical terms in music and dramaturgy, is another useful publication worth noting. Not much is being done in the field of Prosody or metre.

The Deccan College Post-Graduate Institute is going on with its ambitious scheme of the "Sanskrit Thesaurus on Historical Lines." The preliminaries have been more or less stablised and the work is expected to go on with greater vigour in future.

A number of interesting historical and smaller kāvyas have also been recently published, such as

(1) 'Sahendravilāsa' by Śrīdhara Veṅkateśa (Published by Dr. Raghavan)

(2) 'Sūrjanakāvya' by Gauḍa Candraśekhara
(3) 'Jāmavijayakāvya' by Vāmanātha
(4) 'Vīrâbhadra-Campu' by Padmanātha

} Published by the indefatigable Prof. Choudhari of Calcutta

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"An illustrated set of Amaraśataka", by Dr. Motichandra, "Paramānanda-kāvya" (edited by Dr. Sardesai), 'Rasavilāsa' of Bhūdeva (edited by Miss Premalata Sharma), 'Śūdraka' by Shri Chandrabali Pandey, 'Adharaśataka' (edited by Prof. N. A. Gore).

The Travancore University has also published several interesting small works.

Concerted efforts must be made to publish smaller rare works (preferably with English translation). A series like the old Nirṇayasagara 'Kāvya-mālā' series, could usefully be started for this purpose. That much we certainly owe to those who had taken a lot of trouble to preserve such works in manuscript form.

(4) Histories properly written of Sanskrit drama, Sanskrit poetry and minor literature are a desideratum. An ambitious attempt made by the Calcutta University which has brought forth one volume of History of Classical Sanskrit Literature by Dasgupta and De, unfortunately has not come up to expectations for some reason or other. An authoritative body like our Conference, may do well to assign certain periods of such works definitely to some scholars and take the responsibility of co-ordinating such attempts itself. Otherwise, spasmodic plans are likely to end in a frittering away of time, energy and money. All such attempts certainly have their own value, but if they could be done under the auspices of a body like the All-India Oriental Conference, the results are bound to be more fruitful.

It is indeed creditable that periodicals and books in Sanskrit on various branches of Sanskritic studies continue to be published in a larger number, convincingly proving that Sanskrit is not a dead language. A few of these are noted below:—

(1) History of Sanskrit literature in Sanskrit, by Prof. Agrawal of Ludhiana

(१) श्री रामदासचरितम्	Mrs. Kshama Rao
(२) भारतीयदेशभक्तचरितम्	K. S. Nagarjun
(३) श्रीशबरीचरितम्	
(४) पद्यपुष्पाञ्जलिः	V. Subrahman Aiyer
(५) राष्ट्रवाणी (संस्कृत गीतसंग्रह)	R. Pathak
(६) विश्वमोहनम् (based on 'Faust')	S. N. Tadpatrikar

The translation in Marathi of the Bhāṣya of Patañjali, by the late Vasudeo Shastri Abhyankar; and that of Rasagaṅgādhara (Part I, by Prof. Athavale) have been recently published.

Translations or renderings of important Sanskrit works in regional languages continue to be published, but unless Government come to the aid of private agencies, it is not possible to envisage great activity in this

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connection. It is not my intention to name the large number of writers to whom we all owe a debt of gratitude for whatever they have been doing in this field. I am more concerned with making a general observation as to how Sanskrit Classical literature can be the best guarantee for giving a proper idea of Indian culture to the outside world. In this connection, I may be permitted to quote here what our Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says in one place:

> "If I was asked what is the greatest treasure which India possesses and what is her finest heritage, I would answer unhesitatingly, it is the Sanskrit language and literature and all that it contains. This is a magnificent inheritance and so long as this endures and influences the life of our people, the basic genius of India would continue."

No better testimony to the importance of Sanskrit language and literature could have been given by any one. Another fact to be noted is that what we call Sanskrit culture is formed by the fusion of different races right up from the beginning of Civilization. Everybody has contributed to this composite entity called Sanskrit culture,—the Draviiḍans, the Āryans, Asuras, Pārasīkas, Daityas, Dānavas, Nāgas and the aboriginal inhabitants of varying degrees of civilization, not to mention the Scythians, Muslims and Europeans in modern times. These all have contributed to make this culture the culture of Bhārata as a whole. This being the case, it is sad to contemplate that a cry has been raised specially from the south of India that Sanskrit culture is something germane only to northern India and that it has overpowered what is called the southern or Draviḍian culture. The facts are perhaps the other way round. The Draviḍians were probably the first in the field and in the philosophical domain, with the major Bhāṣyakāras coming from the South, their importance can not be challenged. The Draviḍian culture can be said to have influenced the northern Aryans very powerfully indeed. So, what we call now Sanskrit culture is certainly both Draviḍian and Āryan. In order that this culture be made known to others, I suggest that well-known works from Sanskrit should be translated into European languages and made available to foreign people there at a very low cost and the Government should finance liberally all attempts to translate such works into the regional languages as well. It is too much to expect that Series like the 'Sacred Books of the East' or the 'Harvard Oriental Series' would continue to be published by other countries, now that India has stood on her own legs politically. Tne Indians, therefore, must take now the initiative in not only continuing such series, but in making them more comprehensive by adding a very large number of Classical works in every field of literature. It is also essential that in order that the unity of India might be properly

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preserved, Sanskrit should find an important place in the school and college curriculum of studies. The Indian Constitution has rightly ruled that Sanskrit should be regarded as an all-India language; hence it is but fair that every one who desires to call himself literate should study it.

In these days of Atom and Hydrogen bombs and Jet air-planes, there is every danger of an appeal for the realisation of the value of Sanskrit learning and culture, falling on deaf ears. The following acute observations of W. Norman Brown (P. 53. 'The United States and India and Pakistan' 1953') in this connection deserve to be seriously considered:—

"In education secularisation appears in the fact that the Hindu and Muslim Classical languages-Sanskrit Arabic and Persian-and the literature composed in them have attracted even fewer students in the last five years. The fairly distinguished possition which these subjects had achieved in the public education system by the late nineteenth century and contlnued to hold the same for some decades has now contracted disastrously in the eyes of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian scholars. It is a question whether the neglect of traditional culture is to the two nations' best interests."

While as many as twelve Science labortories have been founded by the Government of India at colossal recurring and non-recurring expenditure, and several others are projected, practically very little has been done for the promotion of traditional culture. The Five-Year Plan seems to have completely ignored this aspect of national advance-a fact to which a reference was made by H.E. Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, Governor of Bombay in a speech at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute on the 13th of September last. H. E. howevr felt confident that the Government of India would be only too glad to rectify this omission, if well-prepared schemes backed by All-India institutions were presented to them, and said that he would do do all he can in such matters. I earnestly hope that the All-India Oriental Conference would take the lead without undue delay in this connection. Lastly I wish to make some practical suggestions.

(1) The Central Government should be requested to make Sanskrit (Arabic or Persian) and Ancient Indian Culture compulsory subjects at the All-India Public Service Examinations.

(2) Both the above subjects should be compulsory for all college students upto the Pre-Graduate Examination, and at the Degree Examination for students in the Arts Faculty.

(3) Publication of rare manuscripts with Translation into English and regional languages be immediately taken in hand.

(4) Well-known Classical Works rendered into English for the benefit of foreign nations, be published and distributed freely. The following brief

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list would indicate what type of works I have in mind :–

1. Dramas of and Tales from Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti etc.
2. Tales from Sanskrit Drama.
3. Tales from Sanskrit Kāvyas.
4. Romantic tales.
5. Devotional Hymns, etc.

If steps are taken to implement the above suggestions and thus Sanskrit attains its proper place in the cultural domain of Bhārata, there would be a common bond of Sanskrit language and culture which would unify the different provinces together and would by giving a proper impetus to the development of regional languages, most effectively contribute ultimately to a properly unified Bhārata which then would be in a position to hold her hand high up in the comity of the world.

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Section IV

Islamic Culture

By Prof. N. A. Nadvi

The last two devastating world-wars may have been responsible for other things but one fact that emerges out in bold relief is the international out-look which is being developed to a great degree in the mind of the people. For the second time the world is trying to remove all those barriers which divide man and man and cause conflegration in different groups of humanity. We have witnessed the tragic fate of the League of Nations and now even with the international conception the life of the United Nations Organization seems to be in a precarious condition and it is feared that any day this ship of our hopes might be wrecked to piecos on the rocks of narrow-mindedness, and humanity instead of progressing on the path of enlightenment and peace may go back to the age of darkness and savagery. If the international out-look so-much talked of, is to be maintained, we must look to history which after all is the essence of our experiences of thousand of years. It is in the light of history and history alone that humanity can be saved from future disaster and destruction.

From time to time the world has seen efforts being made to bring about a complete unity of thought and action among the people of the world through the agencies of religion, politics, economics and intellect and among these efforts the contributions made by Islam stand out most prominently in the hisiory of the world. It is to be remembered that except in Arabia wherever civilization thrived in the past, it was a concerted effort of centuries. The grandeur of Greece, the glory of Rome, the pomp of Persia and the greatness of India were evolved through ages but the infusion of dynamic life in the nomadic tribal groups that lived in a God-forsaken desert cut off from the rest of the world and the transformation of the people who were given to most abominable practices *viz* religious, social and moral, into a highly civilised and cultural nation was nothing short of a miracle of Islam. Arabia, which was a centre of all superstitions, moral degradation, personal jealousies and conflicts, wars and feuds, with the advent of Islam, became the cradle of the noblest nation carrying the torch of peace and civilization in the whole world. Within a century, the Islamic world extended from the shores of the Atlantic to the great wall of China. This unique achievement was the result

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of the inspiration drawn from one book, one command and one language. The leader was the Prophet, the book was the Quran and the language Arabic. Islam is not a mere faith or a political idea but it is a true guide and light for the betterment of humanity and peace and progress. As far as religion was concerned, it was not a bundle of dogmas, superstitions and hair-spliting metaphysical problems but it laid at rest all the differences by accepting the basic truth of all religions, prophets and revealed books of all countries and of all times. Instead of stressing formal outward expressions of prayer and worship, it underlined the acts of human welfare, equality, fraternity and liberty. The Quran repeatedly invites the people to think, to ponder, to experiment and to discover for themselves powers and forces of nature for their own use. Thus rationality and humanity are the fundamentals of Islamic philosophy.

The Muslims with the full responsibility of their mission did not only try to regain and recover all the past achievements of thousands of years of cultural and scientific achievements of the human race, but added a considerable quota of their intellectual wealth. The prophet from the very beginning of his missionary career, had repeatedly ordered his followers to acquire knowledge, study the marvels of nature and master the forces of material and spiritual world. Sayings of the prophet like "to seek knowlehge is a duty for every Muslim male and Muslim female" or "the ink of the scholar is more holy than the blood of the martyr" have become proverbial. Islam being sure of its own ground and of its truth has persistently invited the people to have a rational outlook and attitude in every walk of life, and to study every branch of knowledge rationally. The prophet announced "An hour of contemplation and study of God's creation is better than a year of adoration." As far as the study of all the forms and branches of science was concerned, his conviction was "Teach science: he who teaches it fears Allah, he who spreads it distributes alms, he who possesses it becomes the object of veneration and benevolence. Science saves from error and sin, it clears the way to paradise, it is our companion in travel, our confidence in the desert and our society in solitude. It guides us in the pleasures and pains of life and serves as an ornament before our friend. It is thought that the Almighty elevates men to a height where they can pronounce what is true and what is good."

He has stated that for the sake of knowledge, travel even to China to quench the thirst for knowledge. Further he has ordained that wisdom is the lost property of the faithful and he should pick it up wherever he finds it. It was with this spirit that the Muslims began to collect and pick up whatever and wherever a thing of wisdom was found.

Their first achievement was to bring a greater part of the then known

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world under one flag, one law and one status; where all men enjoyed equal rights, equal privileges and equal opportunities. All the man-created barriers of caste, creed, colour, culture or country were removed. The oppressed were freed, the slaves liberated, and the fallen ones were raised to their full height. Thus for the first time, the people rushed to make this great experiment a success.

It is interesting and also surprising that what we call the achievements of Islamic culture are not the works of Muslims only nor are these the contributions of the Arabs alone. Many Christians, Jews, Zorastorians and the Hindus have contributed their share in the growth of this gigantic palace of wisdom.

When the Arabs came out of their country, the culture and civilization of the world had not only begun to decay but ignorance, narrow-mindedness and unbelievable fanaticism had destroyed them completely. The Muslims undertook the tedious task of salvaging whatever was left. They first rescued what was lying under the debris and ruins and then by Herculian efforts rebuilt it. Again not being contented with the mere restoration of the past, they added the results of their patience and thoughtful researches. Such was their zeal to rescue all that was nearly lost or out of their immediate reach that their mighty caliphs instead of asking for precious material wealth, demanded old manuscripts from their vanquished opponents. It was in this manner that they tried to get hold of all the books and pamphlets which were available in this connection. First they contacted the scholars who knew about the Greek's contribution to the different branches of arts and sciences. With their help, they had them translated into Arabic either directly from the original or through their Syric or Persian version. Here we must admire the sense of honesty and gratitude of the Arabs. Though it was possible at that time to put the label of their own name to all the intellectual productions, they openly acknowledged the sources of their inspirations. They received their early knowledge of medicine, philosophy, mathematics etc., from Greece and even to this day they call their system of medicine "Tibb-i-Yurani and Falsafa-i-Yanani and Uqladis. They learned their numerical system from India and even today they gratefully mention it as Indian numerals. But if they have taken from others plentifully, they have given to the world abundantly and somewhat superior in quality. If they have drawn inspiration from Aristotle, Plato, Galem, Hypprocrates etc., they have given to the world their thinkers like Al-Kindi, Faraib, Ibn Muskawaih, Ib-Sina, Ibn-Baja', Ibn-i-Tufail, Ibn-i-Rushd, Ibn-i-razi etc. In Mathematics, if they took the numerical system from India, they improved the fundamental arithmetical operation. Zero was invented by Mahamad-bin-Musa and Algebra is practically their creation. They invented the "sine", "tangent" and "co-

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tangent" and developed spherical geometry. In the same way and with the same abundances, they contributed their proud and substantial share in the growth and development of Chemistry, Physics, Natural History, Geography, Geology, Astronomy, Astrology, Botany, Opthalmology and Mechanics. Within the limited scope of this address it is not possible for me to go into greater details. Hundreds of books have been written on these subjects, and there is no standard work on the historical development on any of these subjects which does not acknowledge this debt gratefully. In short from the 8th century to the 12th century, the Arabs were the teachers of the world and they would have continued to be so had they not neglected the basic teachings of their religion. The Quran contains certain guidance and objectives–whosoever will follow them will achieve the same result. The Arabs lost sight of them and were deprived of their greatness and renown and were relegated to unenviable position by other nations who carried the torch of culture and civilization.

The European nations having come into contact with Arabic culture and thought, through Spain, Sicily and Italy followed the path of rationalism. And very soon the leadership of the world passed on from the Arabs to them.

Coming nearer home it was again the Muslims who brought India once more in contact with the rest of the world. With the extinction of Buddhism, India had ceased to possess an international importance. Arabs knew India much earlier than the advent of Islam. Arab merchants had settled down on the coasts of India and they were enamoured of the great culture and learning of India. It was, therefore, no surprise that the Muslims turned in search of learning also towards this country. Haroon–ar–Rashid invited the prominent scholars from India who translated books on Medicine, Mathematics, Astronomy and Philosophy. In addition, some of them were entrusted with the management of hospitals and scientific and pharmacological laboratories. Scores of travellers who visited India have left detailed accounts of the country. Sulaiman, Masudi, Abu–Zaid Idisri etc. are but a few names in that connection. Even during Mahmood Ghaznavi's time a great scholar and thinker Abdur Rehman–al–Beruni, was engaged in collecting all the possible scientific, religions and social information relating to India. His work known as 'India' is monumental and stands in a class by itself.

Besides the seekers of the material and intellectual wealth, there came a host of Muslim saints in search of spiritual enlightenment. They have influenced the religious thoughts and trends of the country. Dr. Tarachand and other authorities on the subject have very ably discussed in their books this aspect of Islamic influence. Having made this country their home, they began to contribute to the various branches of Arts and Science. In Architecture,

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music, painting, clothing, pieces of furniture, food, system of education, literature, development of modern Indian languages as the vehicles of the literary expression and the birth of a lingua franka, Hindi or Urdu. Most of these contributions are too well known to you.

I will now pass on to the present condition of the Muslim world. From the very commencement as the present century, they have begun to realize their sad plight and position to which they have been reduced owing to the wrong interpretation of the basic ideology. And they have been awakened by the ruthless persecution of the imperialist powers. The result is that from Tunisia to Turkistan, Malaya & indonesia every Muslim country has either broken the chains of slavery or is up in arms to liberate itself. At present a new life is throbbing and there is an earnest attempt to live a life of honour and respect, peace and prosperity and devoted to the welfare of the humanity at large.

The last international Oriental Conference held at Istanbul was a living proof of the new intellctual life of the Muslims all the world over. Let us hope that they once more succeed in giving to the world their best contribution of mind and spirit.

Europe is aware of the past glory and of the potentiality of the Muslim mind and character. It is to know more and more about the real Muslim contribution in the past and the possible achievements in the future that they have introduced Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Islamic culture as regular important subjects at their centres of learning. In every country of Europe and in the majority of the States in America, these subjects are being pursued with great diligence and zeal. Seminars and conferences are held, important manuscripts edited and printed, magazines and periodicals published, and the vast literature minutely studied. India happily as a free country holds a unique position. It is therefore not only desirable but essential that the scholars of this country should study the history and culture, religion and language of the Muslims who are so predominant in Middle-East, Far-East, Near-East Asia and Africa. This will lead to a better understanding, closer co-operation and happier relations.

It is indeed a matter of regret that during the recent years not only has the study of these subjects been neglected but is also discouraged. In fact all Universities and intellectual centres should have department of Islamic studies. Here Islam and all that goes with this name has received the best treatment in the past and I am sure will continue to have it in a greater degree in the future.

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Section VI: Pali & Buddhism

By Prof. N. K. Bhagwat

Brothers and Sisters Delegates,

Let me, in the first place, very sincerely thank the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference, for having conferred upon me this honour of presiding over this section of the XVII session of the All-India Oriental Conference at Ahmedabad. This is now the sixth year, since a separate section is being alloted to Pāli & Buddhism. This innovation has resulted in enabling Pāli Scholars to devote specialised attention to this pre-eminently potential field of research and which every year brings in fresh discoveries and throws further light on the yet undiscovered regions of Pāli and Buddhism. The worldwide interest, which Buddhism has enlisted so far and been enlisting every year, has amply justified the wisdom of the organisers of the Conference, in giving a separate section for Pāli. I am, however, inclined to believe that "Pāli and Buddhism" is not a happy nomenclature. Buddhism as such was never intended by the Buddha to be designated as an "Ism". "Pali and Buddha's way of life" or "Pāli and Buddha's Humanism" or "Pāli and Buddha Sāsana" would have been the proper title. He, for example, has used the term "Sanātana Dharma" and he has taught what was fundamental or basic and eschewed all what was accidental and spurious. However, I bow down to the nomenclature and shall set my views, which are not in sequence and yet should be thought out by one, who is interested in this section.

It is customery for the President of a Section to deliver an elaborate discourse and make an exhaustive analysis of the progress and development of Literature and indicate the prospects in his Section. The importance of this procedure can never be gainsaid; but merely to give a long list of authors and their publications in a particular field during a period of time and thereby assess the progress of scholarship in that field is not always possible nor feasible. It helps to inform the scholar and the hearer, in a compact speech, and get thereby a comprehensive idea of the variety and richness of a Literature and yet it is from another point far more important to give in a nutshell the condition and progress of a particular field and tendencies and potentialities, its capacity to attract others and from general considerations to deduce such conclusion as may go to fitly evaluate the section under consideration. I follow the second course: (1) I shall confine myself to a men-

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tion of one or two points of enquiry and discussion. I ahall show the progress of Pāli Scholarship and its present conditon, (2) make a brief mention of the discoveries in Pāli Antiquities, Archaelogy and Art, (3) show how circumstances have tended in recent years to widen out ideas about Pāli and how this field of enquiry includes every aspect of our culture and how fhe tendency to understand each other is on the increase among the countries of South-East Asia, and lastly (4) indicate one or two ways by which Pāli scholarship will gain in popularity and interest.

In this historical and culturally excellent city of Ahmedabad, I am specially lucky in being priviledged to speak upon the Buddha's teachings, because it is the sacred place, where there is the Ashram of Mahātmāji. His aims and objects and the means of achieving them showed a marvellous correspondence to those of the Buddha and thereby to produce an impression that Mahātmāji was the Maitreya Buddha, who is supposed to appear after Gautama Buddha. Whatever may have been the case, this place of Gandhiji -his Karma Bhūmi-and his teachings, methods and the technique afterwards found favour not only with India, but even with the whole World. It is this that has made me particularly happy in speaking on this occasion. Further, it is here that my *Guru*, the late Kosambi and an oriental Pāli Scholar of international fame, was helping Gandhiji in the "Purā-tatwa Mandir" from where many works and texts on Buddhism are published. This distant association is another reason that makes me further happy. In a time-limit, given to me, I shall try to give you my views and general consideration about Pāli and Buddha's Humanism-who would not like to speak on the Buddha's Humanism-who would not like to speak on the Buddha's work and his Literature? The Buddha was the "Blessed companion of mankind" and the downtrodden. Pāli itself is a proof, if any proof is needed to show Buddha's partiality to the language of the *Masses* of his own times and his flat refusal to accept Sanskrit. It is the progress of this Language (Pāli) that we have to survey here.

Pali scholarship has gained in diversity, but has been, on the whole, showing signs of dicadence and neglect:

On this side of India I must say that the Pāli studies began with the late Prof. Dharmanand Kosambi. who was brought first into light by the late Dr. R. C. Bhandarkar. Dr. Bhandarkar was the first scholar, who introduced Pali in the Bombay University as far back as 1913, and Prof. Kosambi was made the first Professor of Pāli in the Fergussion College, Poona. With him the Pāli studies started on its career and then Pāli and Buddhism got its real advancement and general awakening. In fact, Prof. Kosambi gave the orthodox scholars of Sanskrit a rude shock and many of them wondered whether

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it was so very necessary to give Pāli studies such a high position in the University of Bombay and at the various Examinations, conducted by it. Pāli studies in general began to be flourished and Pāli texts were published in the Devanāgarī. Prof. Kosambi, the late Prof. C. V. Rajwade with Messrs N. K. Bhagwat, P. V. Bapat and Dr. P. L. Vaidya, of Bhandarkar Research Institute, the Mahabodhi Society, Dr. B. C. Law and the late Dr. B. M. Barua, Rev. Ottam of Burma, the Buddha Society of Bombay and "Purā-Tatwa Mandir" and Bombay University etc. published Devanāgarī Editions and along with this Pāli Literature, Buddhist Arts of Painting, sculpture, and other studies of Buddhist Antiquities attracted attention of the Scholar and the Diletantte. With this onward career it was then the fate of Pali Language to suffer from a chequered career. Sanskrit Professors were not always very willing to accord Pāli, a primary and fundamental position, side by side, with Sanskrit, and attempts were made to do away with its hegemony by dropping it from the then Matriculation Examination. Even then attempts were successfully made by the late Dr. A. L. Nair and the late Sir N. G. Chandraverkar, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University to restore it to that examination. The Pāli Literature, however, remained a concern only of few colleges and schools since the other schools were unwilling to make provision for a study ot this language in their Institutions and excepting the Fergussion College, Baroda College and the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, in no other college, was it given an honoured place. In the meantime Ardhamāgadhi caught the imagination of our Sanskritists. It proved to be a very popular language and the number of centres have been opened for its studies. With the decentralisation of the Bombay University and the establishment of Regional Universities, Pāli is officially recognised as a language in every University and yet its number shows diminution. Inspite of this handicap Pāli study has kept on steady progress and development in other parts of India and the world at large. Our Pāli scholars and Professors have diverted their energies to other fields of Indology, like the Chinese, the Tibetan and other languages and Pāli studies have lost in intensity and specialisation. After the late Prof. Kosambi, the true generation of Pāli scholars, with few exceptions, has dwindled down. To day Pāli language as such is a matter of study for those, who want to have an easy escape and thus has not produced any scholars of eminence, barring very few.

The necessity for a Pāli study can never be exaggerated. Its great handicap however lies in various scripts, like the Singhalese, the Siamese and the Burmese, in which the literature is published. It is by concerted efforts of the Universities of India that "A Tipiṭaka Board" should be formed with a body of renowned scholars and a scheme for the Publication of Pāli

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Texts and especially, the Commentary literature, be formulated so that it should be completed within ten or fifteen years. It is thus the Shastries and Pandits of India, who will be attracted to this field and their co-operation and interest will go a great way in advancing Pāli studies. I personally believe that this work must be undertaken by an influencial body like 'the All-India Oriental Conference.' The Universities of India must come forward to help the scheme with a liberal financial aid.

All-Sided Progress briefly Indicated: (i) In the matter of **Pali Literature:** Pāli concordance of the Tipiṭaka, the Jātaka Volumes of the Kāsi Vidyā-Peetha, and the great impetus given by Dr. Ambedkar and his scholars to Pāli Literature must be specially mentioned along with others. "The Mithila Sanskrit Institute", "The Nālandā Buddhist Institute" and "The Institute of Prākrits and Jain Studies and Ahimsa" at Vesali, and "The Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavana" of Bombay must be specially referred to in this connection. Pāli Dictionaries and specially Dr. Edgerton's "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit" show a high watermark of Pāli scholarship. Our knowledge of the fundamental character of Pāli is further rendered richer and richer by the publications of the Chinese and the Tibetan works and the frequent visits, undertaken by Indian scholars to places likes Burma, China, Siam, Indo-China, Indonesia, Viet-Nam, Japan and other Buddhist Countries of the South-East Asia. Scholars like Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. Malalsekere, Rev. Narada Thero, Dr. P. V. Bapat and others have extensively toured in these countries and it is now proved that the Buddhist cultures of these countries deserve to be studied for a proper appraisal of Indian Budhist Culture. They have further proved that Pāli Studies will ever remain the source *Prima* of all our further scholarship in Pāli and Buddhism. In foreign countries like those of Europe and America, scholars have taken to Pāli and Buddhist studies and they promise to be very popular in those countries. 'Parliaments of Religions' are being held, and the Catholicity and breadth of outlook of the Buddha's Teachings are now confirmed and better appreciated by the western countries of the world along with the spread of the Teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. In Germany, France, Holland, England, Russia, Italy and in the Universities of America, Pāli Scholarship has taken a firm root. The revival is great and astonishing.

(ii) In the field of **archaeology and Arts**-mention must be made of Jagadeesha Kashyapa, who has discovered a Vihāra (11 cent. A.D.) at Hazari-Baug; while the 'Sudarshana Vihāra' at East Gurzal (Chittagong District) is a further discovery. Nine Buddhist Caves have been discovered by the Archaeological Department in the Kannada Taluka of Aurangabad District. The Inscriptions discovered therein show that they date from 2 centuries B. C. to the 6 centuries A. D. The discovery of 'Ghositārāma' Monastery was made

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by the Allahabad University Archaeological Expeditions and it has added a lot to our knowledge and the authenticity of the Pāli Canon. The necessity of the preservation of the Nagārjuni Kunda has been specially felt, due to the contemplated New Nandi Koda scheme. In the matter of rediscovery of the Buddhist carvings and paintings in the caves of North-West China one can show that these artistic grottos may prove a veritable "Chinese Ajanṭā". The Carvings and Mural Paintings display the life of the Buddha with the mention of the Gandharvas. Lama Anagārika Govinda has shown to the world his Tibetan Paintings and Frescoes at Tsapa Rang. They reveal the unrivalled excellence of the Buddhist Art. The Buddha's First Sermon is a masterpiece. Our Ajanta and Ellora, Sanchi and Bharhut are given a new and a confirmatory light and a new orientation with these recent discoveries. The Modern Man and the Scholar feels on seing them-that "He is humbled and purged, feels ashamed of his petty pursuits and transient Passions and his Ego perceptly shrinks with illimitable grandeur". Pāli Studies are bound to produce the above-quoted sentiment, whether you travel in India or travel and see the antiquities of South-East Asia. You feel and realise one Bhārat, one Humanity, one Common Heritage, one Common Culture. The different divisions and sects like the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna pale into insignificance and one feels that all those distinctions are but the facets of one Jewel-"the Bhāratīya Culture". Dr. Bapat's recent visits to the South-East Asia has shown us how the Hindu Icons and the Buddhist Icons live peaceably together, side by side and have been for centuries moulding and developing and reacting on each others' Life. This is a very great progress and Indian Government has given a great impetus and encouragement to all this revealation. Mention must be made of the "Indian council for cultural relations"-a body of the Government of India, whose special object is "To promote a wider knowledge and appreciation of the Language, Literature and Art of South-East Asian countries and to establish close contacts between the Universities and cultural Institutions of those countries and adopt all other measures to promote cultural Relations." Dr. Shodotaki of Japan said: "India and Japan are very close to each other in cultural relations". Dr. Ambedkar's recent activities will go a great way in fostering and cultivating the study of Pāli and Buddhism from a high level and his proposed Institution of Pāli Studies is a further landmark in the progress and interest, shown by the people on this side, in Pali and Buddistic studies. In India, Books in Modern Indian languages are very frequently being published and if those efforts are properly co-ordinated, it will have a bright future in respect of the popularisation of Pāli and Buddhistic Studies. As an humble student of Pāli and Buddha's Teachings, working for 35 years on this side and in this field, I feel that the question of God, the question of Soul,

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the question of Rebirth, the Caste-system and its abolition are the main obstacles, as to why the orthodox Hindu and even the modernised Hindu for that, is not prepared to extend hand of friendship to Buddhism in India. These questions, which the Buddha regarded as not pertinent to his enquiry, have got to be faced and answered by the Buddhists, if they want the Buddha's teachings to be spread and made popular in India. Events, no doubt, will prove that the Buddha and his broad and catholic teaching of Love, Truth, Non-violence, Universal Brotherhood and Unity of Human race are being acceptible more and more and yet these questions must be answered on the Buddhistic Level. "The Buddhist Fellowship of Faiths" is doing its utmost to popularise the Buddha and the spread of Buddha's doctrines among all the Peoples of the world.

The recent progress made in Burma to hold a "World's Buddhist Congress" is going to be the biggest event in the Buddhist History of modern times. This will be the VI Sangīti (Buddhist Convocation) since the Parinibbāṇa of the Lord Buddha 500 years before Christ. Three thousand Buddhist Dignitories and Scholars from all over the world will meet in Rangoon, on May 1954 aud reexamine the Buddhist Scriptures to preserve their prestine purity. The Sangīti will be in continuous sitting for 2 years and will break up on the Full-Moon day of May 1956. This is an important landmark in the history of Pāli Scholarship and will be of very great help in evaluating the Buddha's Teachings and solving the very many thorny problems, which confront the Hindu mind today. May I suggest here that the Body of the Oriental Conference should appoint a Committee of Experts from all parts of India and by issuing a questionnaire, elicit full information about the Avyākata Paññā (Unexplained Questions) of the Buddha and then formulate these questions and forward them to the Buddhist council (Sangīti) in Burmā. Their authoritative pronouncement will be of immense value in the solution of very many of the debatable questions that come in the way of the willing reception of Buddha's teachings by the Indian peoples.

In conclusion, I am convinced that whether "Pali and Buddhism" will be studied or not, the Buddhist culture, based on the unity of human race, the efficacy and potency of love, rejoicing, compassion, equibalance of the mind under any circumstances (Brahma Vihāra), and the importance of judging the matters of the world in the light of *moral values* and thereby regulating human relations and dealings will be the greatest heritage of the Buddha and will continue to prosper and benefit the world. The Buddha's word was the fundamental and first doctrine of "Humanism" and that con-

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stituted his Religion and this has been taught by Pāli Language and Literature. Afterwards it filtered through the missionary Buddhist Bhikkhus to the peoples of India and to the South-East Asia and the whole world. It is the richest legacy that India has been able to leave to the world. This Legacy alone will enable the world to find effective Solution to the very many critical problems–both National and international–that stand confronting it today.

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Section VII: Prakrit & Jainism

By Kamta Prasad Jain

Brother Delegates & Friends,

First of all I tender my sincere thanks to the Conference Authorities for the honour they have done me by asking me to preside at the Prakrit & Jainism section. I accepted the offer with hesitation as I hardly find myself qualified to discharge the duty in an adequate form. I do not propose to make any elaborate presentation of deep study on the subject; but of course I want to express my humble views on the drawbacks and necessities of this section of knowledge. I will notice also recent publications, which may have already attracted your attention.

Coming on the proper subject I must say that Jainism is nothing else but a Science of Truth, which deals with spiritual and material, both the aspects of Existence. In this world neither soul nor matter is found in its pure condition: they being intermingled with each other from eternity appear all the time in various modifications: yet their reality remains the same. Our Thinkers observed the morning sun and styled it a symbol of Perfect Knowledge. Sun in its reality is a disc of shining light, bright and white; yet the rising sun appears a red ball. Is it really a red ball? Certainly not. The Jain Thinkers have pointed out that light, darkness etc. are all materialistic and composed of fine molecules. Hence when the light of rising sun penetrates through molecules of darkness it changes to redness and envelops the rising sun. This phenomenon leads us to infer that though the sun remains a bright and white ball of light at all times, it appears red in its outer appearnce due to outer connections. Similarly soul remains pure in its realistic condition of Infinite Knowledge, Perception, Joy and Power for ever, yet it appears different in its various worldly conditions. This fact reflects the nature of the Jain conception of *Anekānta* viewpoints; which begins with the Realistic viewpoint and the Practical viewpoint. Those who study the Existence in one absolute form, they hardly touch the Truth. In the present state of things where reconciliation of seeming opposites is very essential the study of *Anekānta* system is most necessary. And it is gratifying to note that the interest of scholars of India and abroad is increasing. Dr. Kunst of New York, Dr. Archie J. Bahm of New Mexico Uni. and Prof J. W. Stannard of Illionos University are studying the Jain system of Thought. They have been provided with the

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literature by the World Jain Mission. Dr. Bahm has dealt with *Syādvāda* principle in his work entitled "Existence". He remarked about its importance and warned that "In stressing, as they should the significance of Ahimsā as basic to their doctrine, Jainists may be overlooking the importance of their logical contributions to human thought as means to greater peace." (Voice of Ahimsa, I, i, 15). So it is now the onerous duty of the Jain community in particular and of those who are interested in the progress of Indian culture in general, as to arrange for the proper study of the Jain Logic by publishing works in a scholarly form and by establishing Jain chairs in various universities.

I feel like stressing one important point at the very outset and it is that the Jaina and Buddhist literatures are as much Indian as any other branches of Indian Literature. A Jaina or a Buddhist is as much a tax-payer as any other citizen of India. It is seen from experience that sufficient funds of the State Governments and Central Govt. are not diverted towards the study of Jaina and Buddhistic literature as they are diverted towards other studies. I hope, our secular Govt. would not make such discrimination, but kindly devote more money to that branch of study which has not been hitherto attended and which is important in the heritage of our land. I have no doubt that Jaina literature, especially in Prakrit and Apabhransa and that dealing with Jaina system of thought deserves special attention of the Central and State Govts.

The Jaina Mss. Bhandars are very valuable in view of the ancient character of the Mss. in them. It is indeed a happy development that the Govt. of India have microfilmed some Mss. from Pattan and Jaisalmer. I would specially draw the attention of the Central Govt. and the Govt. of the Madras State that there are very valuable Mss. of *Dhavalā*, *Jayadhavalā* and *Mahādhavalā* in the Jaina Maṭha at Mooḍbidri in South Kanara. THEY ARE THE ONLY MSS. OF THOSE VALUABLE REPOSITARIES OF THE KARMA DOCTRINE WHICH IS THE BACKBONE OF ALL INDIAN RELIGIONS. These palmleaf Mss. are nearly one thousand years old. They are our national treasure, and we cannot afford to ruin them on the altar of time. It is quite urgent therefore, that the Educational Department of either the Central Govt. or of the Madras State should at once take the cause in their hands and prepare a number of photostat copies and microfilm copies and distribute them to important Libraries of the World. That is the best way to preserve this national wealth of India. Otherwise within a short time these mss. would be broken to pieces and lost altogether beyond recovery.

It is a sign of happiness that in many walks of life we witness today the drawing together of worlds once far apart. This will lead the mankind inevitabily to an interchange of spiritual values. Keeping in view this fact, the comparative study of Jainism with other religions and thoughts is most

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desirable, for Jainism being a Science of Religion will prove to be a most practicable system to bring about a confluence of opposites. Tirthankaras preached the Truth to Aryans and non-Aryans alike.[1] Their blessed teaching is not restricted to humanity only but it is meant for every living being. So it has been styled simply as *"Dhamma" "Tattwa"* or *"Magga"*–the way of Life and liberation.[2] The study of the Jain *Purāṇas* will reveal the truths concerning the primitive life of human beings, when man lived singly with his partner in life in the way of nature. He had no family nor possessions. He neither cooked his food, nor cared for his clothes. Raw vegetables and fruits was his food. Such were the ancestors of the Aryan people–the cultured ones. Rishabhadeva, the first Tirthankara was the first among the people at that time who taught them the necessary arts and methods to lead and live a cultured life. He preached Yoga and was a great Yogi. In the "Rishabhadeva special No." (Jany.–Feby. 1952) of the "Voice of Ahimsa" Dr. B. C. Law, Dr. H. D. Sankalia and Prof. A. P. Karmarkar have discussed the life-story of this Great Saint of India and have assigned him belonging to the Stone Age. Jains are the only people who have practised and lived an humanitarian life on a strict vegetarian diet. Their belief about animinism, atoms and mode of worship points to the primitive origin of them. It is now the duty of the Jain scholars to devote their time and energy for the study of these principles of Jainism in a scientific way.

Mr. Sykes has contributed an article on the Life in soil to the magazine "The Sower" (Winter 1952-53), in which he writes : "We find that the soil is life, and that a living soil contains a mass of micro–organic existence—the earthworm, the fungi and the micro–organisms. We learn that there is a minimum of 5–millions of these denizens to the cubic inch of living soil". The result of such researches furnishes an opportunity for scholars to study Jain viewpoint on the subject comparatively. Dr. Louis Renou of the Paris University has studied Jainism in this light and he has contributed an article to the pages of the French magazine 'L'Etudes', in which he has established the scientific attitude of Jainism. We are glad to announce that Prof. Josef Friedrich Kohl of Germany has written a book in German language entitled "Das physikalische und biologische weltbild der Jainas", which deals comparatively with Jainism and modern physiology and animinism. This book will be translated in English and Hindi and will be published by the "World Jaina Mission". Prof. Anant Prasad Jain of Patna has written a book namely "The Philosophy of Electronic Creation" dealing with the Jain conception of existence, which is appearing in instalments in the "Voice of Ahimsa" and will be published in bookform also.

Last year Prof. Charles A. Braden of the Northwestern University,

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U.S.A. came to India while on a world-tour, to investigate the attitude of Indian religions towards communism: he enquired about Jainism also. He has contributed an article on "Jainism and Labour" to the Encyclopaedea of Labour, New York. A small treatise on the subject in Hindi entitled "*Sachhā Sāmyavāda aur sachche sāmyavādî Bh. Mahāvîra*" has been published by the World Jain Mission, which points that true communism or equalisation of all living souls can be established on the ground of spirituality. The Jainas have always regarded every living being as equal to their own soul and the socialism in true sense is propounded by the great saint Umāsvāti in his "Tattwārthādhigama-sûtra" in the aphorism: "*Parasparopagraho Jîvānām*"–the natural function of every living being is to help each other.

Recently in the month of September the Jainas celebrated their usual festival of Paryūshaṇa and Universal Forgiveness, which commemorates a very significant event of mankind. The Jainas believe that after the last deluge and devastation when this land was reinhabitated by the 72 auspicious couples of mankind who managed to save their lives, the first thing they did, was to begin life with a *Shāntividhāna* and religious observatlon of vows and the festival of Paryushana was started in memory of that sacred event. Thus the Jains commemorate the first great Day of Human Activity after the *Pralaya*, which began with the search of Truth and practice of Love and is the most ancient festival in the world. This tradition, I think, is self-evident to establish the greater antiquity of Jainism. But it is a matter of surprise to find scholars mentioning it as an offshoot of or identical to Buddhism. Miss Kay Ambrose declared the world-famous Jaina collosus of Saint Bāhubali Gommaṭeshvara at Sravanabelgola as that of Buddha in her book entitled: "Classical Dances and Costumes of India" due to this wrong notion. It is obvious from the Buddhistic canonical evidence that Jainism was prevailing long before Śākyamuni preached his first sermon and the Buddha himself observed the practices of a naked Jain saint in his early life.[3] Yet another wrong notion which is prevalent, rather is taught in our colleges and universities is that Jainism was founded by Tîrthankara Mahāvîra Vardhamāna in revolt against the Vedic religion. But on the contrary, it is a well known fact that in ancient India two schools of Thought namely Śramaṇas and Brāhmanas were in existence: the former was a spiritual culture of Yoga while the latter laid great stress on rituals and material progress of the people.[4] Jainism, Sānkhya and Buddhism are now the representatives of the Śramana School and their respective religious conceptions are quite independent and peculiar to that of the Vedic belief. Dr. Henrich Zimmer's contribution in the form of his monumental work entitled "Philosophies of India" (New York 1952) in this respect is most remarkable. He has established on the basis of literary evidence as well as

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on the Mohenjodaro and Harappa antiquities that long before the advent of Vedic Aryans there was prevailing in India the Sramana cults like Jainism. etc. He has assigned rightly the prehistoric Jain Tirthankaras to the pre-Aryan period. Our Indian scholars also are now propounding this very opinion. Dr. B. B. Bhattacharya contributed a learned article entitled "Background of Buddhist Philosophy" to the "Indo-Asian Culture" (July 1952) and remarked that "it would perhaps be historically more correct, therefore, to regard Upanishidhic, as much as Jaina and Buddhist thoughts having their roots more in non-Vedic than in Vedic ideas" (pp. 67-68). In this very issue of the "Indo-Asian Culture" (pp. 78-82), Dr. A. C. Sen has contributed an article namely "The Literary Activities of The Jainas", in the course of which he writes that "Jainism has, however, a history much older than Mahāvîra, at least two and half centuries older. Its beginning may perhaps be traced, although in somewhat vague outlines, to pre-Aryan Indian thought." Prof. A. Chakravarti has also corroborated this opinion more emphatically. While writing on the life of Rishabhadeva, the first Tirthankara (Voice of Ahimsa, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 4-6) he remarked: "Probably the people of the Indus Valley were of the same type as Vidyadharas, who possessed a much higher culture and civilisation than that of invading Aryans and who were also followers of Ahimsa cult introduced by Lord Vrishabha." Shri Jayabhagwan Jain has contributed a series of article on Mohenjodaro antiquities, Jainism and Upanishidic thought which have appeared in the Hindi monthly by name "Anekanta." I also pointed out in an article which was published in the "Jaina Antiquary" (Vol. XIV pp. 401-7) that the seals of Indus valley antiquities are related to Jaina thought: they depict nude yogis and some of the Jain legends are portrayed in them. Dr. Giusspe Tucci after reading it wrote to me that "I read with great interest your article on Mohenjodaro and I quite agree with many of your ideas. I want to go deeper into the subject: many important things can be discovered." In the face of such an overwhelming and clear exposition of scholarly views, it is most deplorable if our scholars continue to express the wrong notion about the origin of Jainism. Rather we request the Central Education Ministry to do needful in the matter, since it is not becoming for the Indian scholarship to adhere to wrong notion.

In this connection we would also draw the attention of our scholars towards the relation of Jainism to Indian archaeology. It is a pity, rather shameful for the Jainas, that not a single book dealing with the terms, definitions, limbs etc. of the Jain art and old Jain sites has been published and scholars engaged in research work in the field of archaeology feel handicapped due to it. It is our first and foremost duty to get prepared an authentic treatise on the knowledge of the Jaina *Purātattva* (antiquities) and *Kalā* (art). We

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find that ancient Jaina sites such as Khukhundo, Ayodhyā, Pāvā, Lachchuar etc. have not been excavated yet and the Jaina finds at other places are not properly studied and brought to light. Here lies a great field for the Jain students to do the research work. We should like to emphasise the importance of Jaina traditions in this respect, following them the scholars will succeed in revealing many an obscure point of Indian history. But the gravest error has been made in our assessment of any Indian holy place is the exaggerated importance we have ascribed to Buddhism. Prof. Adris Banerji pninted out that there exist many Jain antiquities at Rājgir, which have not been ascribed to it, simply because the scholars ignored the greater antiquity of Jainism. Moreover instances are not lacking, writes Prof. Banerji, "when later Buddhists erected their sacred edifices or terraced temples on older remains of the Jain faith" (IHQ., XXV. 205-7). We know that Pāṭaliputra, Mathurā, Ujjain and Girinagar were the ancient Centres of the Jainas. Out of these Ujjain continued to be a seat of Jain pontiffs upto the Muslim period[5], yet no remarkable Jain monuments are available there because they were usurped by the Tāntrika Kāpālikas long ago as has been established by Dr. Charlotte Krause.[6] However there is the ancient site of Kasrawad, which seems to be the important seat of Jainism. It is situated in the vicinity of Ujjain as well as of the Jain Tîrtha Barwānî on the southern bank of Narmadā. The Jaina tradition assigns great importance to the valley of Narmada since Jainism existed there in a flourishing condition from an hoary antiquity. Many a Jaina Tirtha exists there even today. According to the Jain tradition, ancient Drāvid kings performed penances and were liberated from there.[7] The narrative accounts of the Devas' and Asuras' hostility as described in the "Vishṇupurāṇa" corroborate the Jaina tradition, for, it is clearly said in it that the Asuras of the Narmada valley became followers of the Arhat Jina.[8] The excavations at Kasrawad have revealed it to be a site of Mauryan period.[9] Pottery with ornamental patterns like the Jain swastika, fish and flower and bearing inscriptions in Brāhmi characters of the 2nd century B. C., sites of eleven stûpas, foundations of a building with an assembly hall and a Kunda have been unearthed at this place. The inscriptions bear such names as Dhammagani, Dhammasena, Niga(n)th and Bhûtiyasangha which are prominent in the Jaina tradition. One of the potsherds which is inscribed with the words "Nigatas vihāre dîpe" is very important, which means a lamp or lamps were lighted in the vihāra built by Nigata, which term is used for the Nirgranthas. Inspite of this clear evidence we wonder scholars doubt it and ascribe the site belonging to Buddhists since they believe the word Vihāra and Sangha are solely Buddhistic terms. But it is wrong to presume so, because the Jainas have also called their temples as *vihāras*[10] and their order has

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been styled by the term of Sangha. Moreover we have an evidence to the effect that there lived Nirgrantha ascetics on the Bhûti hill which seems to exist not far from this site.[11] The term Bhutiyasamgha thus corroborates the Jain tradition. The number of stûpas also is significant: it might represent either eleven Gaṇadharas of Tîrthankara Mahâvîra or eleven Angadhârîs, who were Visâkha, Prosthila, Kṣatriya, Jaya, Nâga, Siddhârtha, Dhritsena, Vijaya, Buddhila, Gangdeva and Dharmasena. In the Kasrawad inscriptions we find the names of Suvisâkha, Naga, and Dharmasena. The names Asâra and Gopâli remind us the similar names appearing in the Pabhosâ cave inscription, which records that Asârsena built a cave for the use of Jaina ascetics.[12] It is possible that Asârsena and Gopâli, who were devoted to Jaina ascetics might have built Jain stupasat Kasrawad also. Anyhow there are many such sites which if studied in the light of Jaina Traditions would help us in tracing out facts of historical importance. We need scientific literature on the subject for its study. Recently Muni Kântisâgarji Mahârâj has written a book entitled "Khaṇḍaharoṇ-Kâ-Vaibhava" in Hindi which has been published by the Bhârtîya Jñânpîtha Banaras.

There is also prevailing another misunderstanding about Jainism. Our scholars are under the impression that Jainism was never carried beyond the borders of India, because they think that Jainism has never been a proselitising religion and not a single monument of Jainism has been in any foreign country. But we find a very clear account of Jain monks, kings and merchants who went outside India and carried the blessed Ahimsâ message of the Tîrthankaras to far-off countries in the Jaina canonical books. In India many a tribe of non-Aryan stocks, e. g. Bhârs and Kurumbas were converted to Jainism.[13] Foreigners like Parthians[14] and Indo–Greeks,[15] Sudras and even Muslims were taken into the fold of Jainism. Jain images which were caused to be consecrated by these people are available and Jain lyrics and hymns composed by Muslim converts, namely Jina Bakhsha and others are being sung by the Jain laity. Jain king Samprati sent Missions of Jain Śramanas to the countries of Arabia and Persia. I have contributed a series of articles to the pages of the "Jain Siddhânta Bhâskara" (Vol. xvi, 1–2 and xvii, 2) in which the prevalence of Jainism in China, Ceylon, Arabia, Persia and Afghanistan has been discussed. Certainly Jaina monks being strict adherents of Ahimsâ never thought to use brutal force like other religious fanatics in order to increase the number of their votaries. They always appealed to the heart and satisfied the intellect of the people, who if satisfied bowed their heads in their feet. Recently a Jain monk has converted thousands of scheduled class people in the District of Jodhpur. Jain immigrants to the countries of East Africa etc. have established Jain temples and libraries in those countries.

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In this century Late Bros. Vîrchand Rāghavji Gāndhî, Pt. Lālan, Justice J. L. Jaini and Barrister Champat Rāi Jain have been the great missionaries of Jainism, who founded Jain schools and libraries in U. S. A. and England. Since 1950 on the suggestion of English Jain community we have organised a "World Jain Mission" with the object of spreading the Jain Truth and Ahinsā culture. Ahinsā Conferences are held in various countries and literature is being distributed all over the world. The "Voice of Ahimsā" is the official organ of the Mission, which is being read in East and West alike. The Mission has established a Jain India Library at Bad Godesberg in Germany, which is being looked after by Mr. Lothar Wendel and his friends and has been patronised by scholars and officials. Mr. Wendel has been called to India to study Jainism, which he has studied with Hindi. He will devote his time and energy in spreading the message of Anekānt and Ahimsā in his country. Such are the peaceful and cultural activities of the Jainas. Our Mission is for every living being: we advocate for our dumb fellows also.

Of course it is a fact that no Jain relic has been found in any foreign country, except in Tibet where Dr. Tucci found a Jaina image which he carried over to Rome. But we have literary evidences of the prevalence of Jainism in many foreign countries. For instance we may take Ceylon and Afghānistān. It is clear from the Buddhistic "Mahāvansa" that in the 4th century B. C. King Pāṇḍukābhaya of Ceylon patronised the Jainas and built Jaina Vihāras for the Nirgratha Giri & Kumbandha in his capital Anurādhāpur. These institutions remained flourishing in Ceylon during the reign of 21 kings and successors of King Pāndukābhaya, but in 38 B. c. when Vaṭṭagāmini succeeded to the throne of Ceylon, he being zealous Buddhist, pulled down the Jaina Vihāras and built Buddhistic ones on their sites. In inscriptions of Śravana-belgola there are references of those kings of Ceylon who honoured Jaina āchāryas. Similarly Hieun Tsang, the Chinese Traveller, met the naked Nirgrantha (Jain) ascetics in Afghanistana; but today the archaeological remains in that country are ascribed to Buddhistic faith. Under these circumstances it is not possible to find out Jain relics in foreign countries.

Now turning to the Prākrit language and its literature, which has been the medium of spreading the Gospel of the Tirthankaras far and wide it is indeed a matter of satisfaction that the Bihar Government has decided to open a centre for its study. It has been proposed that a research institute by the name of "Vaishālî Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Prākrit, Jainiology and Ahimsā" should be established at Basarh in the dist. of Muzaffarpur and a committee for it has been formed, which has succeeded to raise funds. It is encumbent on every Jain to contribute his might in this most essential work: which will certainly enrich the great heritage of Jainism.

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Another good decision in this respect has been taken up by the "Sohanlal Jain Pracharaka Samiti" of Banaras. It has been decided that an exhaustive and authentic history of Jain literature and philosophy along with a Jain cyclopaedia would be compiled with the colloboration of all the prominent scholars of every sect of the Jains. We welcome this decision, but would like to suggest that an executive committee for this important work should be formed by calling from and appointing the representatives of all existing Jain bodies; e. g. A. I. Digambara Jain Mahāsabhā, Dig. Jain Parishad, Śvetāmbara Jain Mahāsabhā, Sthānakavāsî Svet. Jain Conference etc. We wish this committee all success.

It is indeed a happy sign that Jainological topics are gradually attracting more and more attention of scholars in our universities, with the result that dissertations for D. Litt. and Ph.D. are being written on Jainological topics in different universities. I cannot claim that my information is full, but I would note whatever I have come to know. Dr. Nathamal Tatia's thesis for D. Litt. of the University of Calcutta is now published as "Studies in Jaina Philosophy" (Banaras 1951) and it sheds abundant light on some fundamentals of Jaina philosophy. Shri H. C. Bhayani edited with a critical Introduction and Index verborium some 20 sandhis of the Paumacariu of Svayambhū and the same secured for him the Ph. D. of the University of Bombay. Its 1st and 2nd vols. would be soon out in the Singhi Jain series. Dr. Indra Chandra Shāstrî got his Ph.D. of the Banaras Hindu University on the merit of his thesis on "Jaina Epistemology". Dr. S. B. Deo has studied exhaustively the Jaina system of monachism in his thesis which brought for him the Ph.D. of the Uni. of Bombay. Prof. V. M. Kulkarni in his thesis for the Ph.D. of the University of Bombay, has studied fully the story of Rāma in Jaina literature. We have every hope that valuable material from the unpublished disertation will see the light of day in some form or the other. Dr. B. J. Sandesara's thesis "Literary Circle of Vastupāla" is nearly printed and would be soon published in the Singhî Jaina series. He has also edited the "ṣaṣṭi-śataka-prakaraṇa" which has been published.

It is also a matter of great relief that the importance of the study of Prakrit and Apabhramsa is being gradually realized by serious students of Hindi language and literature. The latest lectures, "Hindi Sāhitya Kā Âdi Kāvya" (Patna 1952) by Dr. Hazariprasadji presents a more literal outlook in studying the early phase of Hindi as seen at the stage of Apabhramsa. Despite this great importance of Prākrit and Apabhramsa literature and language, one wonders why no adequate provision for their study is not made in upcountry universities. All our Sanskrit studies are bound to remain incomplete as long as they are not accompanied by the study of Prākrits as well

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as Pāli. The cultural value of Prākrit literature lies in its unconventional approach to life and in the great humanitarian principles upheld by great authors and so badly needed for the betterment of the suffering humanity.

The book "Hindi ke Vikās meṇ Apabhramsa kā Yoga" by Shri Namvarsinghji (Allahabad 1952) also confirms our view that Hindi scholars are rightly taking more and more interest in Apabhramsa. Though in this book some of the general remarks are off the mark, I have no doubt that books like these will draw Hindi scholars more and more towards Prākrit and Apabhramsa studies.

Here I cannot forget the dynamic personality of Shri Muni Jinavijayaji, whose literary activities are manifold. Rajasthan is the heroic bed of the Indian continent. Rajputs fought for their land and the bards sang their stories: it is in this background we have a look at Rajasthani literature and language. It was necessary that some Central Institute was founded for their study. It is a remarkable step in the right direction and worthy achievement on the part of the Rājasthan Govt. that the Rājasthana Purātattwa Mandir is founded and even under the able guidance of Muni Jinavijayaji. Within a short time, and as we understand, even under not quite favourable circumstances nearly thirty works in Sanskrit, Prākrit and Rājasthanî in the Rājasthana Purātana Granthamālā are in the press. Works like the Kyāmakhān-rāsā of the Muslim poet Jān and Lava-rāsā of Gopāldān (which are just out) are of great historical and philological value. A study of their language at once reveals a picture of the post Apabhramsa period and a common phase between what we are accustomed to call old-Gujarati and old-Rājasthānî. So far as the language of this period is concerned, it was one; and the demarcation of Rājasthana and Gujarat becomes meaningless. Following in the footsteps of the poet Jān, who called the language of Bāgar country as Soraṭha-Māru, it is indeed a significant suggestion of Shri Joshi and Muni Jinavijayaji, that the common phase of the language current in Rajasthan and Gujarat should be called Mārû-Gurjara. Philologists should take note of this name, which signifies the cultural oneness of the territories.

Before closing my speech I would deal cursorily with the valuable publications and contributions on the subject. I must applaud the best publication work done by thy Bhartiya Jnanpitha, Banaras, Singhi Jaina Series Bombay; Shri Manikchandra Jain Granthamala Bombay and Br. Jivaraj Granthamala of Sholapur. It is gratifying to note that Shri Sitabai Lakshmichand Granthamala is continuing the publication of further volumes of The Dhavalā Siddhanta.

The Bhartiya Jnanpitha, Banaras, which is carrying out its literary programme through the magnificence of Sahu Shantiprasadji, has made a

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name in the Hindi world within a short period. Lately this institution has brought out the edition of "Samayasara" with the introduction and commentary in English by Prof. Chakravarti. The learned introduction institutes a comparative study of the doctrine of Atman both in the East and West.

The *Mahabandha* or the *Mahadhavala*, is the third in the enumeration of the three great treatises (the first two being *Dhavala* and *Jayadhavala*), which deal exhaustively with the Karma doctrine which plays an important part in Indian religions, especially in Jainism. Thanks to the generosity of Sahuji and to the efficient labour of Pt. Phoolchandraji that the 2nd volume of Mahadhavala is out, and we feel promised that the subsequent vols. also would be out soon.

The Jain Research Institute of Banaras also, is bringing out valuable books on Jainology. Its most valuable publication is Dr. Tatia's "Studies in Jaina Philosophy".

The renowned old institution of Bombay, namely "Shri Manikchandra Jaina Granthamala" has published recently two very valuable works. They are "Syadvada-Siddhi' dealing with the Jaina logic and the other the 2nd volume of the Jaina inscriptions entitled "Jaina Shilalekha Sangraha", which is an important work for the Jain research.

"Shri Br. Jivararja Granthamala" of Sholapur is also doing good work under the scholarly guidance and supervision of our prominent scholars Dr. A. N. Upadhye and Dr. Hiralal Jain. It has brought out the 2nd part of the "Tiloyapannati". In the "Acharya Kunthusagar Granthamala" of Solapur is published the 2nd part of the "Shlokavartika".

Apart from these and other institutions, the contributions made by individual scholars to this branch of Oriental studies are also important and we cannot ignore them.

Shri Agarchandji Nahata is an erudite scholar and his activities are manifold. We only mention here his exhaustive note on the Jaina Contributions to Sanskrit Literature in Rajasthana. (Rajasthan Bharati, III, 2, July 1951).

With erudite remarks on the hymns and an informative Introduction Dr. Charlotte Krause has edited some seven hymns in Sanskrit and one in Apabhramsa in her book "Ancient Jaina Hymns" (Scindia Oriental Series, No. 2, Ujjain 1952). Her another work in Gujarati entitled "Trana Prachin Gujarati Kritiyo" has also been published by the Gujarat Vidya Sabha (Ahmedabad). She has found some carved images of Digambara Jaina Shasan Devis in Madhya Bharat, on which she will throw historical light in the near future.

Shri Pupphabhikkhu has given us a handy edition of the twelve Angas

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under the title *Suttagama* (Bombay 1953). We hope that the remaining parts of the Canon would be published on the same plan.

Shri Pt. Dalsukhaji Malvania has brought out a valuable edition of the *Ganadhara-Vada* from the "Visesavasyaka". His introduction and notes (in Gujarati) bear a high mark of scholarship (Ahmedabad 1952). He has critically and comparatively studied different systems; and he has made it abundantly clear that the Jaina line of Thought is independent of the Upanishidhic thought, and the former cannot be derived from the latter. This point was already stressed by Pandit Sukhlalji in his address as the president of the Section.

Shri U. P. Shah has done highly valuable work in Jaina Iconography. In the Jaina Satya Prakasha (xvii, pp. 87ff.), he has drawn our attention to an image set up by Jinabhadra Ksamasramana. His note on Jivantasami Pratima (Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda 51) is also highly interesting.

Shri L. B. Gandhi has discussed the date of Uddyotana and shed light on the Jaina Ramayanas. (Jaina Satya Prakasa, vols. 16 & 17).

Prof. S. N. Ghoshal has discussed various references to other works in the Prakrata Paingal. (Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, II, 2.)

Prof. Kapadia puts together some horoscopic data in the Jaina literature. (Ibid. II, 1).

An authentic and well-illustrated monograph on Khandagiri Udayagiri Caves is written by T. N. Ramchandran and Chotelal Jain. (Calcutta 1951.)

Prof. Kalipada Mitra has written a note on the dramaturgical material in the "Mahapurana" of Puspadanta (IHQ).

Prof. H. R. Kapadia has collected the Jaina Data about musical instruments. (Journal of the Oriental Institute Baroda, II. 3.)

Muni Jambuvijaya is solving many knotty points about the relation between Jaina and Buddhist Nyaya work. (Jaina Satya Prakasa, xvii. 155ff.)

Dr. B. C. Law has lately written a biographical note on Parsvanatha. (Journal of Indian History, April 1953.)

The Jaina literature in Tamil is in no way negligible, as is evident from Prof. Chakravarti's monograph on the subject in English (Arrah); lately Mr. C. S. Mallinathan has given us a small book let on this subject in Hindi. (Jaipur 1951.)

A short and authentic account of Hastinapur is given by Mr. Amarachandra in his book "Hastinapura". (Jaina Cultural Research Society, 1952).

"Dvadasaranayachakra" pt. I of Mallavadi, an ancient polemical treatise with the commentary of Simhasena, is published in the G.O.S., Baroda 1952.

Quite important for the post–Apabhramsa period is the "Nalarayadeva Santicharit" edited and translated with a grammatical analysis and glossary by Ernest Bender of the University of Pennsylvania. (1951)

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Prof. S. N. Ghoshal is translating into English Jacobi's Introduction to the "Bhavisatta-kaha" (J. O. I.; Baroda, II. 3). This would give a fresh impetus to the Apabhramsa studies.

"Samadhi" and "Uvaesarayanamala" has been published with English translation by the World Jaina Mission, Aliganj. (1952).

Dr. A. N. Upadhye's article entitled "The Jainas" published in the "Indo-Asian Culture" (Vol. II) is full of information.

The monographs entitled "Sravanabelagola in Pictures" and others compiled and published by sri Surendranath Jain (Bombay 1952) are most interesting and beautiful publications on the subject.

A new edition of Ratnanandi's "Bhadrabahu-caritra" has been published by the Digambara Jain Pustakalaya, Surat. They have published also "Bhairava-Padmavati-Kalpa"-a treatise on Jaina Mantra-sastra.

Dr. Schubring and Dr. Hamm have edited the "Mahanisiha-sutta."

The "Archaeology of World Religions" is a most interesting and synthical publication. (London 1952).

"Prakrata Studies", "Two new-dated Kusana Inscriptions from Mathura" and other articles appeared in the "Jaina Antiquary" (1952) are worth mentioning.

To close, I offer my sincere thanks to you all for the patient hearing you have given me.

Footnotes for References

1 'भगवं च णं अद्धमागहीए भासाए धम्ममाइक्खइ। सा वि य अद्धमागही भासा भासिज्जमाणी तेसिं सव्वेसिं आरियमणारियाणं, दुपयचउप्पयमियपसुपक्खिसरीसिवाणं अप्पप्पणाहि य सिवसुहदाय भासत्ताए परिणमेइ।' —समवायाङ्गसूत्र

2 'धम्मो मङ्गलमुक्किट्ठं'-'वत्थुसहावो धम्मो'-'माणुसत्तम्मि आयाओ, जो **धम्मं** सोच्च सद्दहे।'....
—उत्तराध्ययन ३।११

× × ×

'**मग्गो** मग्गफलं तिह दुविहं जिणसासणे समक्खादो।
मग्गो मोक्खउवाओ तस्स फलं हवदि निव्वाणं॥' —श्रीकुन्दकुन्दाचार्यः

× × ×

'सुद्धे **मग्गं** विराहित्ता, इहमेगे उ दुम्मई। उम्मग्गगया दुक्खं घायमेसन्ति तं तहा।'
—सूयगडंग १; ११: २९

3 Mahāvīra & Buddha (Buddhistic Studies), pp. 117–119.

4 Cf. Accounts of the Śramanas & Brahmanas as given in McCrindle's Ancient India, pp. 70–72,

5 My 'Digambaratva & Digambara Muni' (Hindi), pp. 129–145.

6 'Vikrama-Smriti-Granth' (Hindi), pp. 401–421.

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7 '.....दविडणरिंदाण अट्ठकोडीओ, सत्तुंजयगिरिसिहरे।...दहमुहरायस्स सुआ कोडीपंचद्धमुणिवरा सहिया। रेवाउदयतडग्गे॥....रेवाणईए तीरे पच्छिमभायम्मि सिद्धवरकूडे। दो चक्को दहकप्पे आहूय कोडि णिव्वुदे वंदे।' —निव्वाणकांडगाथा

8 Viṣṇupurāṇa, III, 17-18

9 Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXV, pp. 1-18.

10 'Vividha-Tīrthakalpa' (अओ तं तित्थं पुव्वभवनामेणं **सउलिआविहारु** ति भण्णइ) & Pahārapur,C.P. (479 A.D.): "गुहनन्दि-शिष्यप्रशिष्याधिष्ठितविहारे भगवतामर्हतां....."

11 Hariṣena, Bṛhat-Kathākoṣa.

12 Ep. India, II p. 242.

13 Oppert, Original Inhabitants of India, pp. 238 ff.

14 ".....There were Parthians at Mathura who had immigrated during the rule of the Kṣatrapas & who, although they were converted to the Jaina faith, upheld the traditions of their native land..."
—Prof. H. Lüders (D. R. Bhandarkar Vol., p. 288)

15 "About the second century B. C. when the Greeks had occupied a fair portion of Western India, Jainism appears to have made its way amongst them and the founder of the sect appears also to have been held in high esteem by the Indo-Greeks, as is apparent from an account given in the *Milinda-Panho*." —Dr. B. C. Law, Hist. gleanings, p. 78

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Section VIII: History

U. N. Ghoshal, M. A., Ph. D., F. A. S.

Friends and Fellow-students,

My first words will be those of thankfulness to the organisers of the All-India Oriental Conference for asking me to preside over the History section of the seventeenth session of this great institution. I can only trust that with your valued co-operation it will be possible for me to discharge my duties to the best of my ability.

I propose to consider in my address at this Conference a problem which has again and again cropped up in the course of our long and eventful history. This has arisen from the periodical weakening, if not breakdown, of the vitality of our spirit and our institutions leaving us a prey to violent conquest and subjection. The consideration of this problem will involve the discussion of another question, namely, that concerned with India's reaction to these periodical dangers to her cultural existence.

In a thoughtful essay on the Renaissance in India (reprinted from *Arya*, August-November 1918) Sri Aurobindo Ghose has traced (*ibid.*, pp. 7—29) the key to the growth and decline of India's civilisation to the strengthening and weakening of her "ancient spirit and characteristic soul." This last comprises three qualities, namely, first and foremost, her spirituality which is "the master-key of the Indian mind," secondly, "her stupendous vitality, her inexhaustible power of life and joy of life, her almost unimaginably prolific creativeness," and thirdly and lastly, "her strong intellectuality, at once austere and rich, robust and minute, powerful and delicate, massive in principle and curious in detail." It will be worth our while to attempt on the lines sketched by the great thinker of our Age an interpretation of India's reaction to the challenge repeatedly thrown to the existence of her soul and culture during the past centuries.

A very imperfect answer to the problem mentioned above is furnished by an ancient political theorist in the pages of our great national epic, the *Mahabharata*. This occurs in the form of Bhishma's answer to Yudhisthira's question in the course of what the author describes as the last political testament of the *doyen* of the Kuru race. When all the people, asks Yudhisthira (*Mahabharata* XII 29. 12-13), take up arms in disregard of their respective

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duties, when the strength of the Kshatriya power is on the wane and when the king ceases to function as protector, what should be their refuge? Bhishma's reply involves a vigorous plea for a mass concerted action. At such a crisis, he explains (*ibid.*,14), the castes headed by the Brahmanas should seek their own salvation by means of gifts, austerities and sacrifices, as well as benevolence and self-restraint. When the king being crowned with victory, Bhishma further observes (*ibid.*, 17-18), has reestablished peace in his kingdom, the castes should betake themselves to their respective duties, but when disorder has set in and when the robbers have created confusion (of castes and duties), all castes may take up arms with impunity. While such are the duties of the people in general a special responsibility rests upon the Brahmanas. In the same context Bhishma observes (*ibid.*, 15-16) that among the castes those that are strong through the knowledge of the Vedas should rise up on every side and they should increase the king's strength "like the gods strengthening the might of Indra." The wise king, Bhishma explains, should recover his position by the strength of the Brahmana power, for this is the only support of the king with declining strength. The above extract inculcates two principles for the people's guidance in a grave political crisis. These relate in the first place to mass-uprising by violent as well as non-violent means, and secondly, invigoration of the temporal by the spiritual power.

Let us now turn to the verdict of history. It will be convenient for our purpose to take up by way of illustration four successive epochs in our history. These are, firstly, the period immediately following the downfall of the Maurya empire (c. 200 B·C.200 A.D.); secondly, the period of the impact of militant Islam (from the close of the 12th century to the early years of the 13th century A.D.); thirdly, the period of decline and fall of the Mughal empire (c. 1660-1760 A.D.); and fourthly and lastly, the period of impact of British imperialism and its conflict with Indian nationalism (1757-1947 A.D.).

The Post-Maurya Period

In the last quarter of the third century B. C. the mighty empire of the Mauryas which had for three generations united the whole of Northern India with a large portion of the Deccan under a strong and centralised administration began to dissolve into a number of comparatively petty States. This gave the opportunity to the ambitious Greek kings of Bactria to pierce the unguarded passes on our north-west frontier and spread their victorious arms over the Indus and the Upper Ganga basins. With the decay of the Greek power hordes of foreigners (Sakas, Parthians, Yueh-chi and others) poured across our north-west frontier from their Central and West Asian homes and they carved out for themselves kingdoms and principalities in

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Northern and Western India. To the evil produced by these political changes was added that of social and religious conflicts on an extensive scale. In the preceding period Buddhism, thanks to the proselytising zeal of Asoka and of missionaries of the Faith, had been transformed from a local cult in Eastern India into an All-India religion and even begun its conquests beyond the seas. There is reason to think that Jainism similarly won its position as an All-India religion. The rise of these heretical sects could not but involve a grave disturbance of the Brahmanical social and religious order. What havoc was produced by the intrusion of the alien races and the overthrow of the traditional social and religious standards is told from the Brahmanical point of view under a thinly disguised announcement of the evils of the Kali Age in *Mahabharata* III 188-90. And yet in the midst of this intense gloom and despair the seeds were sown of a brilliant Indian revival specially in its Brahmanical aspect. Thus in the first place, the whole body of social and religious laws of Brahmanism was amplified and put together in the authoritative Smritis of Manu and Yajnavalkya. Simultaneously the whole cycle of Brahmanical myths, legends and traditions as well as the Brahmanical system of individual and social ethics was incorporated into the old epic story of the *Mahabharata* so as to give it its present encyclopaedic character. In all this work of systematisation we can detect a manifestation of the principle of intellectuality which, according to our great philosopher-saint quoted above, forms the third characteristic of the Ancient Indian spirit. In the second place, the foreign settlers voluntarily absorbed within an incredibly short space of time not only the outward forms and symbols but also the inner spirit of our civilisation. This was indicated by their adoption of the Indian language and script as well as names (or surnames) and their zealous adherence to the Indian religions. Not to speak of the use of coin-legends in the Indian Prakrit and the Kharoshthi script by the Indo-Greek kings as early as the beginning of the second century B. C., we hear of Greeks making donations through the same medium in favour of Buddhist foundations from the first century B. C. The most interesting of these records is that of Heliodorus, the Greek ambassador of king Antialkidas of Taxila at the court of Vidisa. This commemorates the erection of a stone pillar in honour of Vāsudeva, "the god of gods," by one who devoutly called himself a *bhāgavata*. Where the Greeks with their notorious contempt for barbarians had led the way, it was easy for the less sophisticated Sakas and other Central and Western Asian tribes to follow. The first important Buddhist missions to China were led by monks of Saka, Parthian and Yueh-chi birth in the second and third centuries A. D. In the Upper Ganga valley we have a unique record (Mathura lion-capital inscription) commemorating

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the Buddhist piety of the ruling Saka family of Mathura in the early years of the first century A. D. In Western India the greatest of the Saka rulers, Rudradaman, as we learn from his famous record (Junagadh Rock Inscription of the Saka year 72), took pride in describing himself as a model king after the Indian standards, while his son-in-law Ushavadata in the best Indian princely tradition divided his extensive charities between Brahmanism and Buddhism. On their side the Brahmanical exponents of the Sacred Law met these Hinduised foreigners halfway by giving them (*Manu* X 43-44, *Mahabharata* XIII 33. 21-22; 35. 17-18) the status of Kshatriyas although degraded from their pristine purity. That this precept was translated into practice is proved by the recorded instances of marriages of Saka princesses with kings of the orthodox Satavahana and Ikshvaku dynasties. In this process of conscious assimilation of the foreigners within the orthodox Hindu social fold it is easy to detect the influence of that abounding vitality which has been stated above to be the second characteristic of our ancient spirit. This feature is indicated still more strongly by the rise of powerful indigenous dynasties (Satavahanas, Chetas, Bharasivas and Guptas), who halted the advance of the foreign ruling houses and, what is more, helped to recover the territories lost to them by the Indians. With the overthrow of the last Saka ruler of Gujarat and Malwa and the annexation of his kingdom to the Gupta empire by Chandragupta II in the closing years of the fourth century A. D. the last vestige of foreign dominion disappeared from our soil. The triumph of captive India over her captor was complete on the social as well as the political plane.

The Period of Impact of Militant Islam

By the close of the twelfth century A. D. the vitality and vigour of the Indian people appear to have undergone a lamentable decline. Literature and art, it would seem, lost much of their old creative power, while religion lay encumbered by a mass of forms and ceremonies and society was fixed in a rigid mould. A century earlier a discerning foreign observer, Al-Beruni, traced this evil of stagnation of the Indians to its source in their rigid isolation producing among them an overweening conceit in their own greatness and contempt for foreign peoples. When therefore the mantle of militant Islam fell upon the Turks filled with the characteristic energy and capacity of their race, the Hindu kingdoms of Northern India succumbed to their attacks with surprising rapidity (1192-1203 A. D.). On the ruins of these kingdoms arose the Sultanate of Delhi which thereafter held the country by military rule. When almost a century later (1294-1311) the invading forces of the Sultanate overflowed into the Deccan and South India, the old Hindu kingdoms were overthrown with almost as much swiftness as those of Nor-

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thern India in the past. What havoc the invaders, inspired alike by riligious zeal and love of plunder almost of an elemental force, produced among the indigenous centres of piety and culture is testified to by the Muslim chroniclers, whose testimony is corroborated by the existing condition of our ancient archaeological remains. In the context of India's vital problem of cultural existence at this period, the coming of the invaders was an event of outstanding significance. The settlers whose numbers were being continually swelled by the threefold process of birth, conversion and migration introduced into our land a new creed, new languages and literatures and even a new script, new ideas of State and government, new types of art and architecture, a new code of social manners, and new models and fashions of living. What is more, because of the inflexibility of their religious creed which allowed no compromise with polytheism, the settlers were not absorbed in the Indian social system, but they remained (as their descendants still remain) a distinct social and cultural unit. In the field of politics the Delhi Sultanate, retaining its essential military character to the end, failed to win the support of the vast majority of its subjects. No sooner therefore that it reached its peak in the early years (c. 1338-39 A.D.) of the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq than it began to break up into a group of independent kingdoms founded by ambitious provincial governors. The last remnant of the Sultanate was drained of its life-blood by the invasion of the fierce Timur (1398 A.D.) which was attended with plunder and massacre on an extensive scale. The Sultanate nevertheless dragged an inglorious existence till it was extinguished by the founder of the Mughal dynasty in 1526 A.D.

What was India's reaction to this challenge to her existence, the greatest she had encountered so far in her history? We can trace this reaction in three principal directions. In the first place our Hindu legists commencing from Lakshmidhara in Northern India and Hemadri in the Deccan wrote a series of Smriti Digests systematising with almost pedantic thoroughness all branches of the ancient social and religious law. Between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries other authors like Krishnananda, Brahmananda Giri, Purnananda and Raghunatha Tarkavagisha in Bengal prepared equally comprehensive Digests dealing with the Tantric religious ritual. These ponderous endeavours evidently represented the feature of intellectuality in our ancient cultural inheritance to which reference has been made above. It is however extremely doubtful if the intellectual effort behind these learned compilations would have sufficed to save India from the dangers of disintegration in this critical period. Fortunately for her the very extremity of the danger called forth an outburst of her ancient spirituality on a scale unknown before or since. Between the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries almost

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every geographical unit in our vast land produced its typical saint and mystic, their lives and teachings forming an imperishable record in the annals of our Middle Ages. Such are Ramananda (14th century) and Kabir (14th-15th centuries) in Uttara Pradesh, Chaitanya (1481-1533) in Bengal, Sankaradeva in Assam, Dadu in Rajasthan, Nanak (1496-1530) in the Punjab, Vallabhacharya in Gujarat and lastly, Jnanadeva, Namadeva, Ekanatha, Tukarama and Ramadasa (late 13th-17th centuries) in Maharashtra. These reformers who were drawn from all ranks of society (including the untouchables) and from both sexes and who spoke in the language of the people had often a distinct individuality of their own. To take one instance, the successive phases of Maratha mysticism are described by a recent scholar (Ranade, *Indian mysticism: mysticism in Maharashtra)* as follows:-(1) Age of Jnanadeva (instinctive mysticism), (2) Age of Namadeva (democratic mysticism) (3) Age of Ekanatha (synthetic mysticism), (4) Age of Tukarama (personalistic mysticism), and (5) Age of Ramadasa (activistic mysticism). Nevertheless the mediaeval Indian mystics agree on the fundamentals of their teaching. Such are the ideas of the unity of God, the futility of forms and ceremonies of worship, the unreality of caste and the necessity of self-purification and absolute devotion to the Deity for attaining salvation. Kabir, Dadu and Nanak distinguished themselves by the catholicity of their teaching which embraced the essence of Hinduism and Islam. The spirit of these teachers may be illustrated by a few short extracts.

"O Servant, where dost thou seek Me? Lo! I am beside thee.
I am neither in temple nor in mosque; I am neither in Kaaba nor in Kailash:
Neither am I in rites and ceremonies, nor in Yoga and renunciation.
If thou art a true seeker, thou shalt at once see Me: thou shalt meet Me in a moment of time,
Kabir says, 'O Sadhu! God is the breath of all breath'."
(Kabir, translated by Rabindranath Tagore, *One hundred poems of Kabir*).

"This universe is the Veda, the creation is the Koran. The Pandits and the Kazis are indeed deceived when they think that the whole world is encompassed within the leaves of their dry books. The heart of the worshipper is the page on which the story of the universal Truth is being written in letters of life. When all these hearts unite in the vast universe of man, there you will fiind all the Vedas and the Koran."

(Rajjabji, a disciple of Dadu, translated by Kshitimohan Sen, *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol, II, p. 257).

"Say, Nanak: (When) through the Guru the illusion is lost, Allah and Parabrahma are (seen as) one; temple and mosque are the same, worship

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and prostration are the same–all men are one, but various are the forces (leading them). Allah and Abhekh are the same, Purana and Quran are the same—one only in (their) essence (as) One alone made (them) all."

(Extract translated by Duncan Greenlees *The Gospel of the Gurugranth Sahib*, pp. 209-210).

The influence of the mediaeval saints has been wide and far-reaching, as they became the founders of sects flourishing down to our own times. It must however be admitted that such a fundamental Hindu social institution as caste remained for the most part unaffected by their teaching (On Chaitanya's attitude towards caste see *Early History of Vaisnava Faith and Tradition in Bengal* by Sushil Kumar De, pp. 80-81 *n*. On caste in Sikhism down to the rime of Guru Govind Singh see *A Short History of the Sikhs* by Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, Vol I, pp. 66-67). Still less influence was exercised by them on the contemporary political life. It is rare to find among these early teachers even such remonstrance as that of Nanak who, stung by the horrors of Babur's invasion of the Punjab, passionately condemned the pusillanimous Lodi Sultan while upbraiding God Himself for His apparent supineness.

"When there was such slaughter, such groaning, didst thou not feel pain ?
Creator, Thou belongest to all.
If a powerful party beat another powerful party, it is no matter for anger;
But if a ravenous lion fall upon a herd of cows, then the master of the herd should show his manliness."

The cathiolic teachings of the early mediaeval saints were destined to find to responsive echo in the endeavours of the Emperor Akbar and still more of his large-hearted but unfortunate descendant Prince Dara Sukoh towards opening the treasures of Hindu religious literature to the world of Islam.

In the third and last place the undying vitality which is the second characteristic of our ancient spirit manifested itself doring this period in a great revolt in South India against the Sultanate of Delhi which resulted in the foundation of the famous kingdom of Vijayangar (c. 1330 A. D.). The founders of the new kingdom, Harihara I and Bukka I, were aided in their uprising by two distinguished Brahmana brothers Madhavacharya (afterwards called Vidyaranya) and Sayanacharya, thus furnishing a concrete instance of that principle of co-operation of the spiritual with the temporal power which had been enjoined by the theorist in the *Mahabharata* extract quoted above. The movement in favour of political independence was accompanied by an immense religious revival on the intellectual plane. For while

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Madhavacharya systematised the old *Smriti* Law through his famous commentary on Parasara-Smriti, Sayanacharya produced his monumental series of commentaries on the Vedic *Samhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*. For two centuries and a half the Vijayanagar kingdom maintained the barrier of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra against the advance of the Muslim power in South India and served as an asylum of Hindu religion and culture. And yet in the end it succumbed to the attack of that power because of the inherent defect of its political organisation which rested largely on feudalism and the mistaken military and financial policy of its rulers which involved the complete economic exhaustion of the people. [On the causes of decline and fall of the Vijayanagar kingdom, see the thoughtful obsevations of K. V. Rangswami Aiyangar, *Ramalinga Reddy Commemoration Volume*, Part II, pp. 74-90].

The Period of Decline and Fall of the Mughal Empire

During the seventeenth century and specially in its latter half the mighty fabric of the Mughal Empire which had been built up by the genius of Akbar and which ensured peace and prosperity to our land under an efficient and centralised administration entered on the path of decline. Among the causes of this catastrophe we may mention in the first place the abandonment by the later emperors of "the two salient features of Akbar's land-revenue arrangements upon which the prosperity of the empire mainly depended, namely, the payment of official salaries in cash and the obligation on the collectors of revenue to deal direct with individual cultivators" (Edwardes and Garrett, *Mughal Rule in India*, p. 258). Other causes are to be found in the laxity of imperial control over the administration and the crushing burden of the land-revenue assessment under Akbar's successors, the draining of the financial resources of the empire through the costly extravagance of Shahjahan and the Deecan wars of Aurangzeb, and the rapid deterioration of the Mughal aristocracy under the enervating influence of pomp and luxury. Last but not the least among these causes is the reversal of Akbar's religious policy by Aurangzeb who aimed at founding a purely Sunni State wherein the other Muslim sects as well as the Hindus were to live on sufferance. This deprived the Mughal administrative service of its valuable Shiah recruits, while it led the Rajputs to withdraw their powerful support from the Mughal throne. In the first half of the eighteenth century the seal was set upon the decline of the Mughal empire by the series of Wars of Succession, the rebellions of the provincial governors and the disastrous invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali, not to speak of the rapid advance of the Maratha power of which we shall speak presently.

In the face of this grave crisis which overtook our land in the latter half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century the ancient

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Indian spirit manifested itself with vigour and success in two distinct regions. In Maharashtra the earlier line of mystics and saints was completed by the advent of Tukarama and Ramadasa, of whom the latter became the spiritual preceptor of the founder of the Maratha power. They both (and specially Ramadasa) impressed upon Shivaji sound lessons of statecraft. The latter saint in his well-known poem called *Anandavana-bhuvana*, which has been characterised by Prof. Ranade as "the Apocalypse of Ramadasa," conjured up the vision of a Region of Bliss in which the oppressor had been laid low and the Hindu religion as well as culture was flourishing under divine protection. In Shivaji were combined all the qualities of the ancient Indian spirit, namely its spirituality, its vitality and its intellectuality. It was Shivaji's passionate devotion to the cause of Hinduism which was the greatest single factor in rousing the Maratha national sentiment against the whole might of Aurangzeb. Shivaji's civil administration, which comprised such advanced features as the creation of distinct departments of the central government and the assessment of land revenue based upon measurement of the fields and its collection by governmental agency, ensured the blessings of peace and justice and equal protection among all classes of his subjects. His military administration rested upon a regularly paid and well disciplined standing-army as well as a chain of forts with adequate provision for their defence. He developed and perfected the strategy of guerilla warfare which in the circumstances was best suited to the genius of his people and the physical geography of his land. "His light cavalry stiffened with swift-footed infantry was irresistible in the Age of Aurangzeb" (Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Shivaji and his Times*, 4th ed., p. 367). Above all the imperishable spirit which Shivaji bequeathed to his countrymen not only steeled them for their epic struggle with the forces of Aurangzeb in the immediately following period, but also led them under the able direction of the Peshwas of the House of Balaji Vishvanath on the wings of victory towards the goal of All-India dominion.

The second manifestation of the ancient Indian spirit in all its forms took place in the Punjab in the latter half of the seventeenth century under the guidance of the *gurus* of the sect founded by Nanak. When the fifth *Guru* Arjun was executed by order of Emperor Jahangir in 1606, his successor *Guru* Hargovind began to organise his followers on military lines so as to create among them the will to resist the aggressor. It was however the martyrdom of the ninth *Guru* Tegh Bahadur at the hands of Emperor Aurangzeb in 1675 which fired his young son and successor, the famous *Guru* Govind Singh, with a religious zeal for a thorough-going reform of his sect on military lines. He set before himself the task of converting his followers into a compact community free from priestly tutelage and based upon complete social

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equality. He thus created the community of the Purified Ones (Khalsa) which was bound together by a distinctive ceremony of baptism as well as distinctive dress, manners and even surnames, and he inspired them with belief in their divine mission to right the wrongs of men. After the death of their great *guru* the Sikhs passed through a firy ordeal of persecution (1708-50)only to emerge as masters of the Punjab in the following half-century. Their fortunes reached their peak in the first part of the nineteenth century when Ranjit Singh, "the Lion of the Punjab" united the greater part of the Indus valley with Kashmir under his rule and supported it by an army organised on the European model.

In the rest and by far the greater part of India the history of the eighteenth century is on the whole written in decay. It is true that even then there were not wanting saints who kept alive the torch of the ancient spirituality. Such was Ramaprasada Kaviranjana of Bengal, the author of numerous devotional lyrics in honour of the Great Mother which have become a classic in Bengali literature. In general, however, it is correct to state that the fount of the old Indian spirit ran dry at this period. In the political field, it is true, there were not wanting even at this period very able and successful rulers, Hindu as well as Muslim. Such were Baji Rao I and Mahadji Sindhia in the Maratha world, Murshid Kuli Khan in Bengal and Haidar Ali in Mysore. But none of these was able to base his State on firm foundations. The greatest of the Indian States, that of the Marathas, suffered from grave defects in its political and military system, some of which like the neglect of the economic factor went back to Shivaji's times, while others like the assignment of jaigirs in lieu of cash payments and the grant of offices in hereditary succession were due to the mistaken policy of his successors. Even the creation of European-trained battalions by the later Maratha rulers proved in the end to be their undoing. [On the defects and shortcomings of the Maratha State, see J. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his Times*, 4th ed., 357*f* and *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. IV, pp. 104-11; Sardesai, *New History of the Maratha People*, Vol. II. pp. 56-59]. With the death of its last great leaders the Maratha State-system entered upon a period of almost incessant anarchy which paved the way for its downfall. A similar anarchy, which overtook the Punjab in the years following the death of Ranjit Singh, ended in the political extinction of the Sikhs. On the whole, then, the severe verdict of the well-known Indian historian of this period remains unshaken when he observes (*Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. IV. pp. 343-44): "The Mughal Empire and with it the Maratha overlordship of Hindustan, fell because of the rottenness at the core of Indian society. This rottenness showed itself in the form of military and political helplessness. The country could not defend itself; royalty was hopelessly depraved or imbecile; the

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nobles were selfish and short-sighted; corruption, inefficiency and treachery disgraced all branches of the public service. In the midst of this decay and confusion, our literature, art and even true religion had perished." [For a more balanced but still severe judgment on the history of this period, see H. Goetz, *The Crisis of Indian Civilisation in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries, Calcutta* 1938].

The Period of Impact of British Imperialism and Its Conflict with Indian Nationalism

In the century following the battle of Plassey the British, armed with all the resources of a first-rate European power and helped by the break-down of the indigenous social and political systems, made themselves masters of our land to its furthest extremities. It was then that India felt for the first time the consequence of subjugation by a foreign power ruling her as a dependancy from a distant base. The evils of the East India Company's rule have been admitted by fair-minded British administrators and historians from early times down to the present. [For the opinions of the early British observers, see the quotations from Munro, Malcolm and Bishop Heber in *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India* by Thompson and Garrat, App. B. For a modern view, see *The British Impact on India* by Sir Percival Griffiths, pp. 230-32; 361-71; 379-404]. The great plunder which disgraced the early years of the Company's rule in Bengal led directly to the dreadful famine of 1769-70 which cost the lives of fully one-third of its inhabitants. When at a later date Britain as the result of its Industrial Revolution emerged as the greatest manufacturing nation in the world, the selffish commercial policy of the British Government forced free-trade upon India resulting in the ruin of her age-old domestic industries. The land-revenue policy of the Company's government imposed a crushing burden upon the cultivators, which was aggravated by the evil of periodical settlements over the greater part of our land. The pressure of the Company's administration produced among our people habits of long acquiescence in foreign rule killing all initiative and of dependance upon government leading to disappearance of the indigenous institutions of local self-government, while it involved the exclusion of Indians from all higher ranks of the administration to the debasement of their character. It is true that the evils set forth above were to some extent offset by the benefits which have justly been claimed for British rule in India by writers of the then ruling race. The fourfold feature of British administration, namely "its impersonality, its recognition of personal liberty, its integrity and its insistencc on equality before the law" (Griffiths, *op. cit.* p. 228) has been productive of various benefits among our people. These comprise "the maintenance of peace and order, the rule of law, the belief in liberty, the modern-

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isation of the country, the laying of firm financial foundations for the State, the fight against famine and disease, the increase in agricultural resources and the provision of stable political and economic conditions in which commerce and industry could develop" (*ibid p.* 229). Again, the opening of the door of Western education to Indians on an increasing scale, which lies to the credit of the British Indian Government since the time of Bentinck, has led to the incalculable benefit of linking India with modern thought.

However grave might be the defects and shortcomings of British rule in India it was strong enough to crush all armed attempts of our people to throw off its yoke down to its last days. With the suppression of the Indian independence movement of 1857-58 which was "the first crude expression of India's urge for freedom" (Hirendranath Mukherjee, *India Struggles for freedom*, p. 48) the British government entrenched itself in our land more firmly than ever with the strength derived from reorganisation of the whole administrative system and a growing responsiveness to the wishes and sentiments of our people. How did India react to this environment in the context of her first truly foreign subjection? As Sri Aurobindo has well remarked *(op. cit.* p. 50), it is characteristic of the strength of spirituality in our traditional make-up that the first Indian reaction has manifested itself in the sphere of religion. Characteristic, again, is the fact noted by the same thinker (*ibid.* p. 54) that in this sphere unlike every other sphere "every impulse has been throughout powerfully creative." To quote the same authority *(ibid.* pp. 50-52), "The Brahma Samaj combined a Vadantic first inspiration, outward forms akin to those of English Unitarianism and something of its temper, a modicum of its temper, a modicum of Christian influence, a strong dose of religious rationalism and intellectualism. It is noteworthy, however, that it started from an endeavour to restate the Vedanta . The Arya Samaj in the Punjab founded itself on a fresh interpretation of the truth of the Vada and an attempt to apply old Vedic principles of life to modern conditions. The movement associated with the great names of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda has been a very wide synthesis of past religious motives and spiritual experience topped by a re-affirmation of the old asceticism and monasticism, but with new living strands in it and combined with a strong humanitarianism and zeal of missionary expansion. There has been too the movement of orthodox Hindu revivalism." This last is associated with such names in Bengal as those of Sasadhara Tarka-chudamani and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. These movements have often been accompanied with strong and vigorous efforts in the direction of social and educational reform as well as dedication to social service.

Next to its application to religion may be mentioned the operation of the Ancient Indian spirit in the fields of literature, art and seience. The new

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vernacular literatures of India at first clearly imitative of Western models, have gradually given rise to original creations soaring into the realm of world-literature in such works as those of Rabindranath Tagore. The same tendencies have been at work in the fields of art and science. It is in the sphere of politics that the reaction of the Indian mind has been most tense and effective. The pressure of a uniform administration, the impact of a common type of education, growth of a strong middle class, the recovery of our long-lost cultural heritage through the efforts of generations of scholars in this country and abroad, the voices of our great literary artists and the rapid development of communications, not to speak of the examples of more fortunate notions outside our limits, have helped to knit together the diverse elements of our vast population by a bond of nationality based upon the community of interests and sentiments. In this process it is easy to discover the simultaneous operation of the three component factors of our ancient spirit, namely its spirituality, its vitality and its intellectuality. In the last half-century the nationalist movement born out of the above-mentioned sentiment of common nationality has led our people at first with slow and halting steps and afterwards with increased momentum along the path of independence. Among the important milestones on this road towards liberation may be mentioned the foundation of the Indian National Congress (1885), Tilak's militant Hindu Nationalism in Maharashtra (1894 and the following years), the Swadeshi movement in Bengal under the inspiring leadership of Shri Aurobindo and other intellectuals (1905-08), the rise of the Indian nationalist party (1906-12) with its goal of complete independence, the movement in favour of armed revolution (1906 and the following years), the mass upheaval and its direction along the paths ef non-violence, social justice, temperance and home-spinning by Mahatma Gandhi (1920 and the following years), the organisation of the industrial workers and the peasants by the Communist party (1924 and the succeeding years), the Congress movements in favour of non-cooperation (1920-22) and Civil Disobedience (1930-33) for supporting the cause of independence, the adoption of the "Quit India" resolution by the All-India Congress Committee and its aftermath in the shape of a country-wide rebellion (1942), the epic struggle of the Indian National Army under the direction of Netaji Subhas Bose with the British forces in Burma (1943-45) and the nation-wide strikes including those in the Indian Navy and Air Norce (1945-46). These high endeavours were offset by the upsurge of the Muslim separatist movement, of which the fruits may be successively enumerated as the foundation of the League (1906), the communal electorate clause of the Government of India Act (1909) solemny accepted and extended by the Congress in thc Lucknow Pact (1916), the orgy of communal riots and massacres commencing with the

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Moplah rebellion (1921), the adoption of the Pakistan resolution by the Muslim League (1940), and the Congress acquiescence in the resulting partition of our motherland (1947). Thus it came about that when on the memoroble 15th August 1947 we gained the prize of independence after nearly half a century of almost ceaseless struggle with one of the strongest powers in the world, we acquired a divided inheritance stained by the blood and tears of multitudes of our countrymen. The events leading up to this grand consummation, which with all its shortcomings is one of the greatest in the modern history of the world, are so recent that it is impossible for the historian as yet to pass a dispassionate judgement upon the actors in the principal scenes. Let us all join in hoping that our rulers and statesmen will be spared sufficient wisdom, courage and patriotism to lead our country to the van of the world's progress.

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Section IV : Archaeology

A. Ghosh

I am most grateful to the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference for electing me the President of the Archaeology Section of the seventeenth session of the Conference. I am deeply conscious of the honour, all the more so as it has been conferred upon me in spite of my meagre association with this august Conference in the past.

The gathering before me consists of distinguished scholars who are well-acquainted with the progress of research in the domain of such branches of Indian archaeology as epigraphy, numismatics etc. I, therefore, feel it needless to repeat things already familiar to them and shall confine myself in this address to a specialized side of archaeology, I mean archaeological exploration and excavation. Though we, who are archaeologists by profession, regard this as the main and true branch of archaeology, the universities and learned institutions in India, I am sorry to note, have not, with a few notable exceptions, taken kindly to this line, with the result that field-archaeology has not received its due share of public interest. I, therefore, crave your indulgence when I take you away for the next few minutes from the favourite spheres of your research and recount here some of the aspects in which Indian archaeology has achieved notable results in recent years and also place before you some of the problems that await solution. Many of these problems have been of long standing, while others are taking shape as we are progressing in the domain of archaeological investigation and research.

Here I must distinguish between archaeological and historical problems. The archaeologist must devote his main attention to unfolding the material relics of the past, irrespective of whether or not the historian finds these researches useful for solving his own problems. The latter may, on the other hand, include in his purview many matters which are of no direct concern to the archaeologist. This does not mean that the aims of the archaeologist and the historian conflict with each other. Indeed the aims are identical, viz., to reveal the past. But while the historian may emphasize several aspects of the past, the archaeologist confines himself only to that part which can be substantiated by tangible remains. An imperfect understanding of this difference has unfortunately led some critics to charge us with unduly empha-

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sizing prehistoric archaeology at the sacrifice of the historical period. In ultimate analysis the charge can only mean that inscriptions, coins, sculptures etc., which are of vital interest to the historian, are not being turned up in as great numbers as he would like to be. If we are now devoting some attention to prehistory and protohistory, it is because these branches are much less developed than historical archaeology. And, after all, the line dividing prehistory from history is very faint, for do not both of them relate to man's past?

In a vast country like India it is futile to expect that the patterns of material culuture, which are the outcome of human endeavour working under varied circumstances, should have taken more or less uniform shapes and that archaeological 'cutures' should have assumed the same or even comparable forms all over the country. *Indeed, as archaeological knowledge advances, it is becoming more and more apparent that, irrespective of what the literary and historical evidences would lead us to expect, the development of the material culture of the country was far from homotaxial.* The problems arising out of the regional developments are therefore also necessarily different and have to be tackled on a regional basis. I shall broadly deal here with some of these developments and problems.

I shall begin with NORTH-WEST INDIA, where there has been some advancement in our knowledge of the *Harappā culture*. it has been repeated times without number that the greatest problem of Indian archaeology is *to fill up the lacuna between the end of this culture and the beginning of the Mauryan period*. At the same time it must be admitted that no persistent effort was made until recently to achieve the end, and, before any progress could be made, it was necessary to know the geographical extent of the culture, so that it could be ultimately linked up with one of the known cultures of northern India.

With this end in view, an intensive exploration was undertaken by me in 1950 and the following years in the dried-up valleys of the rivers Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī in north Bikaner, for a few Harappā sites had been reported by Sir Aurel Stein further down the Sarasvatī bed in Bahāwalpur, now in Pakistan. The exploration proved very successful, for *throughout the valley of the Sarasvatī, as comprised in Bikaner, a large number of sites containing objects typical of the Harappā culture was spotted, thus bringing the culture much nearer the heart of India.*

Nor is that all. Another group of sites was found to contain a typical pottery khown as the *'painted grey ware'*, which, as a result of the explorations of some of my colleagues, is now known to have spread all over east Panjab and west U. P. This ware has been placed in its proper archaeological setting by the *1950-51 excavation at Hastināpura*, District Meerut, where it was found *to occur well below Mauryan deposits and could therefore be confidently dated to at*

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least the first half of the first millennium B. C. Though it is premature to associate it with any ethic immigration, its geographical and chronoiogical horizons are no doubt of immense significance.

The Bikaner exploration, though fruitful in serval directions, did not help in the establishment of *the sequence of the Harappā and painted grey ware cultures*, for no site was definitely found to bear relics of both the cultures. *The chronclogical sequence was prima facie evident* but had to be established on undisputed grounds. Further, it was obvious that a stratigtaphic overlap or otherwise of the two cultures must have a significant bearing on the all-important question of the end of the Harappā culture.

Fortunately, such a site has been found at *Rūpar*, 60 miles north of Ambālā in east Panjab, on the bank of the Sutlej. Here, surface-indications led us to suspect the existence of both the cultures, *and our last season's excavation at the site has fulfilled our expectation. For, the Harappā deposists here were found to be successively overlain by those bearing painted grey ware and objects of the Mauryan and subsepuent ages up to late Gupta times, after which the site had been left unoccupied till late medievalt imes. The occurrence of the Harappā culture as far east as Rūpar is* significant in itself, but more important is the fact that that culture was found superimposed by the painted grey ware culture, thus proving direct means for linking up the former with later cultures. This is fraught with great possibilities, for by a close observation of the upper strata of the Harappā culture and of the lowermost ones of the succeeding one, it may be possible to establish whether, in this part of the country at any rate, *the intruding authors of the painted grey ware culture came into contact with the Harappans or whether the latter died a natural death and were only followed by later settlers on the land.*

What I have just stated may lead to an unwarranted simplification of the involved problems. For certain other developments warn us against a too plain interpretation of the available data in the form of the Harappans being superseded or succeeded everywhere by intruders. *One of these developments is the occurrence of a distinctive type of pottery, usually ill-fired and of a somewhat coarse texture, found at a place called Bahādrābād, near Hardwār, in definite association with late stone implements.* Year before last a hoard of copper implements was accidentally found at this place, and it was in the hope of finding objects associated with this hoard that some limited excavation was undertaken here. The excavation did not yield any further copper objects, but, at the same time, it was noticed that *the pottery found here had some shapes very vaguely similar to the Harappan ones.* This at once introduces a complicating factor, and the complication is rendered greater by the fact that *a fairly large number of sites in* Bikaner, particularly in the Drishadvati valley, the chief of them being Sothi near Nohar, a sub-

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divisional town, had been found to bear pottery definitely resembling the Bahādrābād one, in shape, if not in fabric, thus indicating that it represents not an isolated or localized culture but one with a fairly wide distribution. It is only a guess that in some parts of the region of its occurrence the 'Sothi culture' intervened between the Harappan and the later ones, but this remains to be established by regular excavation.

In the NORTHERN GANGETIC VALLEY the problem of the culture represented by the copper-hoard implements remains where it was, except for two new factors, viz. the discovery of the copper hoard at Bahādrābād referred to above and the collection of some pottery from the copper-hoard sites, though not stratigraphically connected with the hoards themselves, by some of my colleagues. If, by regular excavation, we could obtain definite knowledge about the antiquities associated with the copper objects, it would be a great contribution towards the establishment of the authorship of these enigmatic hoards, which have variously been ascribed to the indigenous population of India or to the refugees of the Harappā culture.

In the CENTRAL GANGETIC VALLEY valuable work has in recent years been done by the excavation at Kauśāmbī being conducted by the University of Allahabad. Apart from the fact that the site of the ancient Ghoshitārāma monastery, hallowed by its association with the Buddha, has been identified and has yielded a precious collection of sculptures and inscriptions, the purely archaeological data furnished by the excavation are equally significant. The pottery-sequence that has been established by this excavation–a sequence extending over a few centuries before and after Christ–will, together with that obtained at Ahichchhatrā and Hastināpura, yield material for a corpus of central Gangetic pottery which will no doubt be of the utmost use to the future workers in the region.

I may, in this connexion, refer to the pottery which has in recent years come to be known as the 'northern black polished ware' and of which the Mauryan age has been established to be the central chronological point and the mid-Gangetic valley the geographical focus, Kauśāmbī itself being a chief centre. After the publication of the available material about this pottery in 1946 (*Ancient India*, no. 1, pp. 55 ff.), further research has shown that its geographical extension had been much wider than was suspected, for it is now known to occur as far east as Gaur and Pānduā in Bengal and as far south as Maski in Hyderabad. Its distribution-map, therefore, embraces practically the length and breadth of India, except probably the extreme South, and it is certainly tempting to connect this wide distribution with the expansion of the Mauryan empire. In any case, it still remains

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the firm datum-line for identifying the Mauryan strata and those immediately preceding and following them.

To revert to the excavation at Kauśāmbī. While it has been established that the site continued in occupation till Gupta and even post-Gupta times, it seems very unlikely that it had its beginning before the sixth century B. C., for occupation virtually started here wilh the northern black polished ware. Whether and how far this archaeological fact has any bearing on the Purānic tradition of Kauśāmbī having been the capital of the later Pāndavas after the desertion of Hastināpura I leave for historians to decide.

Further east, the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute has been doing fruitful work at Kumrāhār, the site of the ancient Pāṭaliputra. Several occupational strata along with the site of a monastery known as Ārogya-vihāra, identified as such on the basis of a few inscriptions but unknown from any other source, have been excavated. But what is archaeologically very significant is that the excavation has rendered necessary a revision of the theory of Dr. D. B. Spooner, who excavated here in 1912 and the followiug years, about the end of the supposed Maurayan palace. While no evidence was obtained about the foreign origin of the palace as postulated by him, it was definitely established that his theory that most of the hundred or more pillars, forming vital components of the palace, had anciently disappeared into the earth was definitely wrong. The great archaeological imagination of Dr. Spooner which had seen in the excavated ruins the remains of a great palace deserves our sincere admiration. At the same time the recent excavation has emphasized the need of re-assessing the theories that gained currency as a result of excavations not conducted under closely-observed conditions.

The great site of Rājgir, the ancient Rājagṛiha, which, according to tradition, was established much earlier than Pāṭaliputra, has still to reveal its archaeological story. The result of the very limited excavation conducted here by me in 1950 cannot certatainly be regarded as the index of the site. With this limitation in mind, the result of the excavation may be stated here in brief. It was noted that there had been some flimsy occupation on the site predating the northern black polished ware. The main occupation, however, began with that ware, i. e. in about the sixth century B. C. Coincident with the advent of this ware there were a few burials of a type unknown before, consisting of shallow pits thickly lined with clay and intended to contain the ash and bone-remains collected after cremation. A large-scale excavation at the site will no doubt yield valuable material for the Mauryan and pre-Mauryan archaeology of this part of the country, and we hope to make a beginning in the near fufure.

In EAST INDIA there is no development to report, but I have mentioned the discovery of the northern black polished ware at Gaur and Pāṇḍuā. This

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opens out new possibilities of unfolding the Mauryan and pre-Mauryan archaeology in Bengal, where, till now, apart from the discovery of a Mauryan inscription at Mahāsthān in Disrtrict Bogrā, nothing pertaining to the early ages has been reported, leaving aside a few microliths at Nadihā in District Burdwan, which, however, is geographically and archaeologically more affiliated to the Chotā Nāgpur region than to the Gangetic plain of Bengal.

To turn now to CENTRAL INDIA. The excavation by the University of Sagar at Tripurī in District Jabalpur has produced notable results. Tripurī is well-known as the capital of the Kalachuris in early medieval times and the findspot of republican coins of pre-Christian date, but the excavation proved that its antiquity went back earlier still, in that the earliest strata were found to contain microliths associated with a typical painted red pottery and were overlain by the northern black polished ware.[1]

While there was a sterile deposit between the microlithic and the northern black polished ones at Tripurī, no such hiatus was discovered in the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute's excavation at Maheswar, the supposed site of Māhishmatī of the Purāṇas. For, here the painted red and other pottery associated with microliths in the lower levels continued in the upper ones even after their progressive diminution and ultimate disappearance.[2] This emphasizes the possibility of at least a late phase of the microlithic culture of central India having merged into the historical period.

In WESTERN INDIA, particularly Kāthiāwād, a number of sites with painted red pottery has recently been brought to notice. This has to be viewed against the background of the data furnished by Rangpur in the former Limdi State. While at thè time of the discovery of the site in 1934-5 it had been concluded that it represented an outpost of the Harappā culture, a subsequent excavator was of the opinion that apart from the presence of dishes-on-stand, a characteristic pottery of the Harappā culture, there was no definite evidence for this affiliation. It has, however, just now been brought to my notice by a colleague of mine that thè paring technique, so common in the Harappā pottery, occurs on some pieces at Rangpur as well,[3] and this fact should afford sufficient justification for undertaking a more thorough excavation at the site, with a view to establishing or rejecting once for all its suspected Harappan affinity.

In the NORTHERN DECCAN the site of Nāsik was excavated some time back by the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute. Apart from a palaeolithic industry in the neighbourhood, the main excavation showed that the black cotton soil, immediately overlying the natural, contained a mic-

1. Information from Dr. M. G. Dikshit.
2. Information from Dr. H. D. Sankalia and Dr. B. Subbarao.
3. Information from Mr. B. K. Thaper.

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rolithic industry superimposed by deposits with the northern black polished ware. The microliths were associated with a red pottery with painted designs, which, along with the microliths, disappeared in the upper layers. A complete break in culture was therefore indicated.

At Jorve neaby, the co-occurrence of microliths and painted pottery was confirmed, but there was no evidence for associating them with the hoard of bronze implements accidentally found here before excavation.

The recent excavation at Bahal, District East Khandesh, also proved the existence of microliths in the lowest layers together with a crude painted red ware.[1]

Our knowledge of the microlithic culture of central India and the Decan has thus advanced in recent years. What is now called for is an intensive analysis of the microlithic types, which may reveal minute dibferentiae among the different phases of this long-lived and wide-spread culture.

In the CENTRAL DECCAN, the sequence obtained in the 1946-excavation at Brahmagiri of a crude chalcolithic culture supplanted by a mighty Iron Age megalithic one, remains to be checked elsewhere. It appears from the imperfectly-recorded excavation at Maski in Hyderabad State that a similar sequence may be obtained here, and in order to place this conjecture on a sound footing it is prosposed to undertake further work at this site in the very near future.

The early archaeology of SOUTH INDIA is linked up with that of the southern Deccan by the megaliths, which, in spite of their varying regional shapes, seem to be the products of a single culture-complex. It remains, however, to be seen whether that culture itself took as many forms as the megaliths themselves and this can be ascertained only by a series of excavations at the habitation-sites of the megalithic folk. One such site, Sengameḍu in District South Arcot, was excavated early this year. Black-and-red were, typical of the megalithic culture, appeared in the lowest strata and continued right through the occupation-deposit. Higher up appeared genuine sherds of the 'rouletted' ware, regarded as of Roman import, which again persisted till the desertion of the site, though in crude forms.

The megalithic problem is of interest to the anthropologist, linguist and archaeologist alike. A distinguished anthropologist has put forth the theory that the southern megalithic monuments owe their origin to the D:333dians. Though definite evidence is lacking, the theory has much to commend it, for, if either of the two early Brahmagiri cultures, viz. the primitive chalcolithic and the vigorous megalithic, is to be affiliated to the Dravidians, it is the latter that has greater claims. But whether the date ascribed to the beginning of this ... ding

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ture at Brahmgiri, i. e. the second century B. C., will satisfy the requirements of the linguist is more than what I can say.

And this brings me to the last point that I intend to touch in this address, viz. the problem of the date of the megaliths. The only definite data at present available are the Brahmagiri ones, and one of the chief reasons that led the excavator to propose a second century B. C. dating was that the chaos following the death of Aśoka must have provided 'an appropriate context for a folk-wandering.' But this date remains to be extensively tested, and the geographical distribution and stratigraphic position at other places of the black-and-red pottery, so characteristic of the megalithic culture, will prove important in this connexion. At Bahal, referred to above, this pottery is coeval with the northern black polished ware. Again, at Maheswar, it is found with microliths but continues, after the disappearance of the latter, along with the northern black polished ware. Furthermore, it occurs in profusion much futher north, e. g. at a place called Āhār near Udaipur (Rajasthan) and even in Bikaner, where it is definitely associated with grey ware. It is worth investigating whether, irrespective of the shapes and fabric, the technique of inverted firing in itself, that was responsible for the production of this pottery, was adopted from time to time in different regions or spread from a common focus. In the latter case many more factors will have to be taken into account for dating the megalithic culture than have been done till now.

I have now finished my rapid survey of the recent developments in the field of pre-Christain archaeology in India, which are the outcome of the activities not only of the Department of Archaeology but of some universities, and insitutions, the number of which, however, is lamentably few. The developments, it will be admitted, are significant and, in some cases, far-reaching. But there is no ground for complacence, for many are the dark corners in Indian archaeology that require investigation, and even the most persistent efforts of the handful of persons engaged in this line of research, working under heavy limitations, will not be sufficient to cope with the enormous task awaiting us. More funds, a larger number of trained persons, greater facilities for work and, above all, a keener public appreciation of our aims and methods are urgently called for to make Indian archaeology unfold its mysteries.

back

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Section X : Indian Linguistics

Metamathematics, Metalogic and Metalinguistics with special reference to the Alpha Phoneme and the Alpha-Phonoid Theories*

By C. R. Sankaran

The profile theory of Prof. E. W. Scripture is extended in my theory so as to mean that the components of the articulation, which is the three-dimensional complex, are having one-one relation with the components of the sound waves. For, unlike the earlier approach to the problem, which regarded the sound waves as unidimensional for purposes of, say, the Fourier analysis, *implying* thereby that the components of the sound waves are not readily comparable with the articulatory components, we proceed to regard the sound waves as a multi-dimensional (space) continuum *congruent* with *time* and *strictly correlated* with articulation. For clarity, it is pointed out here that until the formalution of the Alpha-phonoid theory the assumptions that held sway were only :—

(1) there is a correlation between the articulation and the sound waves and that,

(2) this correlation is in a sense absolute, *i. e.*, an observable difference in articulation is correlated with *some* observable difference in the sound-waves.

I consider any consonant-vowel configuration (actually articulated) as the starting point of my investigation. The oscillogram recorded with precision up-to-date cathode-ray oscilloscopes suitable for such an advanced mathematical work which I have been able to procure in my laboratory, gives a physical picture of the situation which I analyse into a four-point relation of *order* as being made up of consonant sound-profiles, non-consonant sound-profiles, non-vowel sound-profiles and vowel profiles. This resolution into a 'four-point' relation of order is in the wake of projective geometry which is sometimes called the geometry of position.

The 'four-point' relation of order in projective geometry is in the wake of Veblen's system of a 'three-point' relation of order replacing the notion of 'between-ness' in Peano's system. Note that I have always taken care to either

*This is the epitome of the address prepared by Dr. C. R. Sankaran him[illegible]ding and pubiished in the Deccan College Bulletin Vol. XIV, No. 2.

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enclose within single inverted commas or to *italicise* the term 'between' when I speak of an *interval* 'between' the consonant and the vowel in any consonant-vowel configuration under consideration. This is to indicate that we are operating at the *Metalanguage leved*. It is the metalanguage we use when we construct a theory of language. The distinction of levels of language is a necessary prerequisite of logic. Bertrand Russell's antinomy demonstrates that not every combination of words can be admitted as a meaningful statement. The sentence "the property *determined* is determined" is ruled out from the domain of meaningful sentences due to Russell's formulation of his theory of types.

When we talk property of a *particular*, we are clearly operating at the metalogical level. At the level of the Alpha-phoneme even the 'instantaneous entities' are not seen as separate or together involving dyadic asymmetric relation; at that epoch, which is beyond space, time and becoming, there is simply no relationship at all.

Now in the Alpha-phoneme theory, 'between' the consonant and the vowel, there is a mind-construct which is the 'indefinable Infinite.' The Alpha-phoneme is like the 'point-singularity' of E. A. Milne. This conception agrees also in essence with Lemaître's hypothesis which traces the state of the universe backwards to a point-singularity at which epoch no propositions can be asserted about the state of affairs. "It is transcendent, as becomes the event of the creation of the Universe."

Now, therefore, starting from the above *(ūrdhva-mūlam)*, the transcendent Alpha-phoneme, we come to the 'form' *(sākāra* the *vyakta)* which suggests this 'formless' *(nirākāra*—the *avyakta)*. This 'form' is the Alpha-phonoid. It is a uniform probability distribution of 'event-particles' forming a hyper-spherical space. *Āytam* is a particular case of the Alpha-phonoid. The Alpha-phonoid is a generalized *Āytam*-phenomenon. The term generalization is used here, I need hardly remind you, in the strict sense in which mathematicians understand the term.

Now the geometrical alpha-phoneme theory I can translate to you as the fourth state of consciousness. It is *Avyavahāryaḥ*—transcendental—and *prapañcopaśamaḥ*—devoid of all phenomenal existence. In this super-conscious state, the existence of mind is also denied. Needless it is to emphasise that the highest form of thinking is *Negative Thinking*. Pure conciousness becomes conscious of itself. It is ineffable in ordinary human language. The Alpha-phoneme is *amātraḥ*, and in the mathematical language, it is *dimensionless*.

Does not a philosophical analysis of mathematical thinking which is the basis of the Alpha-phoneme theory, reveal that we occasionally at least have a glimpse of this fourth state of consciousness? We then experience a transvaluation of values through our mind. A philosophical analysis of mathe-

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matical thinking is always revealing, pointing out to an ultimate superconsciousness.

I have already stated in my monograph that "In our consonant-vowel configuration, we construct a continuum of point-instants as it were, in space-time as 'groups' of 'events' since the sound wave conceived as three-dimensional is *instant* by *instant* correlated with the three-dimensional articulatory complex *(instant* by *instant)* as in Robb's theory.

"Here obviously an 'element' of time is called an *instant* and is to be regarded as a fundamental concept. The system of geometry which is envisaged to be built up in the wake of the Alpha-phoneme theory in its present form, will therefore ultimately assume a sort of four-dimensional character, that is to say, any element of it is to be determined by four co-ordinates. The bases of the whole logical superstructure are the ideas of *before* and *after*. I give them as Robb has done the philosophical and physical meanings more or less on the self-same lines. In a general way, it can be described that our continuum of *speech-elements* or 'Profiles' (which are conceptualised abstractions) in any consonant-vowel configuration (with *zero* as the acoustico-articularory *interval* in time 'between'), *implies* that the time-relations and space-relations are to be regarded both as relations of one continuum here."

In this geometry of time and space there is a marked departure from the generally accepted view that an instant can be in two places at once and so the postulate, "If an instant A be neither before nor after an instant B, the instant A is identical with the instant B," is surrendeeed. No doubt this postulate holds good "for the set of instants of which any one individual is directly conscious, or which any single particle occupies."

But for the universe in general is substituted the postulate: "If A be any instant there is at least one instant distinct from A which is neither before nor after A."

Robb is careful to say that "If I am directly conscious of the instant A then any instant such as that here postulated will be one of which I am not directly conscious, but only indirectly apprehend and which is, as I say, *elsewhere*." Clearly this *elsewhere* is universal consciousness.

"While the set of instants of which any single individual is conscious or which any single particle of matter occupies have a linear order, the set of instants for the universe in general appear to have a *conical order*."

Robb has given it this name for as he himself explains "It may be illustrated by means of ordinary geometric cones; while it contains within itself the possibility of defining particular sets of instants having a leading linear order such as that with which each of us is familiar."

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With the introduction of co-ordinates the system is equivalent to the analytical geometry of Minkowski.

"In such a system as he employed, one co-ordinate is measured along a line corresponding to one lying within the cones in the model (an inertia line), and represents what clocks purport to measure. The other three co-ordinates are measured along lines corresponding to those lying outside the cones (or separation lines) and these represent what we call spatial distances.

"Now, as the *before* and *after* relations from which our whole theory is built up have a temporal significance, we appear to have absorbed the theory of space in a theory of time, in which instants have a conical order instead of the purely linear order which they are generally regarded as having. An instant for the universe in general is identified by four co-ordinates in this theory instead of merely one co-ordinate as is generally assumed."

Now the meaning of the statement of mine that "the 'elemental profiles' forming really speaking a four-dimensional continuum have a bi-unique correspondence with a part of time itself," must be clear to you. This speaks of the correlation of experience between individual consciousness and the Universal consciousness. It is interesting to note that Eddington takes precisely this stand on such a correlation of experience.

So there is an extension of a hierarchy of *individual consciousness* to pure universal consciousness in the correlation of the linear order of a particular set of instants and the conical order of instants. There is a *pure total consciousness* observing each particular observer. In this connection I am inclined to agree with Prof. C. T. K. Chari, regarding J. W. Dunne's work that "the postulation of an observer at infinity is from the mathematical stand-point, a piece of tactlessness on his part.....but the postulate has a far different significance for the speculative philosophy of the West and the East.....The Ulimate Self, Dunne taught, is not in the linear time of physics and Its Immortality is not to be thought of as an endless prolongation of the time of our empirically describable consciousness. An indefinite conception, it will be said. But does not the Self glory in being indefinite? Can It have a credible, visible existence, a vulgar roundness and relief?"

Now the Alpha-phoneme construction as I have shown in my monograph is wholly subjective. Eddington had singled out the cosmical number N as a test case. For, "knowledge of the number of elementary particles had seemed least likely to be tainted with subjectivity," but even N is *debunked*.

Even the laws of microscopic physics utrn out to have been imposed by [illegible] mind.

In a truly scientific work we cannot cut ourselves off from the deeper roots of our being. There is no escape from the Invisible before one can act

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with effect in the realm of space and time. "Seek ye *first* the kingdom of Heaven." It implies rebirth in the Eternal, transcending the world of space and time. "Then, and then only do all manifestations appear for what they really are." Undoubtedly, there is a chain of communication, each link being a step which leads from the transcendental knowledge of eternal experience to the ordinary pragmatic knowledge of sense–perceptions.

The Alpha-phoneme can be equated with *Parā-Vāk*. "*Rūpa* we can know and analyse by the aid of science. *Nāma* by the aid of philosophy; but *Swarūpa*?" It would seem that some third instrument is needed for that consummation of knowledge.

चत्वारि वाक् परिणमिता

The Alpha-phonoid is the *Paśyantī*. It is *Ghanībhūta*. It is the *physical representation* of the consciousness, which in my theory does not cognize consonant or vowel, and therefore it resembles the *Suṣuptasthāna* of the *Māṇḍukyopaniṣad*. It is independent of the empirical. While the Alpha-phoneme is the *Nāda*, the Alpha-phonoid is the *Bindu*.

I stress again that the construction of the Alpha-phoneme is only an auxiliary idea and that it is symbolic.

I may claim as the representative of both Tolkāppiyar and Bhartṛhari. Perhaps more correctly speaking, I extend Tolkāppiyar's empirical conception, being more true to Bhartṛhari's tradition as you will see. I have generalized the Āytam-concept of the former into the Alpha-phonoid which is given precisely the same meaning as "constancy of C expressed as 'invariance' of the four-dimensional 'interval.' " The Alpha-phonoid looked at from one point of view is the physical 'interval' *between* the consonant and the vowel in any consonant-vowel configuration, where the amplitude is reduced to an insignificant amount.

Looked at from another point of view, the Alpha-phonoid is perhaps the time–interval of 3 milliseconds between two successive sweeps in the recent device of the Bell Telephone Laboratories *viz.*, the Visible Speech Apparatus. This electronic device gives what is technically known as the sweep-rate of 333 per second.

This time–interval of 3 milliseconds is very much smaller than any time significant in the production of speech sounds and therefore the 333 per second sweep–rate is fast enough to assure that no significant speech detail fails to be portrayed.

Now it is proposed to determine the minimum standard duration of a 'unit information cell', through a fascinating theoretically devised experiment. This is the well-defined goal of my collaborators and myself, in guiding programme of the study of speech-structure from the view-point of the Alpha-

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phoneme theory. This is leading us on to, comparatively speaking, newer branches of knowledge like neurophysiology and mathematical biophysics, outstanding contributions to which from N. Rashevsky in recent times have been referred to in the addendum to our latest paper "Time and speech-structure." As I have said, our well-chalked out plan is the determination of the minimum standard duration of a 'unit information cell' in the physical stimulus as well as in the neurological and psychological responses; the minimum common duration of all these three will, it is hoped, serve as the key 'interval' for the *basic* representation of speech-structure (the Alpha-phonoid).

Now this ultra-elementary constituent which is the *minimum standard duration* of a 'unit information cell' in the physical (acoustical) stimulus as well as the neurological and psychological responses will give a *physical significance* to a non-Archimedean Time-order.

The Alpha-phoneme theory stresses that the idea of *order* should precede the idea of *measurement*. The conception of the latter is only constructed from the former. Robb's conical order of the set of instants for the universe in general is only a scaffolding in the erection of the theory of the Alpha-phoneme. Another such scaffolding is E. A. Milne's Kinematic Relativity. His assumption too is that temporal before-after, is logically more primitive than spatial 'between'. Milne's epistemological approach to the problem of time has a deep philosophical significance. In Kinematic Relativity, the rigid measuring rods are entirely dispensed with. The forward direction of time is not distinguished from the backward direction in classical dynamics. These reversible equations are employed even by Einstein's General Theory of Relativity. The law of entropy distinguishes $+dt$ from $-dt$. This irreversibility of thermodynamics from the view-point of the General Theory of Relativity is due to our ignorance of the detailed values of the co-ordinates of particles in a crowd.

In Milne's theory, there are two scales of time, a $\Uparrow$-*scale* and a *t-scale*. For all fundamental observers, $\Uparrow$-time is an invariant giving the time honoured simultaneity throughout the universe where the reveresible equations of classical physics are employed. It is the *ephemeral* or *dynamical* time recorded by a chronometer or the rotating earth, for instance, which Milne distinguishes from the *absolute* or *Kinematic* time t, recorded by a radio-active clock. The relation between $\Uparrow$ and t is:—

$$\Uparrow = t_o \log \frac{t}{t_o} + t_o,$$

where, t_o is the age of the universe in t-time, say 4×10^9 years.

Here it must be noted that Prigogine relates his thermodynamic time ($\Uparrow$) to Newtonian time (t) by an apparently identical equation for certain

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equilibrium conditions. Regarding the nomenclature, "the 'cross-over' is due to a different definition of the epoch at which the time scales are to coincide."

Milne's t-scale is the deeper and the more significant measure of time. Here, the Lorentz-Einstein transformation is valid and also the equations of motion are irreversible.

In Einstein's "Special theory of Relativity" and in Milne's t-scale there is no single linearly ordered time-series for all observers, but "we can establish a definite correlation between the linearly ordered time-series of different observers," the unique meaning of "simultaneity" being lost in this scheme.

We may choose to describe the motion of a dynamical system such as the rotating Earth in terms if t-time. At the present instant $\Uparrow = t$ and $d\Uparrow /dt = 1$, the two scales being indistinguishable, then as we go backwards in history, the periods of rotation shorten. At any moment, it is proportional to the value of t at that moment which is the kinematic time elapsed since the creation. Thus it follows that creation is separated from us by only a finite interval of t-time and it is infinitely remote in $\Uparrow$-time.

"The non-mathematician is apt to be puzzled by the statement that whether the creation happened a finite or an infinite time ago, depends upon how our clocks are graduated.

"Suppose that for the last million years of $\Uparrow$-time, the t-time reckoning kept pace with it exactly; that in the million years of $\Uparrow$-time before that the atom's frequency of vibration was only half as great, so that the atomic clocks only registered half a million years; in the million years of $\Uparrow$-time before this the atom's frequency of vibration was only half this again, so the atomic clocks registered only a quarter of a million years and so on. If we suppose that $\Uparrow$-time extends backwards to infinity, the total time registered by the atomic clock is:—

$(1+\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{4}+)$...million years. Since the sum of the series is 2, the atomic clocks would give a beginning of time, or Creation, just 2 million years ago."

Robb concludes his great work by mentioning an important bearing on general philosophy, the theory (built upon the assumption of the temporal before-after, which is logically more primitive than spatial 'between') has:

"The fundamental properties of time must, on any theory, be regarded as possessing a character which is not transitory, but in some sense persistent; since otherwise, statements about the past or future would be meaningless.

"We here touch on the difficult problem as to the nature of 'univ[illegible]sals', a problem which has been much discussed by philosophers, but appe[illegible]ding to be still far from a satisfactory solution.

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"Though space may be analysable in terms of time relations yet these remain in their ultimate nature as mysterious as ever; and though events occur in time yet any logical theory of time itself must always imply the Unchangeable."

No evidence to prove that the notion of an 'instant' corresponds to anything in the world of sense-data is obtainable "from a psychological study of the passage of time in individual experience; for the (ultra) elementary constituent of perception extends in the time-series over what may be called a *duration*, which, since it is *sui generis*, cannot be defined in terms of anything else."

Time is just itself—*akhaṇḍopādhi*. Out of the finite regions of overlapping events met in immediate consciousness, an idealised time is constructed by the mind. The alpha-phoneme theory leads to the consequence that time can *not* be assimilated to the Cantor-Dedekind type of continuity. Re-examination of our ordinary intuitions of Time leads to an 'Indeterminate' entity-*anirvacanīya*. We leave behind the two-valued logic of Aristotle at such a metalogical, metamathematical and metalinguistic level. The Alpha-phoneme theory has an 'Indeterminate' value in a trichotomous logic.

The Alpha-phonoid is the measure *(mitiḥ)* like the *suṣuptasthāna* which marks the completion *(apītiḥ)* of three relative states of consciousness, determining therefore, the other two states. The set of field equations envisaged to be deduced from the Alpha-phonoid, I need hardly point out, correspond on the one hand to the *svapnasthāna* and the *madhyamā* on the other. It is intermediary between the manifest speech *vaikharī*–the vowels and the consonants, broadly speaking–and the Alpha-phonoid. It is a remembered-sensation.*

"It is a universal form of thought that a remembered–sensation is to be regarded, not as a constituent of knowledge important in itself, but as an indirect apprehension of the past sensation of which I have not direct awareness. It is, in short, a sympathetic knowledge of the past sensation."

In the first three planes of consciousness, *jāgaritasthāna* (or the *vaikharī*), *svapnasthāna* (or the *madhyamā*) and *suṣuptasthāna* (or the *paśyantī*), existence is intuited in relation to something that is external. But the consciousness in the *turīya* is unrelated existence. It is not conditioned by time, space or causation, In that consciousness, the three kinds of differentiation, namely *vijātīya bheda* (generic differences), *svajātīya bheda* (differences amongst the members of the same species) and *svāgata bheda* (internal differences of limbs or parts) are negated. Divisions and differentiations are brought about in our mind by the play of time, space and causation. The transcendental is devoid of all these.

*From ond point of view it is also more precise to evaluate the 'primitive' temporal experiences at the articulatory level as the *Jāgaritasthāna* and the correspo-ndfng'primitive' temporal experiences at the acoustical leave as the *svapnasthāna*.

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It is wrong to describe this colourless, contentless, absolute consciousness as an abstraction or negation in the Buddhistic sense of *śūnyam*. "This Nothing then is merely a something beyond description." Is it a wonder, therefore to an Indian mind like mine, that this form of the highest negative thinking has so much appealed, resulting in the construction of the Alpha-phoneme?

Time serves for work and the timeless (or 'eternity') for fulfilment. The Alpha-phoneme is *unrelated (avyavahāryam)* and unobservable *(adṛṣṭam—agrāhyam—alakṣaṇam)*. Order is the theoretical basis from which measurement is constructed.

The Alpha-phonoid corresponds to the consciousness of deep sleep which is not identified with any kind of percept, or concept or memory. It is *ghanī-bhūta*, independent of the empirical. It is the Bindu, an undifferentiated existence holding the unmanifested germs of varied differentiation.

Should our theoretically devised experiment outlined in our latest paper "Time and Speech-structure" in the realm of Neurophysiology to determine the standard minimum duration of a 'unit information cell' succeed, we should then have given a physical significance to yet another symbolism belonging to the newer mathematics of Veronese and Hilbert (with all its implications to scientific philosophy) which to my mind, is only still another scaffolding or simile to connote Time which is realey *akhaṇḍopādhi*.

In any consonant-vowel configuration during actual articulation by means of any precision instrument, the physico-physiological existence of the *point* where the consonant ends and where the vowel begins can *not* be observed.

Hence, I say, that it is unnecessary to assume the physico-physiological existence of such a change-point. We now therefore, land ourselves into a transcendental logic. There is a mind-construct (the alpha-phoneme) 'between' the consonant and the vowel. This is an *unrelated* existence. A *related* existence, the alpha-phonoid, suggests this.

This *related existence* is the *minimum standard duration* of a 'unit information cell' namely, the ultra-elementary constituent, an agreed number, for idealised signalling, independent of the empirical, when the threshold duration of an acoustical (physical) intermittent stimulus is given with the consequence of continuous neurological and psychological responses.

Since we operate on two orders of infinitesimals (say, at least the physical stimulus and the neurophysiological response) simultaneously, the resulting order is non-Archimedean. The (ultra) elementary constituent of perception extends in the time series over what may be called a *duration*, which is also more precisely expressible as an infinitesimal segment of a non-Archimedean order.

The *related existence* of this type is undifferentiated existence holding the unmanifested germs of varied differentiation. From this *related existence*

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are derived the field-equations which are the 'disposable parameters' and which closely correspond to the mental impressions—*praviviktabhuk*.—These field equations will serve as the comprehensive frame-work into which quantitatively we can assign all the phonetic phenomena known to us such as vocoids, contoids, assimilation, dissimilation, apheresis, syncopation, retroflex, alveolar, isogloss, voiced and voiceless consonants in certain positions.

It is pretty obvious that the philosopher will get an immediate satisfaction that from the purely epistemological analysis of the Alpha-phoneme and alpha-phonoid theories we arrive, as it were, at the same 'picture' constructed by our ancients.

The Alpha-phoneme is a direct experience of *continuity* while the alpha-phonoid is an 'intuitive (*i. e.*, not based on premises for it is an agreed number independent of the empirical for idealised signalling to ensure a pragmatic operational efficiency) belief' as to physical continuity. This distinction between the alpha-phoneme and the alpha-phonoid needs to be made. It is only for empirical, convenience the alpha-phonoid is taken as the *same* point at infinity but with duration, the alpha-phoneme being the point at infinity without duration.

In this connection the following telling verses of Bhartṛhari are to be borne in mind :—

सर्वार्थ रूपता शुद्धिः ज्ञानस्य निरुपाश्रया। ततोऽप्यस्य परां शुद्धिमेके प्राहुररूपिकाम्॥
उपप्लवो हि ज्ञानस्य बाह्याकारानुपातिता। कालुष्यमिव तत्तस्य संसर्गे व्यतिभेदजम्॥

(Vākyapadīya—third Kāṇḍa IIIrd Samuddeśa संसर्गसमुद्देश verses 54 & 55)

"The conception of a dimensionless parameter (the alpha-phoneme) represents definitely an abstract *negative* thinking; but the alpha-phonoid concept, positive in a purely physical sense, is a climb-down to the less abstract and a communicable medium for interpreting our ultimate subjective experience." (*Cf.* C. R. Sankaran, A Contribution to the Study of Speech-structure BDCRI, vol. 12, p. 229).

The alpha-phonoid is, therefore, in short, an inferior alpha-phoneme, purely for empirical convenience, to ensure a pragmatic operational efficiency.

The synthesis of the alpha-phoneme and the alpha-phonoid to which I pay homage as an ardent modern represenative of *Nādopāsakas*, I regard as the highway of highways of phonetic science in particular, and Linguistics in general. This is only the *śabdādvaita*, in modern garb. I have been arriving at it quite independently in a sense, although the *samskāras*—the ancestral memories, the glorious heritage of the past—are running in my blood. I have been able to gather the correspondences only recently, which I have ventured to place before you. I lay no claim to have made a systematic study of the philosophical literature either of the East or of the West. My philosophy is only that of a Phonetician who has been traversing his own path, observing

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the problem of speech-structure from diverse points of view and this is perhaps my latest discovery that my path has converged to the one to which the ancient philosophic thinkers in our country were also particularly led. It is interesting to note that modern scientific thinkers like Eddington and Robb also converge to the same goal.

Perhaps there is nothing strictly new in my own experience. It is only uncovering an already existing situation. This is perhaps the real education as our very sacred books teach us. I have tried in this address too as in all my works, to impart at least a fraction of the excitement and exhilaration which I can claim, has been ever attending the investigations on speech stucture in which my devoted collaborators and I are engaged at our Phonetics Laboratory in the Deccan College Research Institute. "In the age of reason, faith yet remains supreme; for reason is one of the articles of faith."

In Einstein's words, "The most beautiful emotion we can experience is the mystical. It is the sower of all true art and science. He to whom this emotion is a stranger, who can no longer wonder and stand rapt in awe, is as good as dead.....The cosmic religious experience is the strongest and the noblest thing behind scientific research which is derived from it...Religion without science is blind, science without religion is lame."

I now conclude my address with that immortal Ṛk, while celebrating the glorious wedding of the direct experience of the Alpha-phoneme—the *svayam-prakāśita, jyotisvarūpa, anubhavāmṛta*—with the'intuitive belief'–*śraddhā* —as to the *physical continuity*, due to the notion of the alpha-phonoid in speech-structure.

Time as *Eternal Now* transcends all empirical determinations. It is lawful to regard logic from *within*, as based upon facts of an order which have their abode in the constitution of the Mind.

उत त्वः पश्यन्न ददर्श वाचं
उत त्वः शृण्वन्न शृणोत्येनाम्।
उत त्वस्मै तन्वं विसस्रे
जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासाः
(*Ṛg Veda*, VIII, ii, 23.4).

Addendum I

Now, the Alpha-phoneme construction itself is the postulation of an entity to remove all the contradictions. This entity is the Being, so to say. Such a postulation is known as *Arthāpatti* especially in post-Śaṅkara Advaita. Even *Arthāpatti* as a *Pramāṇa*, a valid source of knowledge or proof, cannot prove the unrelated existence of the Alpha-phoneme. For, the Being is a direct experience. *Arthāpatti* can only point towards the Reality. In this respect

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alone *Arthāpatti* is superior to all other *Pramāṇas*. The Alpha-phoneme is not *Pramāviṣaya*, an object of epistemic act. All *Pramāṇas* are *Pramākaraṇas*, *i.e.*, they produce epistemic acts.

Pramā or true knowledge, at the finite level is *Vṛttijñāna* or epistemic act. The Alpha-phonoid belongs to this region. It is a related existence, undifferentiated, holding in itself unmanifested germs of varied differentiation.

When the acoustical (physical) stimulus is intermittent, the threshold duration which gives continuous neurological (and psychological) responses is the Alpha-phonoid. Note how what ordinarily is assumed to be continuous becomes intermittent, and *vice versa* here. Therefore, both the ultimate 'continuity' and the 'discontinuity' are comprehended by what appears at least on the surface, as the most bizarre and perplexing concept of a non-Archimedean Time-order, in the wake of newer mathematics due to Veronese and Hilbert. The heuristic linguist chooses either the series of acoustic observables or the articulatory observables, separately as far as possible, only to ensure a pragmatic convenience.* This has been the pratice from the ancient times onwards. Witness *Pāṇini's* sūtra: *Tulyāsya Prayatnam Savarṇam*. Here the 'places of articulation' are taken together with the *Ābhyantaraprayatna's*, four in number. These *Ābhyantaraprayatna's* are in essence articulatory in character, while the eleven *Bāhyaprayatna's* (including accentuation) are predominantly the acoustical criteria. The modern X-ray workers too have emphasised the articulatory character, while the physical scientists have been mainly swearing by the acoustic phenomena. I combine both and the contradiction is removed by the construction of the Alpha-phoneme.

Śaṅkara in his own time had to point out to the prosaic orthodox schools that what they were doing was only Suṣkatarka. Likewise, I too point out the limitations imposed by the very empirical approaches chosen by these camps of workers, working in isolation. Again, I have to wage a battle against the unorthodox schools too, even as Śankara did in his own time. (*Cf.* P. T. Raju, Idealistic Thought of India, London, 1953, pp. 123-127).

These unorthodox schools are the mathematical-biophysicists and the Information-theorists, who are lopsided in their specialised interests, although they have broken away from the old orthodoxy. They swear, for instance, separately by such tools as the Boolean Algebra or the logarithm to the base 2, respectively. They have not leapt over one 'step' (or barrier, as you

*The distinction between the 'actor' (the speech elements) and the 'stage' (space-time structure) is maintained in all such investigations. But in my approach speech-elements are the *pure shape* of (space—) time itself. *Cf.* E. Schrödinger, Nature and the Greek. Cambridge at the Univ. Press. 1954. 14; see also B. D. C. R. I. 12-403 fn. 104.

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will), into a unified concept. [I mean, in the wake of a strictly non-phenomenological approach as that inaugurated by the construction of the alpha-phoneme, but they have, all the same, come close to a unified mathematics as represented by Norbert Wiener's work, for instance *(Cf.* N. Wiener, A New Theory of Measurement. A Study in the Logic of Mathematics Proc. of the London Mathematical Society, 2nd Series, vol. 19, 1921, pp. 181-205)].

To these workers, I point out a sharp-edged reason—the post-Kantian transcendental logic, the dialectical method of Hegel and the Arthāpatti of the post-Śankara Advaitism, as well as the modern mathematics such as the Symbolic Logic Mathematics and Iutuitionism with all their deeper implications. I land thus into a beautiful synthesis. Once the contradiction is removed by the postulation of an entity, we accept even the very cotradiction as the natural inevitable Law. This may appear paradoxical. But it is not so. Finally, it may be remembered here that *ad hoc* hypotheses are well known in modern science. For instance, "wave mechanics embraces the old, rather *ad hoc*, quantum conditions of the earlier theory." (WILLIAM WILSON, *The Microphysical World*, Home Study Books, London 1951, pp. 142-43.)

ADDENDUM II

Here I wish further to indicate also how Bhartṛhari's tradition is extended in my work. I am specially indebted to Prof. V. A. Ramaswamy Śastri for many illuminating discussions on Bhartṛhari which indeed have given me an enlightened outlook.

Bhartṛhari himself, to my mind, brought only into greater relief the metalinguistic 'symbolic' thinking hidden mostly, for instance, in Pāṇini to the modern eyes. For, in modern times the spirit has degenerated into intellect in the language of C. G. Jung, (C. G. Jung, Psychological Reflections, collected and ed., by J. Jacobi, London, 1953, p. 225).

As an illustration, I take the last sūtra of Pāṇini: *aə* The open (vivṛta) *a* is taken leave of here and the closed (samvṛta) *ə* is re-established, so to say, by this sūtra. In actual usage, the short *ə* is only closed. But to ensure operational efficiency, for pragmatic convenience only, the 'actual' *ə* is treated as *open* '*a*' in the Śāstra. By the ingenious device of the sūtra *purvatrāsiddham*, this process is explained in Pāṇini's *aṣṭhādhāyī*. But the implications of the apparently innocent sūtra *a ə* at the very end of this great work are vast and of profound significance. This sūtra is a 'disguised imperative.'

Pāṇini may be interpreted to mean on the basis of this sūtra which he has so significantly placed last in his work, that the whole *Vyākaraṇa Śāstra* is to be treated as a *construction (i.e.,* 'as if'). This is indeed attested by a long tradition. Witness Bhartṛhari, for instance, in his *Vākyapadīya: Śāstreṣu prakriyābhedaiḥ avidyaivo-pavarṇyate.....upāyāḥ śikṣamāṇānām bālānāmapalāpanāḥ asatye vartmani sthitvā tataḥ satyam samīhate.*

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Also note the well-known dictum:

Sarve sarvapadādeśā

Dākṣī putrasya Pāṇineḥ.

This leads us particularly to the sphoṭa vāda in the hands of Bhartṛhari. Speaking of it, it appears to me as a very loose analogical way of thinking to equate *vākyasphoṭa* with sentence-reality theory of Otto Jespersen. All thinking in terms of analogy is defective. It betrays a diffidence to think in terms of abstraction and it readily compromises with an over-concretising tendency as crutches. At a higher level, no doubt what to us ordinarily appear as "mere empty abstractions" like even the 'Inconscient' and the 'Ignorance' one comes into an actual "collision with" "or (is) plunged into their dark and bottomless reality" and feeling their "concrete powers whose resistance is present everywhere and at all times in its tremendous and boundless mass." (Sri Aurobindo, Letters on "Savitri," Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, Ist edition 1951, p. 9). But at this level no analogy is needed. In fact, here it has no meaning and vanishes completely.

Therefore, let us approach our present problem directly for a fresh evaluation. To my mind, the eight sphoṭas were each *real* in itself, according to Bhartṛhari. Here we meet with the levels of abstractness as in mathematics. For instance, note the transition from affine geometry to *analysis situs* via projective geometry. *Analysis situs* treats of the totality of the properties which remain intact with respect to all continuous one to one transformations. There is no distinction here between a cone, a cube and a pyramid. They are only one structure. For, any one can be changed into the other by a continuous transformation. The sphoṭa is thus one. It is just like the *Rasa* being 'one' in an *ultimate* sense.

Also, the continuum is not composed of parts. The continuum of the positive numbers, the continuum of the negative numbers and the continuum of the numbers coinciding with zero are each itself. It is not true, however, that the *entire continuum* is composed of all these sub-continua.

There is too an identity of the 'vibration-phenomena' and the entire 'matter':—"*ekasyaivātmanobhedau śabdārthāvapṛthaksthitau.*"

Here again, there is tradition from Ṛgveda onwards. *Vāk* is referred to therein and there is a distinct reference to *ādya spanda* in tantra literature. It is beside the point, how our ancients conceived of the vibration-phenomena and that, therefore, it may be very different in details of approach between them and the modern scientists.

In the very opening stanza of the vākyapadīya, Bhartṛhari speaks of the transformation of śabdatattva (vibration-phenomena) into *artha*. I translate *artha* here as *matter*. Just as the geographical space and the chronological

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time are different from the *space-time* continuum in relativity, *artha* as 'meaning' is different from *artha* as 'objective reality,' 'facts' or finally even 'matter.' It would be as ignorant to render *artha* into a uniform sense, as it would be to give a *fixed* meaning to 'space' and 'time' as geographical and chronological respectively. One may remind oneself here that Sri Aurobindo renders *anna* as *matter*, contrary to the usual sense.

In *vācam artho'nudhāvati*, for instance, *vāk* means the free creation of thought and *artha* means 'facts' which run as it were to fit into conceptual relations (propositions). It is in this manner, with characteristic humour, Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya speaks of *Pratipada pāṭha*, where Indra was concerned as a student and Bṛhaspati the teacher—nāntam jagāma. [I would, therefore, interpret तेच प्रापदन्वन्तं बुबुधे चादिपूरुषः :(Raghuvamśa 10th sarga, Verse 6), symbolically as facts falling within a 'field' *i.e.*, a structure implying relations and relations of relations with the simultaneous awakening or self-manifestation of the reality].

"There is no knowledge except through vibration-phenomena" declares Bhartṛhari in his vākyapadīya—

"na so'sti pratyayo loke
yaśśabdānugamādṛte
anuviddhamiva jñānam
sarvam śabdena bhāsate"

The attitude which says "thus far and no farther" is always irritating, in any intellectual enquiry. The true joy, on the other hand, resides in the attempt at unifying different levels of experience.

The jump from the vibration-phenomena (the 'actor') to *time* (the 'stage') is inevitable. For, both are one ultimately. Hence Bhartṛhari speaks of *(Kāla) śakti* in third Kāṇḍa of the Vākyapadīya. In my hand, it is the entry of the *timeless* 'quality' (if it can be called *quality* in an altogether special sense) into time-order.

It is interesting to note here that according to one commentary on the *Vākyapadīya*, *paśyantī* is equated with *pratibhā*. This is very significant. For, *pratibhā* is the *creative level*. It is the interval between any two empirical states. It is so to say the 'interphenomenon—*Yeyam samastha śabdārtha kāraṇabhūtā buddhiḥ yām paśyantītyāhuḥ*. It is perceptible but not measurable. One should not delude oneself by denying this–*na tadapahnavena ātmā vañcanīyaḥ*.

The entry of the 'time-less' into 'time-order' is the basis of all *measurement*. It is the basic 'attention'—[(*Free-will*)—instinct]i dentity. Bhartṛhari also contrasts *sarvārtharūpatā śuddhiḥ* with *jñānasya upaplavaḥ*.

In my hand, the one is the *direct* 'experience' of continuity while the other is the *intuitive belief* as to the physical, physiological and the psychological continuity.

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The former is the alpha-phoneme while the other is the alpha-phonoid. The latter is *related* but an undifferentiated existence. It holds the unmanifested germs of varied and varying differentiation.

It is the [stimulus-(steady-state) response] identity. It is the [instant (aneous)-entity], a conception like the 'matter-wave'. It is also a [(before-after)] identity. It is the *kavisahṛdayākhya* identity—the *sārasvata-tattva*. It is an ultimate datum for science. It is perception through duration. The duration is *sui generis—akhaṇḍa*. The alpha-phonoid is the content of a 'specious present' the Eternal Now. At that 'point', the active future and the passive past are disjoint and the world is not closed in its spatial and temporal dimensions.

"Thus," adopting the language of Hermann Weyl, "the ultimate answer lies beyond all knowledge, in God alone; emanating from Him the light of consciousness, its own origin hidden from it, grasps itself in self-penetration, divided and suspended between subject and object, between meaning and being" (Hermann Weyl *Philosophy of Mathematics and natural Science*, Princeton, 1949, p. 125; *cf.* also *ibid.*, pp. 208-9; especially p. 209—"We are confronted, rather, with the fact that the realm of Being is not closed with respect to its determining factors, but that in the ego, where Meaning and Being are merged in indissoluble union, it is open toward Meaning").

This [timeless-(time-order)] 'quality' is reflected at every *instant (i.e.,* a 'point-vibration'). It is resembling more to an infinitesimal segment of a non-Archimedean Order than to the point in ordinary *'linear' continuum.*

When I speak of the *timeless*, I am in entire agreement with Dr. C. T. K. Chari. Quite justifiably he proclaims "The objection that to postulate a 'subliminal mind' inaccessible to ordinary observation and having a status vastly different from that of any supposed 'neural mechanisms' is methodologically unsound ought not to carry great weight in a complex branch of investigation like psychical research, where narrowly conceived operationism may stifle the theory building without which new lines of enquiry cannot be chalked out.....The serious difficulty about the connexity of events that precognition suggests, which has no parallel in relativity or quantum mechanics, is masked when we speculate 'betweenness' in its purely *spatial* aspect; as for instance, when we adopt the two-dimensinal theory of time proposed very tentatively by Broad and Price ("Knowledge and Foreknowledge," *Aristotelian Society*, Supplementary volume XVI, pp. 177-245; *cf.* also C.T.K. Chari, On Representations of time as "the Fourth Dimension" and their Metaphysical Inadequacy, *Mind.*, *58*, N. S., No. 230, April 1949, p. 220), and say that *y* precedes *z* in the 'familiar time-dimension' and follows *z* in an 'unfamiliar time dimension'.....Psychical phenomena bring with them the

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possibility that the human self has aspects, prescribing limits to the amount of correlation we can achieve by adopting exclusively scientific methods of investigation and what Carnap called a 'definite language' *(The Logical Syntax of Language*, Kegan Paul, 1937, Section 17, p. 51)"—C. T. K. Chari, Psychical Research and Philosophy, *The Journal of the Royal Institute of Philosophy in Britain*, 28, No. 104, January 1953, pp. 73–74).

The symbolism of the infinitesimal segment of non-Archimedean geometry presupposes an underlying deep-hidden *reality*, which is "an ordering element, in that it connects series which in themselves are unconnected" *(Cf.* Albert Einstein, Autobiographical Notes, Philosopher-Scientist, Library of Living Philosophers, ed. by Paul A. Schilpp. Tudor Publ. Co., New York, 1951, p. 7).

In short, in T. S. Eliot's words *(Four Quartets*, 1950, p. 22), I drive at "the point of intersection of the timeless with time" and "every moment being a new and shocking valuation of all we have been" *(ibid.*, p. 18).

My work not only strives to establish correlation between different levels of experience within scientific thought, but it also strives to enrich the very content of our own ancient thought and wisdom, in that it attempts to make alive (*i. e.*, relive) those terms like *artha* which through long usage and due to intellectual apathy, have come to be used later in senses different from those in which they were obviously used originally by men like Bhartṛhari. Intellectual apathy is at the extreme end of a *psychological security*. A direct consequence of this intellectual apathy is the *insincerity* which Bertrand Russell has so rightly remarked with pointed emphasis as one of the mein trends of "the most influential school of philosophy in Britain at the present-day" (with whose 'linguistic doctrine' I share wholly my disagreement along with Bertrand Russell) in his able paper "The Cult of 'Common Usage' " (The British Journal of the Philosophy of Science, III, February, 1953, pp. 303-7).

A gross misconception of the original connotation of a term used by Śankara due to Faddegon, and thereby perpetrating an indignity to that remarkably great intellectual giant has already been referred to by me, towards the end of my paper, The Concept of Keynote in the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya (JORM, September, 1945, vol. 15, pp. 32-33).

A dictionary of terms, in the true sense, should be an ultimate analysis of the thought-processes these terms were intended to represent. This means going far beyond the superficial meanings, and this can be done only if we fully sympathise with past experiences of others. Such a deep intellectual sympathy, to say the least, a creative æsthetic response, can come only if we have deep experiences, at any rate, at least at the intellectual (if not, at the supra-rational) levels, ourselves. This alone, I consider, is my humble but distinct contribution to Indian thought as well.

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"The mind of man demands," observes Sri Aurobindo (On Translating the Upanishads. Eight Upanishads, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1953, p. XIV), "and the demand is legitimate, that new ideas shall be presented to him in words which convey to him some associations with which he will not feel like a foreigner in a strange country where no one knows his language, nor he theirs. The new must be presented to him in the terms of the old; new wine must be put to some extent in old bottles."

Logicians and mathematicians have ever been subjecting the rules of their game for investigation at the metalogical and at the metamathematical levels. But I have been striving after a demonstration of a deeper synthesis, born of an unshakeable faith now that any mere extension of empirical frontiers of knowledge will not do, taking my departure only the basis of my experiences, albeit modestly and moderately intellectual. It remains for various specialists to work out now the different details. My plea is that in the crucible of inner experience alone, the original significations of the terms used by our ancient thinkers can become vivid and full of life. Thus they will be *revivified* with *exuberance—Brāhmaṇḥ pāṇḍityam nirvidya bālyena tiṣṭhāset; bālyam ca pāṇḍityam ca nirvidyātha Muniḥ (Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣat*, Ānandāśram Series 15, 3rd Chapter, 5th Brāhmaṇa, 1891, p. 441). "If you survive the ocean of learning, you attain verily to *youthful exuberance* and then you are truly a sage." Remember that in this context *aśeṣaviṣayadṛṣṭitiraskaraṇam* is called strength by Śankara. Note also the gloss of Śankara on *Nirvidya* as *Niśśeṣam Kṛtvā*. Here we are not required to prove anything. For, at such a level, we at least have a glimpse of, if not actually touch "a more comprehensive consciousness a profounder faculty, which for the most part remains potential only so far as regards the life of earth, but from which the consciousness and the faculty of earth-life are mere selections" [Frederic W. H. Myers (ed., and abridged by his son Leopold Hamilton Myers), *Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death*, New York and Bombay, Longmans Greens, and Co., 1907, p. 13; *Cf.* also B. L. Atreya's presidential address to the Psychology Section—"Modern Western Psychical Research and Ancient Indian Adhyātma Vidyā—Their Meeting Points," *Proc. of the 26th Indian Philos. Congr.*, Poona 1951, p. 62].

This comprehensive Universal consciousness, in the Alpha-phonoid "becomes so present (here to our consciousness) by an act of faith..... For, as the Upanishad says, we must believe in God before we can know Him; we must realise Him as the 'He is' before we realise Him in His essential" (*Cf.* Sri. Aurobindo, On Translating the Upanishads, *op. cit.*, p. xi).

The alpha-phonoid is, as it were, the power of self-manifestation of the alpha-phoneme, and that is the mother consciousness *Ādhya Śhakti*, Aditi—consciousness—power (Nolini Kanta Gupta, *The Yoga of Sri Aurobindo*, Part six, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1st edition 1953, p. 20).

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The entire conception is, as it were, a challenge ultimately that "at every minute (moment or 'instant') you have to decide whether you wish to remain within the humanity of yesterday or belong to the superhumanhood of tomorrow" (The mother, The Four Austerities and the Four Liberations, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1954, p. 7). The former is the 'linear' continuum using the symbolism behind the accurate or precise mathematical thinking of modern times while the latter is the Veronesean continuum.

Here is the man who has successfully solved the problem of his relations with the two worlds of data and symbols. "With regard to the problems of practical life he entertains a series of working hypotheses, which serve his purposes, but are taken no more seriously than any other kind of tool or instrument. With regard to his fellow beings and to the reality in which they are grounded, he has the direct experiences of love and insight.....we approach the crisis of our times, not with love and insight, but 'with formulas, with systems'—and pretty poor formulas and systems at that.....'our system of upbringing is based upon *what* to think, not on *how* to think" (Aldous Huxley's Foreword to J. Krishnamurthy's The First and the Last Freedom, London, Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1954, p. 13).

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NOTE.—Throughout this treatment of the subject, I have been guided by two important principles, which I state here in the language of Erwin SCHRÖDINGER (*Nature and the Greeks*, Cambridge at the University Press 1954, pp. 17 and 20-21 respectively).

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(1) "By the serious attempt to put ourselves back into the intellectual situation of the ancient thinkers,.....very often much less biased, we may regain from them their freedom of thought—albeit possibly in order to use it, by our superior knowledge of facts, for correcting early mistakes of theirs that may still be baffling us."

(2) "Instead of following the order in time let us be guided by intrinsic connexion of the subjects. This will bring together various thinkers' ideas on the same problem.....It is the ideas we wish to reconstruct here not the separate persons or minds."

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Section XI

Dravidian Languages and Culture

By T. V. Mahalingam, M.A., D.Litt.

Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am grateful to the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference for they honour they have done me by inviting me to be President of this Section this year. This Chair has been adorned in the past by veteran scholars and recognised linguists such as Rao Saheb S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, Sri K. Ramakrishnayya and Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri. This Section was to have been presided over this year by the late Dr. C. A. Menon, who was the Head of the Department of Malayalam, University of Madras. He was elected President of this Section in October 1951, but the cruel hand of Death snatched him away in April 1952. Dr. Menon was a scholar in Malayalam and a persuasive exponent of Kerala culture relating particularly to its aesthetic aspects of Dance, Drama and Folk-lore. Please do not deem me conventional when I say that I am conscious of my limitations and feel not a little embarrassed to preside over this Section. My claims to this place are very few. I have however accepted the invitation as a gesture of encouragement on the part of the Executive Committee of the Conference to one who is just one of your closest followers. A student of South Indian History and Culture in general but not of the linguistics of the South Indian languages I venture to hope that I may be able to place before this Section not the particular view of the linguistic specialist but a consensus of all views, and with your kind co-operation I hope the proceedings of this Section will be fruitful and stimulating. As you know this is the youngest of the thirteen usual Sections of this Conference, but not the least important. It was only in 1946 that this Section was created had it has had so far four sessions. It reflects the growing appreciation of the place of the Dravidian languages in our country as also of the contribution which Dravidian culture has made to the evolution of Indian culture. It is an evidence of the increasing recognition of the work done by scholars in this field of research and an encouragement to them to do more.

The name of this Section is significant and suggestive. It is rather unfortunate that there should now be a lot of unnecessary controversy over the connotation of the term 'Dravidian'. At the present day, speaking generally,

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the word denotes a particular group of languages, the people speaking them and their distinct culture. In the early stages of the history of our country there were many migrations of various cultural and linguistic groups into it; and in spite of much fusion among them in the course of ages, the group that occupied South India and is known as the Dravidian group has been able to maintain its individuality largely on account of the comparative isolation of the region.

We shall consider here the origin and antiquity of Dravidian languages and culture. The origin of the Dravidians is by no means an easy question. Years ago, it was assumed by historians, archaeologists and anthropologists that long before the Aryan migration into India large parts of the country in the north as also in the south were occupied by the Dravidian speaking peoples, and that they were pushed southwards by the Aryan immigrants with the result that by the dawn of historical times the Dravidians came to be confined to the southern part of the peninsula. Plausible though it might appear, this veiw does not take into account the fact that in the large belt of the country covering Central India there still live many primitive peoples who may be distinguished from the peoples of both North India and South India from the point of view of their race and in some cases from the point of view of their language also. It must also be noted that if the Dravidians had been occupying the whole of North India at any time, we may expect to have a larger volume of evidence of this than just the language of the Brahuis still spoken in some parts of Baluchistan. When we come to know anything definite about the Dravidians they appear to have been largely confined to South India, and our knowledge of their material culture is mainly derived from archaeological evidence.

Though South India is one of the richest regions of the world for its heritage of prehistoric cultures, our knowledge of them is still very meagre. In recent years prehistory, particularly of South India is receiving some attention at the hands of the Archaeological Survey of India; and to us interested in the problem of the Dravidians it is of great value. "Historical conjecture both inside and outside India has for many years dwelt on the possible significance of the Dravidians of the South in the development of Asiatic Civilizations, of supposed links between them and the Sumerians, with the Brahui of Baluchistan as an isolated memorial of former movement, one way or the other, between South India and Western Asia. To Archaeologists the detailed resemblance of some of the megalithic monuments of South India with others of Western Asia, North Africa and Europe has long been an alluring and baffling problem—alluring as presenting a possible link in the early development of human thought and expression extending half-way round the

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world, baffling because we still know less about these monuments in India than in any other country".

Some excavations made in South India throw light on this question. The excavations conducted by Alexander Rea at Adichchanallur in the Tirunelveli district exposed a number of urns containing iron implements and weapons, funerary vessels, bronze lids crowned with animal representations, ornaments of gold, bronze as also human bones indicating fractional burials. Probably associated with it was the megalithic culture, evidence of the existence of which has been obtained in abudance in different parts of South India. W. H. Tucker found at Sulur in the Coimbatore district a number of megalithic cists which have yielded among others funerary objects, bones, a coin of the Eran type assignable to the third century B. C. and a silver coin of Augustus. Some other places also have yielded similar articles.

The Brahmagiri excavations reveal the existence at the place of three strata of culture starting from neolithic times. The first was the stone axe culture which was followed by a new culture which was characterised mainly by the use of iron, a distinctive wheel-turned black and red pottery and above all by megalithic tombs containing stone cists with "portholes". The excavations conducted by Dr. Subba Rao in the Bellary District also show that a megalithic iron-using culture prevailed in that area superseding the neolithic culture. Such megalithic sites have now been counted in large numbers all over South India.

There have been found some megalithic remains in parts of North-East India also. But there are striking differences between the South Indian megalithic culture and the North-East Indian. While the megalithic culture of North-East India belonged to the neolithic age that of South India belonged to the iron age. Again from the point of view of the structure there is resemblance between the South Indian and the Medeterranean megalithic cultures in their architectural features and "portholes" while there is no such similarity between the South Indian and the North-East Indian megalithic cultures.

Ethnologically who were these people who professed this culture? Two possible answers may be given to this question. Either they were the descendents of the people of an earlier primitive culture or they were altogether a new people who came to South India and whose culture superseded the earlier one. The former possibility has to surmount the difficulty of connecting the earlier neolithic culture with the megalithic culture which has many new traits. Certainly the megalithic people could not have come from Northern India for the use of iron was known in South India earlier than it was known in Northern India where the use of bronze and copper appears to have preceded that of iron. There is a great structural similarity "seemingly amounting to

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kinship" between these South Indian megaliths and the megaliths in the countries in the area bordering upon the Mediterranean and the Atlantic in the Caucusus, Iran and others. Is it not possible to connect the megalithic people of South India with those of the Mediterranean area and to show that the latter could have migrated to South India through Makran, Baluchistan and Sind and by sea? An answer to these questions depends on further exploration and research in the intermediary region. Here it is well to remember that the evidences supplied by archaeology and anthropology are more valuable than those supplied by literature.

But when could the Dravidians have settled down in South India? The megalithic finds in South India are generally assigned to the period from the seventh to the third century B. C. In this connection the views of Gordon are worth consideration. He thinks that there is no material evidence for the introduction of iron before the beginning of the first millenium B. C. and from an examination of certain types of iron articles in use by the early peoples of South India he is inclined to assign the period 700 B. C. to 400 B. C. as the probable period of the migration of the iron-using people to South India. If this is accepted then it is not very difficult to connect the authors of this culture chronologically with the people of the Mediterranean area where the megalithic culture is on valid grounds assigned to the period 2500 to 1500 B. C. It is likely however that the migration of the people with this iron culture could have taken place a few centuries earlier, say about the end of the second millenium.

A significant point of coincidence must be noted here. A language which probably did not have its roots in the country also emerges just in this period, and it is tempting enough to take the people who spoke the language as a new people and associate them with the speakers of the Dravidian language. In fact we may very well ask with Furer Haimendorf, "If the megalithic builders did not speak Dravidian what language could they have spoken?"

Some faint idea about the language that these people spoke and the script they used may be formed with the help of some stray pieces of archaeological evidence obtained in South India. In the far South of the Tamil area some forty to fifty Brahmi inscriptions have been brought to light and assigned to the third and second centuries B.C. on palaeographical grounds. Opinion has varied among scholars as to the language of these inscriptions. While scholars like H. Krishna Sastri and K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer have assumed that there are some Tamil words occurring in them and that therefore they contain a jumble of Prakrit and Tamil forms, Dr. Narayana Rao says that the records appear to be Prakritic for "there is no warrant for assigning such an early date as the third century B.C. for any Tamil inscrip-

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tions". He says: "the most peculiar feature of the epigraphs under discussion is that they contain a form of Prakrit described by the Prakrit grammarians as Paiśāci. The Aśokan edicts found at Shabazgarhi and Mansera are considered to register a form of Prakrit which reveals a resemblance to Dravidic forms which Sir George A. Grierson has popularised as representing the old Paiśāci dialects, but the present epigraphs are strikingly and more directly representative of the form of Paiśāci known to Indian grammarians. The Pandya country according to these grammarians is a tract where the prevailing language was Paiśāci. These inscriptions conform to this statement in a remarkable manner". Light on this question comes from an unexpected quarter, the Arikamedu excavations, the special importance of which in South Indian archaeology can hardly be exaggerated. The excavations (1945) have yielded among others eighteen pot sherds, all bearing *graffiti*. It is said that except two among them, all others are capable of reconstruction in Tamil and are among the earliest known examples of the language, and akin to the short inscriptions in Brahmi mentioned above. The character of the inscriptions is capable of being compared also to the Māmandūr inscription (3rd century B.C.), the Bhaṭṭiprōlu Brāhmi inscriptions thought to be assignable by Bühler "to the time immediately after Aśoka (i.e. 200 B.C.)" and the Hathibada and Ghosundi inscriptions assigned to the beginning of the first century B.C. though there are some slight differences with regard to the formation of some letters in them. The Arikamedu inscribed pot sherds belonged to the first century A.D. as borne out by the association of the site with dated antiquities though the script on the *graffiti* from the place may appear to belong to a slightly earlier period. Thus there dose not seem to have been much development in the South Indian script between the third century B.C. and the first century A.D. The reason for this is not hard to find. Bühler has shown that the Dravidi script must have separated from the main stock of Brāhmi much earlier than the time of Aśoka, and that was undoubtedly the reason why so many archaic forms are noticed in the few inscriptions so far known in the Dravidi script. As Dr. N. P. Chakravarti says "the development of forms after separation could not be so fast in Dravidi as in the regular Brāhmi which continued to be used throughout the whole of India. If we bear this point in mind it would not be unreasonable to assume that though the script of Arikamedu *graffiti* appears to be similar to the script of Brāhmi inscriptions of the first and second centuries B.C., it actually should be relegated to a later period. If this assumption is correct then the so-called discrepancy between the palaeographic and archaeological evidence would seem to disappear".

Thus during the three or four centuries before the commencement of the Christian era the Tamil script as also the Tamil language were in the

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process of formation. The circumstances under which and the purpose for which those Brāhmi inscriptions were written in caverns in out of the way places in the Pāṇḍyan country as also their general content so far as it has been made out show that there were powerful influences in South India exercised by the Sanskrit and Prākṛt languages and the Jaina and Buddhist religions of North India. While on this subject a word may be said about the script of Mohenjodaro and Harappa. So far attempts have been made by scholars like Marshall, Mackay, Piccoli, Gadd, Sidney, Smith, Langden, Hunter, Pran Nath, B. M. Barua and Hrozny the last of whom is well-known for his deciphering the Hittite Cuneiform tablets of Boghazkoi. Rev. Fr. Heras reads old Tamil straightaway in the inscriptions and connects the Indus valley people with the Tamils. At best the views expressed by these scholars are no more than plausible suggestions the validity of which cannot be tested unless any future exploration in the area brings to light a bi-lingual inscription which may give us the clue to the Indus valley script.

"Dravidian languages" is a convenient term to denote the compact group of the cultivated languages of South India, Tamil and Telugu on the east of the Peninsula and Kannada, Tulu and Malayalam on the west though there are a few isolated branches of this group such as the Gondi and Kolami in the Madhya Pradesh, Kui and Kurukh in Orissa and Bihar, Malto in parts of Bihar and Bengal and Brahui in Baluchistan. Latest figures show that Tamil is spoken by about twenty-two millions of people in South India and Ceylon, Telugu by nearly thirty millions, Kannada by eleven millions and Malayalam by some ten millions. Tamil (Drāviḍa in Sanskrit) is admittedly the most ancient and leading language the antiquity of which may be traced back to at least the early centuries of the Christian era. Though some legends mention the existence of three literary academies (Śangams) which lasted altogether for 9900 years, and counted as their members 8598 poets among whom were some divinities, monarchs and sages, the Brahmi inscriptions referred to above give us the earliest limit beyond which it is not possible for us to trace back the early history of Tamil. Since literature can grow only with the practice of the art of writing and the alphabet in South India was just in the process of formation in the third century B.C. it should be fantastic to assign very high antiquity to the Tamil literature. However the so-called third Śangam (early centuries of the Christian era) may be taken to be a historical one during the period of the existence of which a large volume of extant literature running to about 30,000 lines was produced. It is generally believed that Telugu literature as such begins with Nannaya's Telugu *Bhārata* written under the patronage of the Eastern Chāḷukya king Rājarāja Narendra (1019-1061). But the Telugu language has an anterior history though

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its character is not definitely known. The Telugu language of the early centuries of the Christian era had closer affinities with the two other Dravidian languages of South India, Tamil and Kannada as is borne out by the early inscriptions of the Andhra country. The *Janāśrayachandas* a Sanskrit work on Prosody, apparently by the Vishṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman II (A.D. 580-620), contains some metres which are not known to Sanskrit but are peculiar to Telugu. The inscriptions of the Telugu Chōḍas and Eastern Chāḷukyas contain Telugu prose and verse. Though Pampa is considered the greatest of the early Kannaḍa poets the Kannaḍa language may be traced to much older times and said to have some close resemblance to Tamil with regard to its sound and form and by about the 5th century A.D. it was developing into a separate language with a fair admixture of Sanskrit. Malayalam is admittedly the youngest of the South Indian languages, and the *Unnunilisandesam* that is modelled on Kalidasa's *Meghasandeśa* is the earliest known literary work in the language and is assignable to the fourteenth century. It is believed that the language grew from the local dialect of Tamil known as *Koḍumtamil*. More than any other South Indian language it owes much to Sanskrit. Its ancient alphabet also underwent the necessary changes for conveying the Sanskrit sounds effectively.

All these languages have had each a continuous and varied history and were enriched from time to time by their contact first with Sanskrit and later with other languages. The Tamil language calls for certain observations in this connection. Even so early as the commencement of the Christian era, the Śangam works reveal the influence of Sanskrit on them which shows that the Dravidians and the Āryans had come into cultural contact long before that period. In subsequent periods words from other languages such as Pāli, Persian, Portuguese and Hindustani came to be mixed up with the Tamil vocabulary. There is now a movement for purging the Tamil language of the foreign words particularly Sanskrit. This purist movement is about a century old. Winslow wrote long ago in his preface to "A Comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary of High and Low" as follows: "Within certain range of thought, omitting terms of art, science, religion in a great measure and certain abstract forms, we may write in pure Tamil as in English we may in pure Saxon. In fact the nearer we approach the Shen Tamil the less we need Sanskrit". Dr. Caldwell also thought that "the Tamil, the most cultivated, *ab intra* of all Dravidian idioms, can dispense with Sanskrit altogether, if need be, and not only stand alone but flourish without its aid", and the late M. S. Purnalingam Pillai also felt likewise. The movement has gained considerable strength in recent times thanks particularly to the lead given to it by the great scholar and savant the late lamented Maraimalai Adigal who

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was an original thinker and a prolific writer. It is just worthwhile to consider the pros and cons of this purist movement in Tamil or any language as a matter of that. Every living language is a growing language. It is natural and inevitable that is should absorb and assimilate words which are foreign to it. In such a process the words may change with regard to their form as also with regard to their meaning. The Tamil language has been enriched considerably by its association with Sanskrit and its borrowing words from it, and gained much adaptability and flexibility. In fact the great progress, which Tamil as well as other Dravidian languages, have been able to make in journalism and popular drama is largely due to this capacity for assimilation. It is really unthinkable how Tamil as any other South Indian language for that matter can give up the use of Sanskrit words or forms which have mixed with them and influenced them for centuries. There is no real ground for the protagonists of the purist movement to fear the mixture of the Sanskrit language with Tamil; in fact besides becoming poorer by pursuing such a policy the language may not be able to grow to meet modern requirements. There cannot be any justification for a feeling of suspicion and rivalry between the local languages and Sanskrit. There is no particularly Sanskrit speaking population as distinct from the speakers of the local languages. There is need, increasing need for the continued and more intimate friendliness between Sanskrit and the local languages "both for retaining an inheritance and for progress".

There are a few outstanding matters relating to the Dravidian languages which I wish to mention here. It is a matter of common knowledge among us that though there are many works in the South Indian languages dealing with various subjects, most of them are not available to us since they have not been printed and published; and even among the published ones not all of them have been properly edited with critical introductions, notes etc. This is particularly so in Tamil though we are indebted to scholars like Tandavaraya Mudaliyar, Arumuga Navalar, Rao Bahadur Damodaram Pillai, and last but not least the late MM. Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer who have brought out very valuable and critical editions of the *Tolkāppiyam*, the Ṣangam classics and a number of other works. The place of such brilliant individual scholars appears to have been taken of late by institutions like the Śaivasiddhānta Kaḻagam and the Ādhīnams. To one of the latter we owe a deep debt of gratitude for the Variorum Edition of the *Tirukkuraḷ* which it has brought out recently. There are many manuscripts lying idle if not uncared for in many of the oriental manuscripts libraries in South India. It is a promising start that some of the manuscripts in the different South Indian languages in the Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library,

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the Government Oriental Libraries of Mysore and Trivandrum are being published according to plan. The importance and urgency of the publication of at least the more important ones among them with the help of competent scholars within a reasonable length of time can hardly be exaggerated; for if any kind of research in the languages is to be made the necessary raw material must be made available to scholars. The work is urgent for otherwise the manuscripts are likely to perish in spite of the best care taken of them.

Another important and equally very urgent work that has to be done is an authoritative and exhaustive history of the Dravidian literatures. Probably in this line of work Tamil appears to lag far behind when compared with Kannaḍa Telugu and Malayalam. The three volumes of the *Karṇāṭaka Kavicharite* by the late R. Narasimhachar dealing with the history of the Karnāṭaka literature, the three volumes of the *Lives of the Telugu Poets* by Veerasalingam Pantulu dealing with the history of Telugu literature and the history of the Malayalam literature by Ulloor Parameswara Ayyar and Narayana Panikkar are reliable accounts of the history of the three literatures. It is unfortunate that there is no such account of the history of Tamil literature so far. The few that are available are K. S. Srinivasa Pillai's *Tamil Varalāru* in Tamil, M. S. Purnalingam Pillai's and K. Subrahmanya Pillai's *History of Tamil Literature* and M. Srinivasa Iyengar's *Tamil Studies* and a few others like R. Raghava Ayyangar's *Tamil Varalāru*, Somasundara Desikar's *Sixteenth and Seventeenth century Tamil Poets* and P. N. Appuswami's and Desikar's *Century of Tamil Progress* deal only with particular periods. We wish we could have a comprehensive history of Tamil literature ere long. In such an account the historical and comparative method must be followed, emphasis being laid on the evolutionary character of the literature. Time was when a work was studied from the point of its various characteristics such as grammar, rhetoric etc. It is good in its own way. But it is certainly better to study a work in relation to the life and times of the poet and to its place in the whole range of that literature, for that will certainly enable us to understand and appreciate better the merits and beauties of the work besides the genius of its author himself. It is only such a study that can indicate the gradual evolution and historical development of the various forms of literary creation in the land as reflecting the various phases of the life and thought of the people.

The work is not however so easy as it may seem. Much material would have to be collected and spade work done at the beginning. It would be of immense help if we have a complete bibliography of all works, published and unpublished arranged according to the different subjects. It must be topical and alphabetical and must serve as a work of ready reference for any scholar

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interested in Dravidian studies. "The Year's Work in English Studies" edited for the English Association by F. S. Boas and "Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature" edited for the Modern Humanities Research Association by Angus Macdonald may serve as useful models. Besides, the thousands of inscriptions that have been laboriously collected in South India by the Epigraphical Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India and have a bearing on the Dravidian literatures have to be pressed into the maximum service.

Not only that. It is necessary that a scholar in a language must have a fair idea about the literatures of the other sister languages. The advantages of equipping oneself by gaining sufficient knowledge of them can hardly be denied. Is it too much to have translations of the important works which would be usful for scholars in all the Dravidian languages? Likewise it would be really helpful if one is able to study the works in other Indian languages on the subject in which he is engaged. That will not only widen one's vision and broaden his outlook but also remove much of his prejudice and misunderstanding.

There are other aspects of our linguistic studies which require our immediate attention; and they relate to research in the languages. First of all I think we require a complete survey of our languages, a linguistic survey. The work done in this field, planned and carried out by Sir George Grierson and published in "The Linguistic Survey of India" though of inestimable value is more in the nature of a pioneering piece of work and admits of further elaboration. It does not require much straining of our imagination to realise the importance of planning a dialect survey for the Dravidian languages including the minor ones. It is for the Governments of the different States in South India including the new Andhra State to consider the urgency and importance of the work and lend their active support to it.

Lexicography is a Science by itself. Its aim is to trace every word etymologically to its ultimate origin and follow its subsequent history both in its form as also in its meaning. The fourfold parts of a Dictionary are (a) words (b) meaning (c) illustrations and (d) derivation. Murray's Oxford English Dictionary which satisfies all the necessary characteristics of a Lexicon is the best of its kind and must serve as a model for the preparation of a Lexicon. Lexicons are neither new nor novel to us. In Tamil we have the *Divākaram* of Śēndan and the *Pingalam* and in Kannaḍa *Vastukōśa* of Nagavarma II. The Tamil Lexicon which has been prepared by a band of scholars between 1913 and 1936 and published by the University of Madras has superseded those of Rotter (1832) and Winslow (1862). Though it is the best among the works of the kind in the Dravidian languages one may feel that it does not satisfy all the requirements of a Lexicographical work. Further

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many of the obsolete and current terms used in Tamil epigraphy deserve to find a place in the volumes. A concise Lexicon incorporating fresh words and serving as a Supplement is a hard felt and urgent need. We are happy the University of Madras is making arrangements for the publication of such a volume at an early date. In lexicography some work has been done in Telugu and Kannada. Kittel's Kannada Dictionary and Brown's Telugu Dictionary besides the *Sūryarāyanighantu* in the latter language deserve particular mention. It gives us great pleasure to learn that the Mysore Government and the Travancore University will bring out respectively a Kannada and a Malayalam Lexicon. In this connection it will not be out of place to refer to the great need for a dictionary of scientific and technical terms. There is much apparent public support for the establishment of a uniform vocabulary for the whole of our country common to our languages. This is a question to which students of Dravidian languages and culture must address themselves earnestly and without prejudice or prepossession. A truly scientific approach to the character of our languages aided by a trained historical imagination can help to prevent this vital question being decided only by political or other equally irrelevant considerations. How far each of our languages requires and can admit and assimilate words and phrases from other languages can be determined with precision and certainty only when we succeed in creating a large band of linguists.

Another branch, undoubtedly a very important and perhaps the most difficult aspect of Dravidian linguistic studies, relates to Dravidian philology and etymology. It is a well-known fact that Indo-European Comparative Grammar follows a method in reconstructing the most essential phonological features of early Indo-European and that "even as mere formulae these reconstructions are of the highest systematic value which have contributed to the development of Indo-European Comparative Grammar into an exact science". In similar work in the Dravidian languages we owe a deep debt of gratitude to the way shown to us by Western scholars in them such as Bishop Caldwell, Dr. Gundert, Brown and Kittel whether we are able to bring ourselves to agree with their views or not. Dr. Caldwell who is recognised as the father of Dravidian philology thought that the Dravidian group of languages was affiliated to the Turanian and occasionally Semetic Pre-Aryan languages which later gave rise to such languages as Turki, Finnish, Laplandish and other allied once. Though the view found acceptance then, scholars are not prepared to endorse it now. Some are inclined to identify it with the Munda family, the Tibeto-Burman languages and the dialects spoken by the aborginees of the Australian continent. But as has been pointed out by Dr. Sten Konow we must consider the Dravidian family as an isolated group

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of languages with many characteristic features of its own. Though other scholars like F. O. Schrader E. Lewy and Hevesy have put forth different views on the subject, Dr. Sten Konow's views still hold the field. Etymological studies in the Dravidian languages and particularly studies regarding the relation between the Dravidian and the Indo-Aryan or Sanskrit languages have attracted a number of scholars. The subject has received some attention at the hands of Indian scholars in recent years. Among them mention may be made of R. Swaminatha Ayyar, V. G. Suryanarayana Sastri, Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, R. P. Setu Pillai, Dr. C. R. Sankaran and M. Varadarajan in Tamil, L. V. Ramaswami Iyer and Dr. K. Godavarma Raja in Malayalam, Dr. C. Narayana Rao and Vidwan T. Somayajulu in Telugu and Dr. R. Narasimhachar, Govindaswami Rao and Dr. A. N. Narasimhayya in Kannada. But studies in this field are really very difficult and the unbridled imagination of some scholars have made them attempt fantastic derivations of words in one language form those in another. A fruitful line of work here is an examination of the relationship between the different Dravidian languages from the philological point of view; and for that a comprehensive vocabulary in those languages is an urgent need. Some years ago Mr. K. Ramakrishnayya collected a number of cognates for such a study. more work on the same lines is being done by the Departments of Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam in the University of Madras and we hope that when such a comparative vocabulary of Dravidian languages is published, it will be of help in tracing general phonetic laws governing the evolution of the cognate and taking up an exhaustive study of comparative philology in the Dravidian languages.

I have dealt so far with problems relating to the Dravidian languages. Before I conclude I should like to make a few remarks on the importance and need for a study of "Dravidian Culture". I admit it is not easy to define the term 'Dravidian Culture'. With the advancing civilization of a country and the ethnic admixture of its people the race sociology and psychology of the primitive peoples are rapidly annihilated; and their beliefs, practices and institutions lose all their reality and become relics and survivals of an ancient culture. That has been the remarkable feature of the culture and civilization of many races in India as of any other country and the Dravidians were no exception. Indian culture which may also be called Hindu culture is a synthesis of various streams of cultures, the most important of them being the Indo-Aryan or the Vedic and the pre-Aryan cultures. The most predominant pre-Aryan culture may be called the Dravidian culture; and it has been emphasised many a time by scholars that due regard should be paid to this element in the early history of India. A distinguished Indian scholar, Prof. Sundaram Pillai even went to the extent of saying at the

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commencement of the present century "the scientific historian of India ought to begin his study with the basin of the Krishna, of the Kaveri and of the Vaigai rather than with the Gangetic plain, as has been now long, too long, the fashion". Though there is much force behind the urge made by that scholar, there are difficulties in undertaking such a work for as he himself recognises "even here the process of aryanisation had gone indeed too far to leave it easy for the historian to distinguish the native warp from the foreign woof. But if there is anywhere any chance of such successful disentanglement it is in the south; and the farther south we go the larger does the chance grow". Really the admixture and fusion of the two cultures had taken place to such a great extent even by the period of the commencement of historical times in South India that it is next to impossible to form any reliable idea of the Dravidian culture before it became fused with the Indo-Aryan culture. So "the scientific student will receive with caution the pictures often painted of the glories of Dravidian civilization because he can never forget that early Tamil literature on which such pictures are based reflect conditions that prevailed long after the aryanisation of the whole of India". Still in spite of the vagueness and difficulty of treating the subject it may be tentatively taken that the features of Indian culture and thought which cannot be traced back to the Vedas as direct and natural developments from Vedic texts were non-Aryan and Dravidian in their widest sense. But in historical times South India has been able to retain its individuality with regard to its culture and civilization and contribute considerably to the growth of Indian thought and culture. Hence its interest and importance.

The contributions of the Dravidians seem to have been more in the sphere of religious thought, institutions and practices rather than in the sphere of material culture. In the earlier stages the Vedice religion was primarily a fire cult and one of ritualism characterised by the performance of homas and yajnas generally by individuals and occasionally by the kings for the good of the public. In course of time, these practices gave way to new forms of religious practices like the worship of God in temples. The growing popularity of the worship of the Divine through some form consecrated in a temple was probably one of the noblest of the gifts of the the Dravidians to Hinduism. With this great change must have taken place another, namely, change in the nature and habitat of some of the Aryan gods. In the Vedic age for instance Rudra, the fierce red god of destruction had the burning ghat, hills, forests and out of the way places for his habitat. Among the Dravidians and the Kols the phallic emblem or the Linga represented the conceptions of energy and destruction. In due course it was probably as a result of the commingling of the Vedic and the Dravidian cultures that the

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conception of Śiva or Sadāśiva associated with mildness and gentleness was probably evolved. Not only that. With the growth of the idea of the personification of the gods, animals, birds, reptiles and others became associated with them as their vehicles, ornaments etc. In the early Vedic period preference is given to male Gods in worship and in fact we do not get reference to Goddesses at all except to Aditi, the mother of the Gods and a few others. But various Goddesses come into prominence as consorts of the male Gods or in their individual capacity probably as a result of the influence of the cult of the Mother-Goddess perhaps more generally prevalent among the Dravidians. She is considered as but one aspect of the Supreme Godhead giving rise to the evolution of the Ardhanārīśvara (Śiva-Śakti) cult.

With the evolution of Hinduism and the growing importance of temples, rituals and worship a new class of literature grew in the country. They are the Āgamas. The Āgamas or Tantras are mainly works that deal with the worship of Gods like Śiva, Vishṇu and Śakti. Though the earliest Āgama texts may not be older than the sixth century A.D. when the Āgamas were popular in the Tamil country, the doctrines themselves may be assigned to still earlier times. In the construction of temples, consecration of images and the organisation of worship in them the extant Āgamas are the main source of authority.

With the personification of God and the organisation and systematisation of temple worship South India saw the growth of a vigorous theistic devotional movement of the emotional type along the twin streams of Śaivism and Vaishṇavism blended with philosophical speculations of the Nāyanārs and the Āḻvars and influenced by the schools of philosophy associated with the names of Kumārila, Śankara, Rāmānuja and Madhwa. Though the bhakti movement or the Bhāgavata cult might perhaps be said to have originated in North India in very early times it was certainly elaborated fully in South India from where it flowed back in fresh streams to North India. In this connection it is of interest to note that the *Bhāgavata-Māhātmya* contains a parable which says that Bhakti which is described as a woman was born in the Drāviḍa country, attained her womanhood in the Karnataka and Maharashtra and reached Brindāvan with great misery through Guzarat along with her two sons *Jñanā* (Knowledge) and *Vairāgya* (Renunciation) and that the sons died there. The literary outpourings of the Nāyanārs and the Āḻvars resulted in the collection of a large volume of religious literature. A very important contribution of the Tamils to religion was the Śaiva Siddhānta which literally means "the settled conclusion on final position of Śaivism". The main sources of Śaivism are considered to be twenty-eight *Śivāgamas* of which the *Kāmikā* is the most important. There is no ground to think that

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Āgamas represent an attitude of antipathy to the authority of the Vedas as may be seen from the words of Saint Tirumūlar, author of the *Tirumandiram* wherein he says "The Āgama, as much as the Veda is truly the work of God; the one (Veda) is general and the other (Āgama) special; though some consider these words of the Lord, the two antas, to be different, for the great no difference exists". The Vīra-Śaiva or Lingāyat cult founded by Basava in the Karṇāṭaka country and the Ārādhya sect founded by Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya in the Andhra country served to resist the spread of aggressive Islam in South India. Jainism has had a continuous though chequered history in South India from very early times and has made tremendous contributions not only to vernacular literature but also to art, sculpture and painting. The history of Jainism in the South is a subject of absorbing interest and deserves careful and systematic study. It is a matter for satisfaction that the subject is now receiving the attention it deserves.

South India is a land of temples which served as the mileu round which centred much of the religious, social and cultural life of the people, besides contributing much to the growth of the allied arts of architecture, sculpture and painting. A study of each one of the major temples and temple cities of South India may not only help the study of local history but also a systematic survey of architecture, sculpture and painting in the area.

The history of Greater India in relation to South India constitutes a very important and brilliant chapter in the history of our country. Starting with peaceful commercial intercourse with the countries of the Far East South India was able to establish her cultural imperialism over them. Such cultural influences appear to have reached Malaya, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Cambodia and Siam mainly through maritime routes starting from Poloura near Ganjam and Kāvēripaṭṭiṇam in the Tanjore district. South India's intimate contact with the Far East is borne out by the existence there of inscriptions in the Pallava grantha script besides numerous monuments which have close resemblance to those of South India. A general study of the history of South East Asia shows how scripts, faiths, beliefs, arts, customs and manners were transported there from South India. Dutch and French Archaeologists have placed us under a deep debt of gratitude to them by their archaeological work in the Far East during the last half a century and more and by placing before us a large volume of material throwing valuable light on the achievements of South India in that region. The subject requires further concentrated attention at our hands.

Friends, one word more and I shall have finished. In recent years we see a good lot of enthusiasm evinced for the development of the languages and the spread of knowledge through them. We see it in a large measure so

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far as the Dravidian languages are concerned in the awarding of prizes for good books published, the holding of linguistic festivals, the preparation of the two Encyclopaedias, in Tamil and Telugu, etc. These are no doubt proofs of a consciousness of the need to explore ways and means for the study and exposition of Dravidian culture, and they are all good so far as they go. But the magnitude of the problem and its importance are such that a comprehensive and organised scheme has to be worked out to realise the object. If the suggestions I have ventured to outline above for working on the Dravidian languages and culture are acceptable, I feel that the plan to achieve the end should be similar to the schemes for promoting Indological studies in India that are now actively being thought of. I am thinking if it would not be possible within some time, for the Oriental Research Institute in the University of Madras to grow into a large School of Dravidian Studies with the help of the States in South India and the Central Government and contribute a substantial share to Indological studies. The work is of course stupendous, the problems that have to be tackled are many and require a large band of enthusiastic scholars in the different South Indian languages who would take to linguistic studies and research as a life work and mission. We must work for a cause with singleness of purpose and in a spirit of co-operation. If we are able to work up to this ideal, that would be the greatest service that we can render to Dravidian literatures, Culture and our country.

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Section XII

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

By Dr. Mohan Singh M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt.

Mysticism Philosophy Religion: A Fresh Interpretation*

Mysticism is the return and mergence of the Spirit, philosophy is the controlling and separative-integrative play of the intellect; religion is the purification, centring and stabilization of the senses through payer and praise and ritual and sacrificial action.

The mystic sees it within and without; the philosopher rationalizes it; the religious person makes a ritual, a ceremony, a sacrifice of it. The language of all the three is inadequate; the poet-musician weaves the complete web which enshrines the vision, the rationalization, the ritual, adding colours, numbers, similes, metaphors, tones, structures, forms, times, spaces, of his own apprehension. But this very web, the most colourful, is the most difficult to follow. The three most significant Aryan works, the Rig Veda, the consembly of lights, the Mahabharata, the Chronicles of Time Maxima, the Bhagawad Gita, the Song of the Lord, are still the least understood and most misinterpreted works. They share such misinterpretation with the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Chinese Chronicles, possibly with the Iranian and Saxon sagas and records also.

If he is a true mystic, he sees the whole in a flash; he enters into and *is* the One in the Many and the Many in the One. It is not the details of the vision that matter, it is the joy of the freedom born of the consciousness of unity that matters. The equations "I am One, May I be Many" and "He is One but the Praisers, Singers, Pourers-out, Fillers, Completers (Vipras) speak of Him as Many" are made real, vivid, personal to the mystic. These equations involving numbers and names are the only content of the mystic's glorious experience, which is given to him on his entrance into the supra-spatial, supra-temporal realism or level. When it comes to wording his vision in terms of time-space, the mystic, to do justice to his vision, must run the entire gamut. "I have touched the Beloved; I have seen the Unseeable, I have heard the Unstruck Music; I have tasted the immortalizing elixir; I have smelt heavenly scents, intoxicating, wafting; I have attained peace;

*This is a portion of the Address, selected by the author for publication. It has not been possible for us to print the Full Address here.

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I have gone fastest and longest; now I am life death-less; I am beyond space; the infinite space in the heart I have enjoyed; my mind is non-minded; my heart is un-knotted; my intellect is equipoised; I know all. All gods are within me. I am the Sun, the Moon, the Stars; I am the seasons; I am the cloud, the rain, the river, the sea.....", says the mystic. In no age or clime has the true mystic said less than that; to say less than that is to confess the imperfection of the experience. Shall we with our defective vision continue to read contradictions in this experience, must we trace time and space and cause intervals between each portion of the experience, are we to accept only one or other portion as valid? No, we must take it that the mystic sees the many, the one, and their relative relationships all simultaneously and admit the interrelationship, interconvertibility of each portion of the experience. In the full description of his vision the mystic has rightly said for thus alone could the content be exhausted; "I have met the most beautiful one; I have met my Lord and Master; I have met my Father; I have met my Companion; I have met my Guide; I have met the King of Kings." Exactly similarly the true philosopher, the true follower and interpreter and rationalizer of the mystic's vision, must maintain that He is 3003, 33, 6, 3, 2, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 1. He is 1008, 108, 18, 8, and 1, aye. He is zero as well as infinity, all and nothing, the impartible whole with countless parts. He is all eights, all sevens, all fives, all fours, all threes, all twos, all ones; all recurrence and repetition is He.

He is the first and best motion, first and the best rest; first darkness, first light, first Sacrifice, first Sacrificer, first eater, first food, first Brahmana, first Warrior, first Trader, first Server, First King, First and Best.

He† swelled. He split.‡ He ran, flowed, charged.

He is Spirit, He is Mind, He is Heart, He is "1", He is Memory. He is Fieriness and Fire; Wateryness and Waters; Airiness and Air; Earthiness and Earth; Expansiveness and Expanse.

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†Actually He is here only the Manifest, the $\frac{1}{4}$th of Him. $\frac{1}{4}$=.25; decimal represents Prakriti, which is 25 fold.

‡ *Isvara*=1

Maya=.9; a very real figure but purely imaginary as it cannot be represented as 1/something. Maya in valid recurrence is $.\dot{3}=\frac{1}{3}$ and $.\overline{142857}=\frac{1}{7}$.

$$1=\tfrac{1}{2}+\tfrac{1}{3}+\tfrac{1}{6}+\tfrac{1}{10}+\tfrac{1}{18}+\tfrac{1}{72}+\tfrac{1}{90}+\tfrac{1}{270}+\tfrac{1}{360}+\tfrac{1}{432}+\tfrac{1}{540}+\tfrac{1}{2160}$$

Substitute $\frac{1}{6}$ for $(\frac{1}{9}+\frac{1}{18})$

$$1=\tfrac{1}{2}+\tfrac{1}{6}+\tfrac{1}{10}+\tfrac{1}{11}+\tfrac{1}{12}+\tfrac{1}{16}+\tfrac{1}{32}+\tfrac{1}{440}+\tfrac{1}{3168}+\tfrac{1}{5280}$$

$$1=\tfrac{1}{3}+\tfrac{1}{4}+\tfrac{1}{5}+\tfrac{1}{7}+\tfrac{1}{14}+\tfrac{1}{420}$$

$$1=\tfrac{1}{3}+\tfrac{1}{5}+\tfrac{1}{7}+\tfrac{1}{8}+\tfrac{1}{10}+\tfrac{1}{12}+\tfrac{1}{70}+\tfrac{1}{840}$$

$$1=\tfrac{1}{2}+\tfrac{1}{6}+\tfrac{1}{9}+\tfrac{1}{10}+\tfrac{1}{24}+\tfrac{1}{36}+\tfrac{1}{90}+\tfrac{1}{270}+\tfrac{1}{360}+\tfrac{1}{432}+\tfrac{1}{540}+\tfrac{1}{2160}$$

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He is within and without; He is Personal and Impersonal (when He chooses to discard qualities and functions); He is Lightning; He is Sound; He is Energy; He is Force; He is Magnetism; He is Logos; He is Bliss; He is Creativity.

To cap it all: "All this is pervaded by Him, All this is in Him but He is not in them! All this is not in Him nor is He in all these. Beyond love and hate, good and evil, sorrow and joy, it is He alone who loves, hates, does good, works ill, suffers and rejoices. Justice is He; Mercy is He. At His level, there are no problems, no solutions, no systems, no dualities." Why does not the philosopher rise to the level of mystic? Why does he not give us a basic equation (as God gave us—Thou art That, I am the Brahman)? Yes, he does give us at the end, and He is not Two *(Advaita)* is the onle complete, valid philosophical-logical-historical Truth-equation which contains the entire pattern-process of Reality.

But the philosopher cannot and will not desert his function, cannot and must not deprive himself of the joy of contemplating the glory of the manyness, twoness, which alone can lead him to that end, final, complete Truth, the more widely and deeply is the philosopher conscious of the reality within and without, the fuller and warmer will be his utterances, paintings, structures, notes, dances. He must trace the same pattern-process in each phase, manifestation, level, and then reduce the pattern-process to a seedal minima and possible maxima, then identify its parts and reduce it finally to one or zero, to Him Alone, Incomprehensible, without dimensions, and in doing that crowing act abolish himself and cancel philosophy. Rationalization is a glorious hymning, a wondrous worship, a sublime loving, but it fulfils itself only when it merges itself in the Suprarational. Until the last irrational statement—Does even He know Himself—has been made, philosophy does not become truly great, truly well-arranged.

Till then it is the privilege of philosophy to go on making reality more real to us, interlinking, interconverting all, looking out for the metaphysics of physics-chemistry, the metaphysics of astronomy, the metaphysics of medicine, the metaphysics of music and grammar, the metaphysics of biology, ethnology, history, the metaphysics of colours, forms, numbers, words, tones, degrees.

The mystic makes everything holy by saying, it belongs to my Love, it comes from my Love, it leads to my Love; the philosopher holifies by saying, it is contained in the One, it is of His sound and shape and hue and time and space, it is one of the numberless coloured windows through which He looks in play at Himself at work charmed by and charming the duality. And the religionist sanctifies everything by saying, through His sacrifice. He

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set us on the southern path of adventure, let us return to Him North by the same sacrifice, same activity, same naming, same breathing, (in, instead of out), same sense of wonder, same desire to become Great, everything naturally sings of Him, remembers Him, apes some part of Him, by just being itself; as it is all but a multiplicity of relationship through action let us act so that by the tightened rope of that relationship we may rise into the heaven and perform the rope-trick, let us so act that our relationship with the sun, moon, stars, winds, waves, men, women, animals, past, future, is made more real, for in the consciousness of our interrelationship and interconvertibility lies the escape from our limitations.

Mysticism conditions our spirit; philosophy conditions our fourfold inner apparatus, I, intellect, mind, heart; religion conditions our senses, our force, our energy. And yet all make but one picture and separately trace the same interconvertible pattern-process.

Now the language which the mystic, the philosopher, the religionist use ordinarily falls short of perfection to the extent it lacks poetic excellence, splendour, grace, architechtonics, music, order, symbolism, clandestinism, indirectness, obliqueness, synæsthesia. The greatest assets of the poet are synæsthesia, ordonnance, obliqueness. He manages to achieve wholeness and integralness and interdependence and interconvertibility and transcendence by using, e. g., the river for speech, the horse for fire, the town for the body,north for spiritual adventure, south for self–aggrandizement, white for purity, zero for infinity, cloud for emotionfulness, inverted tree for creativity, multiplicity of hands for power, in short by equating everything with everything else, treating inner things and things outer, actions, objects and ideas, heaven and earth and mid-region as interchangeable, co-existent, co-operant, cor-responsive. For the poet-mystic there is no difference between the Sun and the Eye, the Moon and the Mind, the Breath and the God, the grains and the emotions. He talks of the One God as the Horse, the Tree, the River, the Boat, the Serpent, the Plough, the Year, the Wheel, the Sword, the Target, the Cave, the Flower, the Gem, the number Eighteen, the King, the Mountain, and rightly, as He is the best of all these forms, numbers, tones, colours etc. The poet finds no need to separate love from knowledge, knowledge from life, life from light, light from heat, heat from magnetism, magnetism from electricity, electric charge from emotion.

God is the Poet *(Kavi)* and when He speaks, shines, he speaks in exactly the pattern–process described above which manifolds as it reduces. The 700 couplets classed under 18 heads spoken at the greatest Universal Sacrifice-Battle on the land of the selfish doers, constitute the fullest and completest revelation that is made to man by the Dark Divine Man about

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the end of every third of the four ages into which a cosmic life-unit is divided. The *Vedas* are intuition, not revelation; they are the processes-patterns visioned by the Creators and the Seers in their own minds in the measure of their own name-being-metre. They rose, entered and saw. But the 700 couplets of the Lord are the Lord's complete poetic description of Himself out of His own mouth, spoken to a half of Himself (white *Arjuna)*, and heard and reported by Himself as the Excellent comprehensive Victory *(Sam-Jaya)* and the Most excellent Arranger *(Vyasa)*. In relation to reality He is the Greatest Person *(Purusottama)*. Only to complete the picture, to make it jump out of time-space-cause into self-transcendence, we have to add that apart from His relation to reality He is Fixed, Permanent, *(Achyuta)*. The Lord Himself confirms this reading of ours by using I, *Purusottama* and *That Achyuta*. That is Apart, Aloof, in relation to reality. I is the Person and it is to that Person that the Mystic, the Philosopher, the Religionist have attained at the end of their labours. In Him they enter. The rest is supra-logical, supra-rational, beyond reality. It is this One personal God, the Lord, history as reality sees grasped in the measure of man's grip. It is no Idea, abstract, absolute, that processes and is processed in History, that is loved by the mystic, understood by the philosopher and worshipped by, glorified, sacrificed to, by the religionist, but the highest embodiment of warmest love and gentlest, most circumspect grace.

We now come to the man of religion, Poor man! Everyone must have a fling at him. "You are superstitious, you have fudged up false gods of light and heat and thunder and clouds, gods of wood and stone; you are unethical, intolerant, uncreative, unprogressive. You exploit the poor, the misguided, the suffering ones. You bow to the rich, the powerful, the happy. All your contrivances are low-brow and for down-town. All your fore-lives and after-lives, your heavens, purgatories and hells, your cosmic and tragic mimics and rituals and ceremonies are sheer bunkum, meant to make men part with their possessions, to accept the evil, the pain, the ugliness, the indigence in this very imperfect world. Down with your books and your witnesses, that all speak a language which is a detestable, ridiculous mess, in which mingle wisdom and folly, magic and sorcery, fear and hope, sex and asexuality, love and hate, possessiveness and renunciation and what not. We do not see at all how material ideas and actions can bring to us non-material prizes like liberation, stay in heaven, immortal life, reunion with the ancestors, psychic award or punishment. Nor can we see why you refuse to subscribe to our view that the material processes bring about a qualitative, functional, mental and moral-non-material change for the better in man." A fairly long string of charges. The reply runs somewhat thus. "If only you knew my equipment, the nature of my duties, the kind of stuff I have to

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work upon, the circumstances in which I operate, you would not thus damn all my virtues as vices."

"I have only one equation given to me: 'I am One, may (I) become Many.' I have to look for that one I always and everywhere in the many I see, which many are enlivened, engladdened, empowered, emotioned, protected, everywhere by that One by its very basic relationship of the One having become the Many. I have to rouse the consciousness of oneness, to feed it, to heat it up for greater and greater knowledge, life and enjoyment. Then I have to help in the return of the many to the one by deepening the relationship, making it more dynamic and vibrant and comprehensive. His becoming many is a matter of time or space, the same thing; there is a distance of time and space between His oneness and His many-ness. To reduce that time-space consciousness at work in the garbs of hope and fear, is to make a god of man.

"As the many are He, the One, can I help looking at all from evil and suffering and darkness to fire and water, clay and metal, attraction and repulsion, charge and discharge as Divine, divinely ordered and ordained, sacred and holy? Of course all these are to return to Him transmuted, with the aid of the right forms of consciousness of the relationship with Him, called sacrifice;† shining, love, charity, self-control, all contained in the one word which He has used for *Himself*, *Deva*, from *Da*, to shine, to give, to control, to be kind to.

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† Here is the Sacrifice going on eternally in Man as it goes on in the world of Nature (Sun, Moon, seasons, etc.—together termed the year). I have already emphasized the correspondence between the year *(Samvatsara)*, the *Vak* and the *Agni*. The sexual process has also been elaborated as symbolical of the Creator's sacrifice for purposes of creation. The quotation is from the *Pranagni-Hotropanisad*.

The Yajamana (performer) of this sacrifice of Sarirayajna, is the Atman. The wife is the Intellect. The great priests (Ṛtvijs) are the Vedas. The Adhvaryu is Ahamkara (individuality). The Hotṛ is the thinking mind. The Prana (vital air) is the Ṛtvij-assistant to the Brahmana at the sacrifice. The Apana is the asst. to the Adhvaryu, the Vyana to Udgatṛ, the Samana to the Hotṛ. The body is the sacrificial platform. The nose is the inner sacrificial platform. The crest is the Soma-vessel. The feet form the vehicle. The right hand is the ladle. The left hand is the receptacle for the ghee (clarified butter). The ears constitute the sprinkling of the ghee on the sacrificial fire. The eyes are the portions of ghee belonging to Agni and Soma. The neck is the stream of descending oblation. The Tanmatras (sound and others) are the Ṛtvijs assisting the Brahmana. The great elements (and their

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"Becoming many means assumption of names and forms, veiling, partition, becoming separate wholes (all separates interconnected at base, and strung together on the thread of becoming), separate wholes—partly shining, visible, partly non-shining, non-visible, partly conscious, partly non-conscious. Growth, freedom, greater life and conciousness in which Joy lies, are to be achieved by a greater sense, not of separateness, but of unity in Him, a greater sense of unity between part and part, visible and visible, invisible and invisible, as also between part and whole, visible and invisible, conscious and unconscious, between past and present, one part of space and another. This sense as one God is already within each; our duty is to awaken that God in each no less than that, no more than that

"The creatures being differently veiled, gifted (though all endowed with the creativity of the creator), I have to cater to beings, on so many different levels; keeping in view the measure of separateness, ignorance, dynamics, statics, equilibrium and unequilibrium of each. As time passes, as distance increases, visibility grows less, the veil becomes thicker but at the same time, the end of the return journey approaches closer. The journey and return make a cycle.

"Becoming many—themselves one whole Person or *Deva*—involves a hierarchy, an order, and a ritual. The orders and hierachies are many; all similar and corresponding and corresponsive: head, hands, thighs, feet, the virile, the thinker, the dweller, the feeder; education, householding, service of society, surrender to the Lord; white, red, dark; equipoise, motion, inertia; Joy, Knowledge, Emotion, Force, Energy, etc. The rituals are birth, growth, aging, death; spring, summer, autumn, winter; morning, noon, evening, night; being sown, ripening, being threshed, cut, being eaten; obtaining, tieing, cutting (of the animal and the animality in man) and distribution of holified parts, etc. There is a cyclicalness and repetition in the orders and in the rituals, whether mental or physical. The ideas obey the same laws, trace the same

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variants) constitute the assemblage gathered at the sacrifice. The Gunas are the principal sacrificial ceremonies. The tongue is the Ida-libation. The teeth and the lips are the secondary ceremonies. The Palate is the hymn in praise. Memory is the Samyor-Vaka ceremony. Compassion, forbearance, and non-violence are the ceremonies in which the wife takes part. The Omkara is the sacrificial post. Covetuousness is the rope. The mind is the vehicle and desire is the sacrificial animal. The hairs are the Darbha-grass. The organs of perception are the sacrificial utensils. The organs of action are the oblations. Non-violence is the Isti (sacrifice). Renunciation is the sacrificial present. The ablution after the sacrifice is brought about by death. In this sacrifice all the deities abide in the body.

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courses as do the heavenly bodies, as the individuals and the races, as the seasons and the spaces, in their heliacal or real rise and fall, appearance and disappearance, agglomeration and detachment.

"Just as the One even though He has become Many remains the One in relationship and out of it, parted and impartible, reveiled and revealed, simultaneously, similarly the process-pattern of history, of matter and ideas in spaces and times exists simultaneously with the whole of the process-pattern that was achieved in the largest unit of time-space—the seed existing in the tree and the tree existing in the seed.

"The many (in pattern-process) are *given* as the One is *given*. They are given as forms with names‡ that connote those forms, that also denote their qualities, functions, relative values, destinies, hierarchical places and colours and numbers and tones. All names are His names, all forms His forms. The chief names (forms, qualities, functions, values) of Him are the Gods (*Devatas*) or Lights, Shiners; the second class or order of His names are the "Seers"‡ of the Lights; the third are the astronomical bodies; the fourth are types of man; the fifth are the remaining orders or kinds of creation. Every chief name of His is first a quality in Him, then a value, then a function, then a form. Each race, age, clime as each individual creature as if appropriates to itself for its guidance a particular chief name of His. Different names, all equivalent and equally valid, may be appropriated by the same race or individual at different times. Concentration on a name—its quality and value and function—leads to a vision of the corresponding forms and ultimately draws the concentrator, seer, into its bosom. All worshipping is glorification of His name-form-quality-function-value in terms of ideas and objects. The ritualization of this naming, hymning, helps to fix our gaze on His glory, centre our dependence on Him, deepen the consciousness of our relation to Him and awaken in us that sense of wonder which lifts us to the level of His name as a particular God, indispensable to us. He is All-Gods. To Him-Her belong all names, all praises, all sacrifices, all paths, all love.

"Some names-forms relate to His creativity, they are *Devatas*:§ others relate to His "seeings and wanderings and angles"; they are the immortal

‡ The Great Lord in the *Bh. Gita*: I am the beginning of all the Shiners (*Devas*) and the Great Seers (*Maharshis*).

§ Lord Krishna in the *Mahabharata*: In Rigveda and the Yajurveda, similarly in the Atharva and Sama, in the Purana with the Upanishad, in the Jyotisha, O Arjuna, in the Sankhya and Yoga Shastras and similarly in Ayurveda, many are My names praised by the Maharshis. Some of these names are *Gauna* (qualitative), some *Karmaja* (functional). O Anagha, listen awaringly to the etymology (*nirukta*) of those functional Names of Mine.

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ever-present Rishis, Munis, Siddhas—His Forms in the second degree; still others pertain to His thicker veilings of Himself; they are the devils and demons. They are all functions. And as functions, the necessary dual and triple tensions, these *Devas*, *Rishis*, *Kumaras*, *Manus*, *Asuras*, *Avataras* and *Gurus*, not only exist in the realm of ideas, but in that of the heavenly bodies, the human body, in the historical process; in time and space as well, both as prophesy–prefigurement and memory–essence in the Logos (Veda), uninterpretable except by a Seer, because they are multi-planal, multi-purposed, multi-meaning-ed and yet resting in the One meaning, One purpose, One plane, One Person, One Shine, other books than ths Veda, Samhita, other persons than the seer only encompassing one or two or three meanings or planes.

"In the light of all this should you still feel shocked when I talk of fore-lives and after-lives for all, for *Devas*, for men, for lower beings, for the cosmos as a whole? All life is a part–display of an endless repetitive play. All this appears and disappears complete and in part as an "idea" of Him. And can an idea of the one Immortal be anything less undying, complete, universal than Himself?

"For the purposes of religion, the only equation given is I Brahman Am. He wanted to become and so He grew the Greatest. Every creature wants to be great. He became the Greatest by Sacrifice, by Shining, by Giving, by Sounding, by Playfnlness, by Self-less Action, by Heating, by Self-Control but the many under the veil want to become great not by imitation of and surrender to Him but in forgetfulness of their real immortal, shining, nature, in ignorance of their linkage with, and dependence upon, all life.

"The Many want to grow in separation, not in co-operation. This wrong, ignorant, forgetful desire originates evil, cruelty, and the destruction and suffering that evil and cruelty perpetrate. This is the natural fall this world represents. The fall is real, very real and it is natural, innate. But this fall is not a problem for Him or for the Enlightened. The fall itself automatically transmutes itself into rise, as autumn and winter cancel themselves into spring and summer. The year begins with spring and returns to it.

"The natural God-planned, God-forestalled aids to rise and redemption and goodness and rejoicfng, to return, are four: 1. revelation of the pattern of return through sacrificial action, selfless action, co-operative action in the lights of the regions of heaven and mid-world; revelation provided by the lights at work in the human body; revelation by the lights visible in human history; and revelation by the lights visible in the words and deeds of the Incarnations (10+24, solar and lunar) provided to each age and race and country. All these lights are one, corresponding, cor-responsive, and com-present. God

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as the Sun, God as Sri Krishna, God as Atman, God as the King are one and the same God. An incarnation, like the Sun, the Atman, the King, appears, suffers at the hands of the evil-doers, sacrifices and saves, redeems, transforms them, thereby repeating the right pattern–process of the Return, exactly as the Sun does or the Year does represent and repeat that pattern, or history, the dialogue between the Divine and the human, the Male and the Female, does. The lessons of astro-physics, the chronicles of King, the lives of the Incarnations and the saints, and the records of the 24 Deva–Asura fights, all reveal the same truth that through prayer, praise, sacrificial action, the very real evil and suffering are changed into the very real good and joy and beauty and truth.

"What is it that makes us dread evil and pain and death inflicted by those who would grow at the expense of others, while the hero faces them without malice, without feeling guilty, without flinching? Because the hero is aware that the real part of him is immortal, impenetrable, essentially good. Because the hero knows that by killing and by being killed in a spirit of detachment, and self-awareness alone can he transform the opponent and attain release for himself from any further similar happenings. The highest transformation is effected by the greatest sacrificial selfless suffering–death."

The man of religion adds that this *Prakritic* transformation has been going on and will go on automatically under the presidency of the *Purusa*, Person. The world is the home of suffering, it is the home of death, but it is here that we can learn to transmute both into Joy and Immortality. To the man of religion facts are metaphors and metaphors are facts. Paradise is the consciousness of, nearness to, relationship with, God, whether that consciousness be obtained in the body or in the bodyless state; the absence of that consciousness is hell. Between the changes of the body the consciousness continues, for the time-space limitation is still there in the mind and hence it is there for the subtle body. The four-fold consciousness of being with God, in time, in creativity, in place, in form, is the only way of growing Greatest, and religion by helping us to attain that consciousness through sacrifice, prayer, praise, shining, contemplation of the name, self-control, serves as a visible mark of His Grace. The mystics and the philosophers help to feed Religion which in turn feeds the diverse many with drugs bitter and sweet, of high potency or low, single or compounded, as it thinks fit for the particular patient in view.

Every church and its organization are native to the land, race, age. Many attend the Church but few are conditioned to benefit from the incense, offerings of representative products and lives on the earth, music, prayer, praise, worship, ritual, art and architectural beauty—the atmospere that the

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Church provides. The priest is there for his own good and for what goodness others may be coditioned to imbibe from him. An *ayat* in the Holy Quran says: O Prophet, he alone shall be guided through thy guidance whom I select and not whom thou choosest. With that before us, we should cease to complain of the inefficiency of the Churches and the priests. They are there as marks of His Grace, which makes the Churches also appear in the historical pattern–process and be His witnesses to the best in the type of human organization, collective human endeavour, devotion and co-operation. The cosmos as a whole is a natural Church. The angels together are a Church. The starry world is a Church. The flower-beds, the rivers, the mountains make a church. The human body is a fully organized, architectured, decorated, working, resounding Cathedral where worship is being carried on in the most secret chamber all the twenty-four hours and all the 365 days. All philosophies make a Church; all mysticisms, all religions of all times make one whole Church. Poetry is a church. And Churches in their first glory are the best poetry mankind as a whole has composed and sung.

What is most important under the heads of mysticism, philosophy and religion is that all types of mystic experience, all level of philosophical thinking, and all systems of religion with different objectives, many-levelled gods, and high and low forms of worship co-exist, are com-present in the world as a whole, in every race or clime as a whole, and in every man taking his whole life into consideration. The three gamuts (really one gamut) are run through by every man at different times and levels. The gamuts are inter-convertible, co-responsive correspondent, and all the notes are notes high and low of one music. It is not for any one religion or philosophy or type of mystic experience to look down upon another as low, false, defective. The relative is and must be absolute to the experiencer, thinker, worshipper and unless you carry your relative experience, worship, thought, to the absolute end, you do not get your full juice and value for it. There is a scale of values and each value as it is realized, attained, is transcended, just as every function performed sacrificially is transcended, just as every quality manifested fully is left behind, just as every beautiful object of love attained, united with, is lost in the Mystery of Divine Love.

The highest Love, the highest Mystic Union, the supreme Wisdom, the deepest prayer, praise, worship, the profoundest ritual, still remain a Mystery. No mystic has seen the Unseeable; no philosopher has traced the complete pattern of thought, which thought is not merely the philosopher's instrument but his very being; no religion has yet gone beyond a sense of peace, a sense of stability, a sense of being graciously led to safety in His bosom, as a result of all the types of religious practices ever invented and practised.

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Sin alone ensures humility and provides experience which brings on suffering, and suffering alone throws a person on his purely moral and spiritual resources. Morality is only the first step, which makes one aware of duties, and teaches one to link oneself with others. Full and real linkage and identity with all the manifest macrocosms, which form only one-fourths of Him, is brought about by the spiritual source alone, which teaches one to play the dual role of complete aloofness and perfect identification. Those who think action, sacrificial or non-sacrificial, can of itself draw award or punishment-fruit are wrong. It is God, His Will and Grace, that dispenses justice or forgiveness, both being the same and that dispensation seems-appeares as if automatic.

Religion keeps everybody on the right side by reminding the mystic that all his experiences of Him and with Him are indescribable as they are really not his but His; by reminding the philosopher that all the ideas=forms that he sees in Him, detached and integrated, are really only logical but not factual, as all such ideas=forms are meshed in time-space and He is beyond that, that even the time–space-less absolute that he reasons out is a logical position at which the time–space-involved thinking places the Absolute negatively but has no real relation to the Real God who is All-Lights-Laws-Loves and yet Apart, who is in the process and yet out of it, who does not ideate but just is, his ideation being just Being; by reminding the psychologist that the mind, prior to the senses and the objects, sees what is already in it and what is in it has come to be placed in it by Him and the working of the wheel He works and that therfore mental progress and return to Him consists in the mind non-minding itself, surrendering, cancelling itself—dissolving the duality (or tension) which constitutes its very existence, and that the mergence (*laya*) of the mind is secured through its union (*yoga*) with the *Prana* (Force, directed energy), con-centration on the centre of the two inmost concentric circles of Wisdom and Joy being the means for the self-annihilation of the three (outer 1, and middle 2) concentric circles of Body or Energy (*Anna*), Force (*Prana*) and Mind (*Manas*) itself. Mind and its correspondents the Horse, the Moon, must be sacrificed in the Fire (*Agni*) of concentration (*Yoga*). The two-fold (*Salamba* and *Niralamba* with prop and without prop) *Yoga* (*Ekagarachitta, Samata*) is thus the only means available to the mystic, the philosopher, the religionist, for balancing, re-discovering themselves. The best Yoga fit for all, irrespective of the qualifications of the practiser, is of course the *Yoga* of devotion to the Lord (*Bhakti Yoga*). For persons who are truly devoted, the attainment of the realization of the eternal truth (of the *Brahman)* is possible without much effort and within a short time.....Do thou also resort to devotion, giving up all the expedients. Through devotion all

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psychic and other miraculous powers are accomplished." A Guide *(Guru)* for any kind of Yoga is indispensable. "Who is the *Guru?*" "The Guru is the *Purusa*, the actual *Adi-Narayana*. That *Adi-Narayana* am I. Hence do thou resort to me (as thy Guru), as thy exclusive refuge. Do thou sedulously cultivate my worship. (Then) shalt thou attain Me alone. There is nothing apart from Me which does not stand vitiated. I alone am the peerless unsurpassed bliss. The all-full am I alone. The resort of all am I alone. The real form of the *Para-Brahman*, that transcends the range of articulate expression and is aspectless, am I alone. There is not even a speck apart from Me."—*(Tripada Vibhuti Mahanarayana Up.)*

Correct Vedic interpretation is stoutly opposed to the current historical assumptions about early India. There were no such races as Aryan and Dravidian (All living on sea-side are *Dravidians)*. There were no Aryan influxes into India. In every country and race there have been, are and will be *Aryans* and *Dasyus*. Similarly in every country and race human society naturally divided into four *Varnas* (colour, quality, mode, form, sort and class): teachers, fighters, traders–cultivators, and servants; there are further everywhere and everywhen four natural stages of man's activity: the education period marked by celibacy and stay at the school or the university; the household-ing period; the travel period; and the retirement period. The indigenous races and tribes that have thrived in India are given both in the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, and among them are the Yadus, Gurjaras, Ahirs, Dravids. Sanskrit was spoken by the Kurus, Gurjaras, Abhiras, etc. Keeping in view the cultural characteristics, as distinct from professional or occupational differences, society everywhere classifies itself into Devas and Asuras, and further into *Devas, Daityas, Rakshasas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Yakshas*, etc. On the philosophical and religious side, every age has its *Vedantins*, its *Yogins*, its *Sankhyavadins*; it has its thinkers, mystics, ascetics, devotees, and its monists and atomists and logicians and ethicists, and ritualists, (the six *Darshanas*). Every country passes through a four ages—yugas cycle, the total period of which may vary fram 4320 to 4320000 years, the four ages of *Sat, Treta, Dwapara* and *Kali* enjoying the proportion of 4, 3, 2 and 1, linked together by the *Sandhi* or junction-periods, whose proportion to each other and to the age periods is $^4/_4$, $^3/_4$, $^2/_4$ and $^1/_4$. Every country has its ten guiding Avataras, (=Boats), the Fish-Man, the Tortoise-Man, the Boar-Man, the Lion-Man, the Small-Man, the Beauty-Goodness-Man, the Perfect-Man, the Machine-Man, etc.; so has it its Books of Cause, Books of Time, Books of Space (the Veda, the Puranitihasa, the Sastra); it has its Codes and Records,too (Sastras and Smritis), it has its lexicons, also. The seven seers are all the possible angles of vision; every country has them compresent and eternally; there is everywhere a Vyasa,

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a Narada, an Angira, an Agastya, etc. Every country has its Devatas or Light-Gods; its 27/28 regions, its equilibrium areas, its passion areas, its torpor areas. It is therefore best to accept Order and Sequence and Hierarchies as Omnipresent, of universal application. Every standard language is Sanskrit, every popular speech is Prakrit. Further, true Vedic interpretation shows that no man possesses God unless by rationalization he establishes Him in Nature and Society, and no one possesses the Atman unless by a similar use of the intellect-heart, by churning, pressing he establishes it within himself.

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Section XIII

Technical Sciences and Fine Arts

By Dr. H. Goetz, Ph. D.

The Application of Modern Research Methods of the Study of Indian Art

History of art has during the last half century developed into an exact science within the limits in which such research methods can be applied to historical problems at all. It is at present taught in practically every European and American university by several lecturers equipped with excellent material. In India it is almost unknown; only Calcutta University has one chair for it on its historical department. In consequence Indian archaeology is rather well developed, but the historical study of Indian art is still left more or less to amateurs and collectors. This neglect of art-historical studies is the result of tragic political circumstances. India's first contact with Western art criticism happened just before the development of a modern outlook and modern methods, when European art historians still had been under the one-sided spell of the Graeco-Roman and Renaissance classicist ideal. The one-sided European reaction against a—still hardly known—Indian art generated a not less negative Indian reaction against Western art. In consequence the great revolution in the Western aesthetic outlook from a European to a world perspective was not recognized, and instead Indian art criticism fell under the spell of Neo-Romantics like Havell and Coomaraswamy who applied to India the same ideologies which a century earlier the original Romantics had applied to the European Middle Ages. By explaining all Indian art as inspired by mysticism, the way to any detached study of Indian art was blocked, and not less the appreciation of Indian art outside India was made impossible. Of course, as in Mediaeval European art, likewise there is a mighty mystic inspiration also in Indian art. But Indian art is much richer than that it could be derived only from one such like source. Also in India times of secularism or superficial ritualism have alternated with periods swayed by profound religious experiences. And although the overwhelming majority of monuments preserved are in one or other way connected with religion, there is sufficient literary evidence for the existence also of a secular art in olden times, and overwhelming proof for it in the last centuries. As a matter of fact, the style as well as the mentality of any art depends not only on the nation which produces it, but also on the special social structure

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of successive times. For society is nothing stable. It changes with political and economic power, may be eclectic, creative, cultured, mannered, frivolous. It may express genuine experiences, or mask new experiences under earlier conventions, it may be traditional in the sense of constructive building-up as in that of un-understanding conservation, or it may be revolutionary in the liberating as well as in the destructive sense. As art is the visual self-expression of society, it has to reflect these tendencies. And as also in India empires and cultures have been built-up and have disintegrated, also all these forces have to find their reflection in Indian art. The laws of style history, such as they have been worked out especially by Wölfflin, apply also to Indian art, at least to all its higher aspects. For barbarian art, living mainly on borrowing and adaptation, follows different laws, such as they have been worked out mainly by J. Strzygowski. But they, too, apply to certain phases and regions of Indian art, especially in the border area towards Central Asia, and during the early Muslim period. But from what we have already said, it follows that the rhythm of these style developments is linked up not only with a few, ca. 3, main phases of Indian art, but more particularly with the history of certain prominent dynasties and their spheres of influence. This rhythm always is fundamentally the same, from simple to involve foms, colours and compositions, from robust to delicate type, from primary inspiration to mannered elegance, from religiosity via humanism to conventional ritualism and eroticism, from the masterpiece to the mass production. Let us just trace a few examples: The earthbound simplicity of Bhārhūt ends in the elegant mannerism of Amarāvatī and the eroticism of Nāgārjunikonda; the simplicity of Kushāna art leads to the Golden Age of Gupta Art in the 5th century, the "Baroque" of the 6th century, and the mannered elegance of the 7th and early 8th centuries; Pratihāra and Rāshtrakūṭa art of the 8th and 9th centuries is massive, genuine and religious, but ends in the elegance of the 10th-11th centuries, and in the lifeless mass production of the 12th and 13th centuries. Rājput painting of the 16th century was simple and mystic, of the 17th humanistic (secular in religious disguise), of the 18th and 19th centuries fashionable, escapistic and highly erotic. These observations are valuable in many ways: Each period needs its own approach, because it has its own ideals different from other periods. Art is not imitation, and art development not a matter of handing on old national prototypes or copying foreign ones. Art is creation, though it may use as new material old national, or foreign inspirations. The question is not what had been used for such purpose; but whether something living, genuine, something expressing the spirit and the ideals of the nation and of its time had been created out of this raw material. But various generations have reacted

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in a different manner. The ossified traditionalism of the last centuries does, therefore, not apply to the budding art of the Śatavāhanas nor to the revolutionary achievements of Gupta, Pallava or Rāshtrakūta times. The teachings of the Vāstu and Śilpa-Śāstras apply only to periods of imitation; older texts like the Bharata-Nātya Śāstra or Vishnudharmottaram are not text-books, but intellectual clarifications of a still free and creative art; earlier generations did not think even of that. The stencils with which in the late 18th or early 19th century miniatures were built up, were frowned on in Akbar's or Jahāngīr's reigns. The over-elaborate applied art which fills most of our museums, is not characteristic Indian, but merely represents the late, over-involved and effeminate mannerism of the dying Mughal Empire and of its successor states. The erotic sculptures of Konārka or Modherā are no more characteristic for Indian art than the etchings of Félicien Rops for European art; they, both, are products of a corrupt society on the eve of a great upheaval, in India on the eve of the Muslim conquest, in Europe of the succession of crippling world wars. But we can apply the equation also viceversa: Where our literary documentation fails, the monuments provide at least general dues as to the character of the times. The temples of the 12th and 13th centuries, immense, over-elaborate, conventional and expressionless, tell the story why the Muslims could conquer India: Immense wealth of the few and not less poverty of the many, a life suffocated in conventions, and without elasticity, a religion reduced to an immense ritual, impressive, but no more inspiring, unscrupulousness and sexual laxity, all forces of corruption and disruption. Or you can study the impact of the Hun invasion. The earlier Gupta sculptures and paintings are refined, but nevertheless rather simple, deeply sensitive, and yet optimistic. The later works of the Gupta tradition reveal an unhealthy pomp and luxury and a sensuousness combined with a pronounced pessimism, and artistic conventionality. Exactly like in late Mughal art where we find this same constellation: Unhealthy luxury, and fashionable convention combined with pessimism in all shades of reckless amusement, escapism and religious pietism. And in contrast the golden age of Mughal civilization: Joy of life, activity, interest in the world around, new experiments! These things are not mere supertones of the cultural life. For just because the artists have not been conscious of these meanings, they have clearly expressed the spirit of their time, and thus teach us the importance or unimportance of political events. If the Gupta art tradition continues up to ca. A.D. 750 and disappears only about ca. A.D. 800, it is obvious that we have to make an incision in our historical works not after ca. A.D. 650, but one and a half centuries later. If the tradition inaugurated by the Pratihāras goes on until the 12th and 13th centuries, it is clear that not the invasions of

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Mahmūd of Ghaznī but the battle of Tarāin meant the turning point. There are many more and much more specific applications of the principles of style history. But I could quote only a few examples here. I have, however, to point out that this application needs great caution. We have carefully to analyze art in all its aspects: Material aspect, iconographic development, costumes and habits, anthropological types not less than form and rhythm and composition. Before drawing conclusions we have to distinguish between accidental and characteristic phenomena. For besides the general style trends there are the dynastic ones, and besides these local and even individual forces. Provinces followed only slowly the taste of the capitals. Individual rulers had their own tastes, and even the Indian artist was not so anonymous as is generally believed. Today we would even be in a position to draft a National Biography of Indian Artists. As long as we do not know the special circumstances of the creation of any work of art,—and in most cases we are ignorant—we have to leave a margin for these disorientating factors. On the other hand they are not strong enough to invalidate our general conclusions. But all these problems can be approached only if we accept the manifoldness of Indian art, the immense wealth and variety of its forms and expressions, and avoid to bring it on one simple formula. The richness of all life is mirrored also in the wealth of Indian art, and I believe that this is the true expression of ancient Hindu religion: The world as the expression of the Līlā of the Creator who is Bliss Himself.

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Section XV

Gujarat History and culture

By Shree Ratnamanirao Bhimrao Jhote

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I must thank you very much for giving me this great honour to preside over the section of Gujarat History and culture, of the All-India Oriental Conference. The thanks are really due to you, because I know my shortcomings. I feel that I have been selected on no other account of an outstanding quality than a similarity of my person to an old ruined building.

Before going into the various aspects of the development of the History of Gujarat and the peculiarity of its culture, I must bow my head respectfully to the great men–who have done monumental work for the history of this province, and who have given a great inspiration to the study of Gujarati Culture,–the Gurus according to our oriental sense, and according to the immortal words of poet Bhavabhuti इदं कविभ्य: पूर्वेभ्य:। Before ennumerating the works done by other scholars, I must pay my homage to my Guru, the late Dr. Anandshankar Dhruva who has inspired greatly in understanding and developing the study of the culture of our province. A great scholar of all-India reputation and an eminent philosopher, he was, in short, an embodiment of the Indian culture, specially, the culture of Gujarat. His essay on the philosophy of History shows how deep he has dived into the great oceans of the literatures of History and Culture of the world. For the last half a century, he has been the guiding spirit as far as the study of our culture in all its lines is concerned.

The next salutation is due to the great pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji who worked in the most difficult circumstances and who was the first to write a history of Gujarat in its true sense, in the past century, when even the parts of the Body-History of this province were not properly known, when the European scholars were toiling to write our history from legends and folklores of Bhāts and Chārans. He had genius for collecting and using the scattered materials from old coins and inscriptions, old manuscripts etc. and to read them correctly. Many European and Indian scholars took pride in claiming to be his students. Dr. Buhler, James Kempbell, Prof. Kern, Dr. Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, Dr. Burgess, Acharya Vallabhji Haridatt, Ratiram Durgaram and

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others were proud to own that they had learnt from Pandit Bhagavanlal. Poet Firdosi wrote for Shāhnāmā.

"Basi ranj burdam dar-in-sal si
Ajam zindeh kerdam bad-in parsee"

So may we say for Pandit Bhagavanlal that he toiled for years and revived the Body-History of Gujarat just as Firdosi revived the body of Persia. Bhagavanlal did this in the most correct and scientific way and he was the first Gujarati, with an all-India reputation, to do it.

Sanskriti and Sanskarita (संस्कृति & संस्कारिता)

Before reviewing the works done by other scholars in this field, it would be necessary to note the position of Gujarat in relation to our motherland, Bhārat. As a matter of fact all the provinces are the children of Bhārat Mātā. While talking about history and culture of any part of India, we must not forget that there is a fundamental unity in its culture. Geographically India is such a country that it is very difficult to deal separatey and exclusively with the history of any province. So, when talking about the history and culture of any province, we have to study the history and culture of the whole of India. Culture is "Sanskriti" in our language. This "Sanskriti" is the same throughout the whole of Bhārat. It would be better to use the word "Sanskāritā" (संस्कारिता) for the peculiarity of one particular part or province. The study of the History of Indian culture will show that in this fundamental unity of Indian Culture–संस्कृति–there is a diversity of–संस्कारिता–of the various parts of our great motherland.

Looking from this standpoint Gujarat has its own piculiar–संस्कारिता-Here, we have to understand 'Gujarat' in a wider sense. The present Gujarat is just like a "Trimurti" that is to say, a body formed by the combination of Gujarat, Saurāshtra and ancient Lāta–Desha. Gujarat, moreover, historically and culturally includes, western portion of Mālavā, Rājputānā including Mevād, and southern Sind, that is the Pashchim Desh according to Rajashekhara and Varāhamihira, plus Lāt Desh. Saurāshtra and Gujarat are like two twin children of Bhārat Mātā, similar in practically all the respects. We have to see here, how these twins, or Trimurtis have contributed to the general cultural development of the motherland.

Saurashtra

If we take Gujarat and Saurāshtra as twins amongst the children of Bhārat Mātā, we will have to give the place of seniority to Saurashtra. Dr. Dhruva has very correctly described the land of Saurāshtra as ऐतिहासिक रत्नगर्भा वसुंधरा. Historically, geographically and culturally it is so. Very few provinces in India are so rich in ancient historical remains and traditions

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as Saurāshtra. The whole land is just like an exhibition full of various materials of history, geology, archaeology, architecture, anthropology and zoology from the prehistoric period upto the last century. Its social and religious history is also an outstanding chapter in the cultural history of India. Thus the Trimurti of Saurāshtra, Gujarat and Lāt, like Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva in one body, has the most interesting history in all its different aspects.

Importance of Research in Indian History

It is generally believed that India has no history in the true sense of the word. Many able scholars have discussed this question and we need not enter here into the question at length. The circumstances and materials required for the writing of history are different in India and in the western countries. So the scope and importance of research in all the departments of Indian History and culture have much more expanded and increased—and are of utmost necessity to the writing of Indian history—than in the history of any other country of the world. This is true for the history of Gujarat, as a part of Indian history. So let us first review the research-works done by eminent scholars before entering into details and peculiarities of the different departments of culture.

Tribute to European Scholars

We have already mentioned the name of Dr. Bhagavanlal Indraji as the pioneer in this work. In the first place we have to record the European scholars who have spared time from their official duty for gathering the materials and for writing the history, geography, and about the social, economic and cultural past of our motherland, not for any other ambition or propaganda but purely as a labour of love. There may be some prejudices and some with the motive to show that western civilization is superior to that of India. To counteract the writing of history written in order to help and justify the political propaganda, our scholars also devoted themselves to the research to show that our civilization was more ancient and more cultured than that of the western countries. Such work, on both the sides, may only serve as propaganda and not as true history. Taking all such matters into consideration we must, however, give credit to the learned European scholars who have done most valuable work in all the departments of our history. In this connection, the names of Forbes, Todd, Briggs and the writers of the Government Gazetteers for the work of collecting the historical materials; and the names of Furguson, Burgess, Cousins, Havell, Marshall and Percy Brown for the writings on the architecture of Gujarat must be mentioned. We must not be guided by political prejudices whilst judging the work done by these Europeans. At the same time we must thank Lord Curson for the greatest help he has given and the great interest he has shown for the preservation of our ancient

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monuments, as the literature inscribed on stones denoted our past culture. Our own countrymen could have done it, had they been not mentally depressed for centuries together and had they possessed the power and money to do it. It was a work which could be done only by the government in power.

Scholars Who Worked in History and Research

Tributes should be paid to the scholars Acharya Vallabhji Haridatta and Ratiram Durgaram, the worthy disciples of Pandit Bhagavanlal, who have done valuable work is this field. Vajubhai Gagabhai Oza collected, translated and published ancient inscriptions and 'tāmrapatras' in the last century. Maganlal Vakhatchand wrote the history of Ahmedabad in the same century.

In the present century our thanks are due to Ranjitram Vavabhai. Gujarat Sahitya Sabha of this city and Gujarati Sahitya Parishad are the two living monuments of his enthusiasm. He gave impetus to the collections of materials for the history of Gujarat and he was the conception of the ideals of cultural Gujarat in the first quarter of this century. Harial H. Dhruva, Ramlal Modi and Mohanlal Dalichand have made valuable efforts in research and in collections of literature useful for the social and cultural history of Gujarat. We must mention three well-known names of scholars before coming to the present period. Firstly, the late Mr. Chimanlal Dalal will be best remembered by his work in searching and editing old manuscripts in Apabhransha which are very useful for social and cultural history and we regret that his premature death stopped this work. Secondly, the late Prof. B. K. Thakore, in whose presidential address to the history section of Gujarati Sahitya parishada in 1920, and in other articles on history and culture of Gujarat, are great ideals for the students of history, was one of the great thinkers of literature and history, in our age. Thirdly, my lamented late friend Durgashanker Shastri, whose sad demise brought forth last year a great loss to the history and research in this province, must be remembered with great respect. His history of Madhyakālin Gujarat and other essays along with the address delivered as the president of history section of Karachi Sahitya parishad and Saurashtra historical conference, are works of deep study. The late Zaverchand Meghāni and Raichura did noteworthy work in the collection of folk-lore and ballad-songs which throw good light on the social condition of Gujarat.

Among the present scholars working in this direction, the work aiming for the ideals of Ranjitram Vavabhai was taken up by Shree Kanaiyalal Munshi. He encouraged greatlyt he study of history and culture of Gujarat through his articles. The editing of the book "The Glory that was Gurjara Deśa," is a good illustration of Shree Munshi's love for the history of Gujarat. However, the most remarkable work done for the history and culture of this province, after pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, is by Acharya Muni Jinvijayji. He has col-

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lected and editted materials and inscriptions useful to the research scholars, and he is still a living force in the field of research in Gujarat and Rājasthān, the provinces which are one in every respect from the historical and cultural point of view. He has an international reputation.

Shree Krishnalal Mohanlal Zeveri, the veteran scholar of Persian, has thrown good light on the sources of historical writings in Persian, and gives guidance to the students of history of Muslim periods. His critical translation of Mirāte Ahmadi is very useful for the study of Gujarat in the Moghul and post-Moghul periods. Prof. Commessariat, and Prof. K. H. Kamdar also have contributed to the study of Gujarat's history. Prof. Abu Zafar Nadvi also is marching with sure steps in this field. Girijashankar Acharya, inheriting his father's ability for research, has done considerable work in editing old inscriptions of Gujarat. Mr. Gnani, Prof. D. R. Manked and H. R. Manked are doing noteworthy work in history and research in Saurāshtra. Late Prof. Dar has done good work of research from Persian and Arabic literature. Prof. Chhotubhai Niak, Mr. Dargawala, Mr. Kokil, Mr. Z. A. Desai, Saiyad Nuruddin Husain Kazi Saheb are doing good work in this line.

Cultural Institutions of Gujarat

Before coming to the work done by the younger generation of scholars, it would be better to review the activities of some old and great institutions. The most remarkable among them is Gujarat Vidya Sabha, an institution one hundred and five years old, and one of the two oldest in the whole of India. It has been collecting manuscripts etc. and helping the development in research in all its departments. Alexander K. Forbes, a man having great interest in and sympathy for the culture of Gujarat, founded this institution over a hundred years ago. Secretaries like Poet Dalpatram and Hiralal Parekh worked for its progress. It has now grown into a centre of culture and learning and high scholarship in our country under the able presidentship of Shree G. V. Mavalankar, the Speaker of Parliament in independent India, and the good directorship of Shree Rasiklal. C. Parikh, the learned moving spirit of Vidya Sabha and B. J. Institute for post-graduate studies. Shri Rasiklal Parikh's introduction to Hemachandrācharya's Kāvyānushāsana in English is a rare contribution to the cultural history of Gujarat up to Solanki period. We must here mention that Gujarat Puratattva Mandir, started by Gujarat Vidya Pīth and inspired by Mahatma Gandhi, did valuable work in history and research, edited a quarterly, "Purātattva" of a very high standard, and supported by a group of learned scholars like Muni Jinvijayji, Pandit Sukhlalji, Pandit Bechardas, Shri Ramnarayanbhai Pathak, Maulvi Abu Zafar Nadvi and Shri Rasiklal Parikh. This group is the essence and glory of the present day learning and cultural study of Gujarat, and

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individually each is worthy to represent our province amongst luminaries of the Indian Oriental learning. Gujarat Sahitya Sabha in Ahmedabad, Gujarat Samsodhan Mandal in Bombay and Saurashtra Samsodhan Mandal at Rajkot are the institutions doing good work in this field. Bhāratiya Vidya Bhavan in Bombay, under the able direction of Shri K. M. Munshi and Mr. J. H. Dave has also contributed to the research and learning.

Scholars Working Today

Umashankar Joshi, the well-known popular poet of Gujarat has shown deep study and learning in his book "Gujarat in Puranas", and has thrown good light on Puranic Geography of western India. Dr Bhogilal Sandesara is a sound scholar of ancient sanskrit and prakrit literature, especially with reference to the cultural history and geography of our province. His work on Gujarat in Jain Āgamas and his book on Literary circle of Mahamatya Vastupal, and other historical essays show his sound scholarship. Dr. Haripra-sad Shastri has made research on Valabhi and Dr. Priyabālā shah on Vishu Dharmottara Purana. Dr. Hasmukh Sankalia wrote a scholarly book on cul-tural Geography of Gujarat. Dr. Sankalia and Mr. Amritlal Pandya are two of the very few Gujaratis who have done good work about prehistoric Gujarat and Archaelogy of our province. Mr. Upendra Sandesara is also doing a good research work and prof. Kapadia in Bombay is doing good research work from ancient Jain literature. Prof. Kamdar, Dr. Manjulal Mazmudar, Mr. Govindlal Bhatt, Pandit Lalchand Gandhi, Dr. Subbarao, Dr. Goetz Mr. Gadre, Dr.Umakant Shah and Ramanlal,Mehta,all of them well-known scholars in Baroda are working in various branches of our cultural history, and have found interesting ancient sites and other finds near Baroda. We may hope that such work should be done by scholars in other parts of Gujarat, and Guja-rat University and other institutions, and above all, the government, should help to enhance research in such cultural fields. I might have left out the mention of many other scholars, whilst preparing this review, who might be working in this direction.

It will be seen from this remarkable groups of scholars working for the development of history and culture of our province, that we have an excellent team of workers and if proper impetus is given and financial help is obtained by the institutions supporting such scholars, most valuable results may be expected which may throw good light not only on the history and culture of Gujarat but on the whole of India, and a complete history of Gujarat can be written.

Research in Pre-Historic Age

There is a good deal of research work yet to be done in almost all the branches of cultural history and let us hope that a suitable atmosphere

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will be created for the scholars for this particular work. There is a great field for research of pre-historic age and Purānic age. Let us see a few examples. The 'Puranas and Itihāsas' say that Yādavas selected Saurashtra for their kingdom, and Sri Krishna, perhaps the greatest renovator of religion and society in ancient Indian history, passed the most important period of his life in this province. He selected Prabhās as the place for the last moments of his life. According to Jain traditions Shree Neminath the 23rd Tirthankar belonged to Yādava Kula and was related to Shree Krishna. His life as well as the place of Nirvana is also in Saurashtra. A good deal of research can be made from ancient literature regarding these two luminaries of the Indian history and traditions.

Our Puranas

We do not propose here to enter into any discussion on the definition of true history or the philosophy of history. Many great writers, Indian as well as European, have very ably done this work. According to scientific method of historical research and writing, our Purānas cannot be called true history. Pargiter, however, has changed this belief and we must admit here that in the peculiar circumstances of Indian history, which mainly differ from the history of western countries, our Purānas have an important place in the mass of materials for our cultural history. Let me add, here, that dates certainly are necessary in writing history. The Purānas which are wanting in this quality, are, however, written according to the genius of our ancient land, and we cannot put aside the tradition recorded by Itihāsa like the Mahābhārata and our Purānas. In these peculiar circumstances we have often found history from the Vedas, of course, supported by Purānas according to that important sloka इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत्। We have, therefore, to find out historical certainties from such literature. This can, of cource, be moral certainty, and not scientific certainty for which some philosophers press. A research scholar in history, a historian, cannot stand aside and be separated from his subject, like the scientist who is a separate body from the subject of his research. It is indeed true that a historian cannot take sides. He must be like a judge summing up before a jury but the judge also is a human being, and however strict he may be, human nature drags him to show at least his inclination towards one side he likes. History without this element, without a touch of poetic imagination, only becomes a dry register of facts. Facts must be honoured but they must not be put forward bare like stones. It would look like a picture without colours. Dr. Dhruva correctly says that History without कविप्रतिभा is much like a skeleton without life, blood or flesh. From this standpoint we have to see our ancient literature for the research, especially in the history of our culture. This is the peculiarity and the

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genius of Indian history. The task for the research worker is, therefore, very wide and much difficult.

If we, therefore, accept that history is not a colourless register of facts and dates, and that it is a mixing and giving and borrowing, of the various slreams of evolution, conditioned by environment and circumstances, and it is a story of mankind as a whole and not of any particular group, or political state, a study of man in his social and geographical setting, and not only in political context, our ancient literature and our purānas are our history in the moral sense of the word. The historical climate of our country is such and we have to live and work in our own climate. So it must be emphasized again that the nature of historical evidences to substantiate our research is different when compared to other western countries. It may look strange to a student of history, and some may not even agree with me, that in the field of Indian history, sometimes, the absence of evidence cannot prove the absence of the subject of research, and sometimes a circumstential evidence is obtained from a strange source. Inference, therefore, in Indian history, if properly drawn (यथार्थानुमान), has an important place in our research work.

विवेक in history:

Thus we have to read our Purānas, our Prabandha literature, our folklore, our traditions, etc. We have to find this immense wealth of information, divide it into various departments of history and adopt specialisation in research, according to modern ideas of historical method, and weigh this knowledge with wisdom and discrimination—विवेक—because विवेक & wisdom in history as in other activities, are more important than knowledge. It must be emphatically noted that on no occasion propaganda should enter this field of history because propaganda-history is probably one of the most permanent factors threatening the peace of the world. Lambert correctly says that false views of history are far more dangerous than false views on such an important matter as hygiene. This must be the attitude towards our own history as well as towards the history in general in all its departments, that is, from history as record of political events and dates and various other aspects of it, right upto the Marxist view of Historical materialism. This standpoint is particularly correct for Indian cultural history, because history in our country is used mainly for propaganda purpose in all the fields, to establish the superiority of one interested group over the other. It is such propaganda-history which blemishes its good name. We may have a poetic touch to history, but रागद्वेष must be avoided.

Late Mr. Kishorlal Mashruwala's opposition to History:

In this connection we have to consider the views of those who depre-

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ciate the study of history. There are some writers and philosophers who think that the study of history is injurious to society. Let us see here the opinion of one of our own philosophers, who is one of the ablest Gujarati thinkers of our times. I refer to the late Mr. Kishoralal Mashruwala. In his masterly book समूळी क्रांति–Fundamental Revolution–he has stated that the study of history is harmful. It revives old memories, and increases forgotten वैर–(enmity), old likes and dislikes and prejudices. In his opinion history is unnecessary, and it has no greater value than an imaginary story. It may require a separate article to quote his views on history and to show that many arguments put forward by him are begging the question; however, we must consider them here. He says that history is merely another name for memory–स्मृति.–He further argues that even fresh memory is not God's gift, but a curse to mankind. He says that beasts have no memory and so their fights are momentary, while men have–स्मृति–and hence their love is suppressed and envy grows afresh. He compares the ignorance of history with the ignorance of one poem or a drama! It develops pride, and envy द्वेष and so it is useless.

Now taking into consideration the nature of true history we have just discussed, history may be described as the story of our social, political and cultural evolution, as the knowledge leading to give-and-take of what is best in cultural progress of human societies, and not as a political propaganda, or selfish tug of war between opposing groups or parties. If we do not consider memory–स्मरण–or–स्मृति–as a gift of God to mankind, what is the difference between a man and beast? It is not a paticular branch of knowledge that harms society, but it is the way in which the man makes the use of that knowledge. Can we say that science is bad and useless? It is harmful and useless if it is used with the purpose of destruction as in the last world war. It is good if used for the benefit of humanity. Bernard Shaw well told in his characteristic way: "What have we learnt from history? 'That man learns nothing from history." This means that it is the man's, the user's fault and not the fault of history. It also means that if man had learnt from history, much of the evil and fighting of the people would have been avoided. Let me also add here that memory distinguishes man from beast. If we take the meaning of the letter–स–in the words–स्मरण or–स्मृति–as representative of man, and take out that–सकार–letter, the remaining words would become–मरण or मृति–! and Gita says: स्मृतिभ्रंशात् बुद्धिनाशो, बुद्धिनाशात् प्रणश्यति ॥ If we make wrong use of history it is our own fault and not that of history. I would remind you, in this connection of Dr. Anandashankar Dhruva's article on the Philosophy of History and the views he has expressed. It is not the immobile matter but the highest manifestation of the cosmic life—समष्टि चैतन्य.

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He has given convincing simile comparing–व्यष्टि चैतन्य–individual life, with a drama in the form of history. The manifestation of the cosmic life is seen in history. To emphasize his simile of such–व्यष्टि चैतन्य–performing the drama of history, let us see Shelley's words: "History is the cyclic poem written by Time upon the Memories of man. The past, like an inspired rhapsodist, fills the theatre of everlasting generations with her memory." Can we then abuse the Memory, the God's gift to man? It is not because we have to plead for history in any way, but because we have to judge logically, to give a correct view of history, that this discussion was necessary. Lambert, I think, is right in saying that, "History, as reproducing for us the past experience of our race is one of the most valuable, the most humanising, the fullest of wisdom, of all our studies!"

Let us now come to our main point. Our history thus obtained from our ancient literature, is the story of the development of our cultural progress in all its aspects. The writer of such a history, of course, like the judge, has to apply the moral and intellectual standards of his own day, keeping in view the atmosphere of the old time about which he is writing. We have to imagine and judge the difficulties and troubles the men experienced in those days about which we are writing to get the correct picture.

We have thus seen above the scope of research in Gujarat's history from the Purānas. We cannot discard Purānas as Myths.

Importance of Geography

It is important here to discuss the geography of Gujarat, for it has played a greater part in the cultural development of this province than in other parts of India. We cannot separate geography from history because it is the history of man in relation to earth. It is a well-known fact in the history of the world that geographical conditions had their own advantages and disadvantages. We all know what England has gained from its geographical situation, how geography helped in its cultural development, what advantages and disadvantages it had on this account in the two world wars. The question of Gujarat is in a way like this. The geographical situation of this province is more peculiar in comparison with other parts of India. It has the longest sea-coast, in proportion to its area, with two gulfs. This coast-line has helped much in its maritime activities which we shall survey later. It has brought Gujaratis, practically, in contact with the peoples of the whole world from ancient times. Socially Gujarat has practised a great amount of cultural give-and-take with other peoples. This we will refer later. This is the reason why Gujarat has assimilated the largest number of foreigners. Socially also geography has played greater part in Gujarat, in our

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caste system, than in any other part of India. Majority of castes have geographical names. Nowhere in India we find caste and tribe-names based on geography to such an extent as we find here. We cannot discuss here the disadvantages this system has effected on present day society. The caste system had its own historical background, when in the past our people had to retract their limbs, like a tortoise trying to save itself from outside attacks, in order to save their culture and civilization. If the circumstances have changed we have to take that lesson from history and improve accordingly. It must be noted in this connection that our forefathers were not unwise and had acted according to their environments and difficult circumstances. Many references can be found from ancient literature that they had advised posterity to act, keeping in view the देश and काल, and make changes. So historically it is not correct to stick to old usages and not to take into consideration the देश and काल.

Passing over this question of Geography we must note a strange condition in this province. Although Gujarat is geographically one with its clear cut boundaries, it has no geographical or geophysical homogenity. Lands in various parts of Gujarat differ. Its rivers are peculiar. North and east are mountains. Saurashtra is different in all respects. The other parts in upper Gujarat are all alluvial plains. Lands on the sea coast are also different. Geography has not given the homogenity in the people also. A man of south Gujarat differs in physic and habits from the man from central part -charotar Saurashtra differs altogether. Kutch is a separate unit in every respect. Is it not strange that in spite of these diversities, the natural boundaries are well marked out and the Language is the chief unifing force? The common interest in business and commerce has contributed to cultural homogenity.

Geography of our province is a very wide and interesting field for various cultural, social, economic and commercial researches. Patriotism is a product of geographical conditions. We have to find out the causes why Gujaratis lacked in patriotism, atleast in the past, and to some extent in the present. We have to make deep researches about the question of our deserts, how they are formed, and what effect they have on our water supply, and on our economic conditions. We boast that Gujarat is fertile-नंदनवन. and now we should have वनमहोत्सव to change again the dry land into नंदनवन I think if we study the history of famines in western India, we cannot boast that for past one thousand years Gujarat was ever fertile. It was as dry as it is today. If it looks fertile it is by sheer labour of its people. वनमहोत्सव is not a new thing. Sultan Mahmud Begda of Gujarat in 15th century, encouraged the plantations of trees in Gujarat. There are innumerable questions like this which we

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cannot discuss here. Bajari and Makai, millet and maize which are now staple grains were not known in 14th century. How and when they came here? For those interested in purely intellectual study, I take this opportunity to suggest, that a Place Name society should be formed to find out cultural geography from old literature and colophons of manuscripts for interesting local and regional history.

Dwarka Valabhi Vadnagar

The point therefore comes to see history and make research on these lines. Our Purānas and ancient literature including the Vedas can give us valuable materials. So, for geographical research this literature is most useful. Atleast three or four of our ancient areas and cities are as old as the period of the Mahābhārat war, and of course older than Pānini. A good deal of work can be done for the sites of Shri Krishna's capital Dwārkā, and the place where original Hatakeshwar kshetra was; and, how the present Vadnagar named after Hatkeshwar with other four Puranic names like Ānandpur, etc. came into existence. The ancient sea-port of Valabhi is the most important place for excavations and research. It is an old city of Pānini's days. Why it was named Valabhi? What was its place in the cultural history of India when the Chinese traveller Yuan Chuang visited our country? How and why it was destroyed? Dr. Hariprasad Shastri has done good work of research from copper-plate grants of Valabhi kings. Much yet is to be done. Excavations must be taken up in Vadnagar, in Modhera, and in some places in Saurashtra which may give rich results.

Girinagar Junagadh

Coming to the historical period, we find that Junagadh has the prominent place, perhaps in the whole of India. Mount Girnar or ancient Ujjayant is mentioned in Purānas as well as history. The ancient interesting peculiarity of this place is how the name Girinagar is maintained in the present name of Mt. Girnar, while Purānas have taken note of Ujjayant or Raivataka and not of Girnar. Three of the greatest emperors of our country from Ashok to Skanda Gupta repaired the dam-Bandha of the सुदर्शन lake which may be regarded as an engineering feat. The inscriptions here are the most important and interesting records for the social history of Gujarat. The city continued to be the capital of the province for seven hundred years which may be regarded as a record in our history, when compared with the life of other capitals. To find out the ancient limits of Girinagar is the most interesting work for topographical research.

Prabhas Somnath: A great all-round cultural centre

Just like Girinagar, Prabhās or Somnāth Pattan also is famous both in the Pūranās as well as history. In my opinion there is no other place in

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Gujarat or perhaps in the whole of India like Prabhās with three or fourfold importance in our cultural history. From religious standpoint it was the Agni Tirtha of the Mahābhārat, when the worship of God Shiva took Agni's place. In this connection it is noteworthy that Vedic Agni, and Rudra, which was called कालाग्निरुद्र became Shiva of the Purānic age, and Prabhās-Somnāth rose to the importance throughout India, as the place of pilgrimage, and afterwards the religious capital of Gujarat in Solanki period. 'Jaya Somanāth' was the war-cry of the Solankis. Besides, this place was the cultural centre in other matters also. It was one of the richest ports of India. The richness of a holy place combined with that of trade, commerce and navigation attracted Mahmud Gaznavi in 1025 A.D. By the way it is not correct to say, as some prominant writers think, that Mahmud never attacked Somnāth. This fact is now conclusively proved by contemporary references. This city was also a centre of learning, the सारस्वतक्रीडास्थान, of Nānāk Prashasti. Its port section–wharfs (बंदर) which was called वेलाकूल in those days, the present town of Veraval, वेलाउल and वेलावल in Prakrit, gave its name to विलावल राग in Indian music which we will refer later. Its architects were master builders and are even now called सोमपुरा स्थपति, and Prabhās Somanāth developed into a city of temples in those days through their efforts. Their fame had spread in the whole of western India and they have retained their art till now. Extensive ruins are lying round present Somanāth and Verāval; 'Sāv nō timbō', the other word (पर्याय) for the Sindhi word Mohen jo Dero, shows the area of ancient Tirtha. The sacredness of the place can be known from the Dehotsarga tirtha where Shree krishna chose to give up his mortal human body. Taking all these facts together, I think, there is no other place in the whole of India for cultural greatness like Prabhās-Somanāth. Wide field for research is still awaiting for students of Indian culture.

Patan and Other Places

We have just mentioned Valabhi and Vadanagar as the places for good research work, and Khambhāt (Cambay) is also one of them. Coming now to the middle age of the Solankis, Anahilwad Pattan–the present Pātan, the lost city of Chandravati at the foot of Mount Abu, Ārāsanākar or Kumbhāriā near Shree Ambāji's place, Modherā and some ancient places round about Idar, afford a very extensive field for research on cultural history of Gujarat. Many beautiful pieces of artistic architecture and archaeology are being taken away and permanently lost, without any care. This area was divided formerly in smaller states, and proper care was not taken of this cultural heritage of our province. It is satisfactory to not here that the government of H. H. the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwad, did some work in Pātan and excavated a por-

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tion of the lake Sahasraling, under the guidence of Dr. Hiranand Shastri. Even then much work can still be done there by research students, if supported by government or institutions like Gujarat or Baroda University. Shrimāl or Bhinamāl a great city and capital of Garjaras now in Marwad was really the centre of Gujarati culture and much research work is awaiting there. The whole Rajput and Muslim city of Champaner at the foot of Pāvāghad hill is lost in jungle. Pāvāghad and Champaner are the places of varied interests from historical, cultural, architectural, and military (of course, in olden days) standpoints and deserve to be centres for historical research as well as a spot of beauty in Gujarat. Dr. Goetze has done important architectural research in these places.

Writing a Complete History of Gujarat

We have yet to write a complete history of Gujarat and continue the work done by Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji. The gaps (अंधकार युग) in some periods of history are still to be filled up. It should be noted that before the Muslim rule, Gujarat according to our definition, was under one centralised rule only for some short intervals. Even under the powerful Solanki kings it was under one central government only under Siddharāj and Kumārpāl. So the work of writing a complet history of Gujarat, even a political history, is more difficult. Concentrated research work may be done to fill up the gaps, and to find out the condition of the country in the interval periods when the land was divided amongst petty independent or semi indipendent states, constantly living like military camps in the capital and other cities. The villages were practically untouched, except when the army passed their boundaries. So if we begin to write a complete history of Gujarat in all its branches, and though materials on vast scale are now available, still I think we should not hurry up in writing history, but work strenuously to obtain the missing links. We should not enter here into the discussion on the word–गुजरात–as some able writers have already done this work. The peculiarity, however, is that the name गुर्जर is hardly seen or heard in the land which beare its name. This question may be taken for investigation of the social history and the history of caste system of this province.

Now let us come to the land-marks of our history and see what is still to be done on modern lines.

Solanki Period, The Golden Age: Its Materials for Cultural History

The Solanki period in our history may be regarded as the best with reference to general prosperity and allround cultural activities. It was a period of about three centuries. We have got better materials in art and literature for the history of this period in Gujarat than for the history of any other

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part of India. So we have a good history written about this period by Shree Durgashankar Shastri. Hemchandracharya, the greatest Gujarati Pandit of the middle ages, who was called कलिकालसर्वज्ञ flourished in this age. Sanskrit and Prakrit (Apabhransh) literature had developed to its highest degree. This fact is so well known that it is needless to discuss it at length here. Acharya Dhruva once wrote that if we include 'Bhattikavya' in Mahākāvyas, Gujarat has given two Mahākāvyas to Sanskrit literature, one is 'Rāvaṇa Vadha' Kāvya popularly known as 'Bhatti-Kavya' written in Valabhi. Its chief beauty is that it is a poem as well as Vyākarana (Grammar) somthing like Hemchandra's द्व्याश्रयकाव्य. The other is शिशुपालवध of माघ--written in Shrimāl or Bhinnamāl, the old capital of Gurjara Desha. The Solanki kings encouraged learning, and great writers on all the subjects and poets flourished in their rule. We can get a very good review of such cultural activity upto Sidharaj and Kumarpal's reigns in Shree Rasiklal Parikh's masterly introduction (in English) to Hemchandra's Kāvyānushāsāna. Dr. Bhogilal Sandesara has supplied such a review for the remaining period upto Vaghelas, in his book, "Literary Circle of Mahāmātya Vastupāl". The book gives a deeply studied review of the period and its contribution to Sanskrit Literature, especially under the patronage of Vastupāl, the minister of king Virdhaval. Vastupāl himself was a poet and a man of learning and he has written a poem called नरनारायणानंद in Sanskrit. Vastupāl and his brother Tejpāl and their family give us an idea of real Gujarati culture of that age, in the qualities of learning, administrative capacity, knowledge of statecraft, art of war and military stratagy, and above all business faculty which is inborn in a Gujarati Baniā. The brothers were equally famous as temple builders and patrons of architecture. It may be difficult to find their equals in the history of any part of India. They were Gujarati Banias representing the best in the Culture of Gujarat.

Muslim Period : Sources of Its History

Coming to the Muslim period we see that this province had its own peculiarities. It was natural that religious and social activities were restricted, but in general prosperity, the periods of Ahmed Shah, Mahmud Begda, Muzaffar Shah II, and Bahadur Shah were the best. We need not enter into the details here and we shall again touch the question from the point of architecture. We must however note here that just as in Solanki period, the materials for history are best during Muslim period also when compared to the historical materials of that age in other parts of India. Over and above the Muslim histories of India in which a portion is set aside for Gujarat, we have some special histories dealing with this province. They are written by Gujarati Muslims who knew their province well. Mirat-i-Sikiandari in Persian and Zafarul Walih ba Muzaffar Va Alih in Arabic are very good histories of

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Gujarat. The place of Mirat-i-Ahmadi is very high from historical as well as cultural standpoint, for it describes Gujarat's history upto Maratha rule, with statistics, and without religious bias. According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar its value as history is even better than Aine Akbari as it is free from Abul Fazal's tendency for flattery and hyperbole, and as a true historian the author has given his sources from the state records. There are many other histories but I have mentioned only a few of outstanding value. We may not refer here to the history of Muslim Gujarat as a part of an Indian history taken wholly, but we cannot avoid mentioning Tabkāt-i-Akbari of Nizamuddin Ahmed because the author took part in the events at the end of the Saltanat and stayed in Ahmedabad for a number of years. The Arabic history of Haji-ad-Dabir is very important and it must be critically translated. We will not here discuss the sources of Maratha and British periods at length. We have a large number of files, daftars, concerning the states of Gujarat and Saurashtra. Dafters of Mahārāshtra are already edited and published. Such an effort must be made for Gujarat's materials lying in such daftars, so that they are made available to the students. Records of East India Company also must be examined and edited and published. No good work of writing a good history of the period from ancient times upto British rule can be accomplished without such material having been collected and published first.

Trade and Commerce : The Essence of Our Culture

Now we come to the most important branch of the cultural history of this province. Poetry, literature, and Arts cannot give a complete picture of a people's culture. The greatest activity of Gujarat, say Mahā Gujarat in the correct sense of the word, is Trade and Commerce from ancient times to the present day. Business is the main backbone of Gujarati culture. A Gujarati business man, though not well educated, knows his buisness well. He knows where his commodities are sold and from where he has to import articles. He knows the ways, manners, and habits of his far off customers. Thus even an otherwise illiterate man knows history and geography sufficient for his purposes. These business men have to travel and settle in far off countries. Such colonies of Gujarati businessmen were found not only in India but even outside India, from ancient times, and Gujaratis had played their part in Iran, Jāvā, Sumātrā, Malāyā and Cylone in old days. Interesting descriptions from our old literature, and from the works of foreign travellers, and from folklore, can be obtained to show that Gujaratis were doing business in almost all parts of the world. विश्वगुणादर्श चंपू of व्यंकटाध्वरि describes this activity of Gujarat in a very characteristic style, and its ślokas are well-known. If we enter into details, even a short review may take a long time and a number of pages too, so let me again repeat with great emphasis, that the culture of Gujarat

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must be viewed chiefly from this point, for it might not be understood by an outsider if this standpoint is neglected or avoided. History of trade and commerce, shipping, methods of transport, commercial highways, shopkeeping, market customs and morals, trade guilds and Mahajans, rates of Interest, Banking, Hundi and marine Insurance in old days, when states had different currencies, industries and handicrafts, speculation, ways of accountancy and drawing of balance sheets, have a place of their own in Gujatati culture. It may be noted here that the word–सरवैयुं–(balance sheet) is found in old documents and investigation about its antiquity should be made. The claim of Italy to first introduce a system of drawing a balance sheet, in my humble opinion, cannot be maintained. In the Industry we must give an honoured place to cotton and silk cloth manufacture with all its finishing processes. It spread the fame of Gujarat in the whole ancient world and Cambay was called the garment of the world. It has at least maintained its position in India even in modern times. It must be noted here that the idea of starting a cotton mill on the lines of limited liability first came to Ranchhodlal Chhotalal in the middle of the last century, although the first mill was started in Bombay. The establishment of heavy mill machinery in Ahmedabad in a totally strange atmosphere, in pre-railway days, is the most interesting portion of the history of cotton Industry in India.

Shipping : Gujaratis a Maritime People

We cannot pass over this review without mentioning shipping and Mahājanas. Sea-borne trade was one of the greatest activities of Gujarat from very ancient times. Famous shipbuilding yards were established in some ports of Gujarat. Sopāra, Bharuch, Khambhat, Somnath and Valabhi were the leading ports in ancient times. Div, Khambhat (Cambay) and Surat were also famous in middle ages and in the muslim period. There were 84 ports and the country was called चोरासी बंदरनो वावटो "flag of 84 bunders". The lascars of Gogha were famous throughout the world. As Cambay was the foremost and the richest of the ports, the king of Gujarat was called the king of Cambay in Europe, and he was regarded as the lord of the sea in the eastern world. The fleet of Gujarat was one of the strongest in the eastern world, till the Portuguese killed Bahadur Shah, the great Sultan of Gujarat. Div was the centre of Gujarati navy, and the chief admiral, Mir-e-Bahr had his headquarters there. The sloka in–नाभिनंदनोद्धार प्रबंध–illustrates this activity of our people :

यन्निवासिजनाः सर्वे वेलाकूलेषु भूरिषु ।
व्यवसाये कृतेऽल्पेऽपि निःसीमश्रियमश्नुते ॥

The navigation and the contact with the outer world had a very great influence in moulding social habits of Gujaratis. It had an effect on our castes,

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and it influenced Gujarati language also upto some extent and, in this way, it had its own contribution to the culture of Gujarat. The Gujaratis write in their new account books–रत्नाकर महासागरनी कृपा घणी हजो–thus invoking the favour of ocean.

Mahajans of Gujarat

The history of Mahajans–(महाजनs)–also is very interesting. Our Mahajans have rendered the greatest service to our society, our business and industries. They have given strength to uphold justice and morality of businessmen and workers, which we need not discuss here at length. Students interested in economic and social research should take up this work and try to get to the old account books from firms of long standing and ancient families. Lots of informations can be secured about the economic conditions, ways and manners and customs of the people and of various business activities from such books. Let us take an example. The Jains offer large quantities of Ghee to their temples in terms of money, even now, at the rate of Rs. 5/–per maund. One may laugh at the figure as the present rate is Rs. 120/–per maund. It can however be proved from old account books that Ghee was actually sold at Rs. 5/– per maund in old days. This may lead to a comparison of economic conditions of the people in old and modern times, and the study may be very interesting. It must be noted here that in the British rule during last century, our Gujarati poet Dalpatram Dahyabhai was the first Indian to foresee that the British rule was the economic and industrial invasion of India, in his poem 'Hunnarkhan ni Chadhai'–हुन्नरखाननी चढाइ –(Invasion of Hunnarkhan).

Effects of Business Activities on Gujarati Culture

All these activities had an effect on Gujarati culture, when people came in touch with the outside world. It gave the people of Gujarat a broader outlook to understand the opposite side's view, to find a way out for a happy compromise, and peaceful and non-fighting attitude. We will note the bad effects of this tendency also later on, but it has done more good than harm. Let me give an interesting reference. A poet of this city named आशाधर पंडित composed a poem called दुर्घट काव्य which appears to be in Gujarati, but is written in Sanskrit. The poet gives a peculiar meaning to Ahmedabad which is popularly called–अमदावाद–. He has found out a new meaning in the Sanskrit samāsa of the word अमदावाद . He says न मदः अमदः । न वादः अवाद and he forms a samāsa–अमदावाद–which means 'devoid of pride and devoid of quarrels.' This is true for the temperament of this city which is only the centre of Gujarat. It shows that the Gujaratis are essentially compromising people. A businessman cannot afford to fight.

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Gujarat was called–विवेक बृहस्पति–since about a thousand years. This term sums up what is best in our culture. We have referred to the qualities which justified this epithet. We will mention defects in due course. The historical circumstances at various stages of our long history are the causes of some change in this quality, but the main string is the same. A writer in the twelfth century uses this epithet. Again नाभिनंदनोद्धार प्रबंध in the 14th century uses the same word in this śloka showing the necessary qualities:

उपकारैः सदाचारैः प्रियालापैर्यदङ्गिनाम्।
मुदितैर्विबुधैः प्रोथे यो विवेकबृहस्पतिः॥

Reference of Gujarati people's character in a Muslim tavārikh also indirectly supports us. The Arabic history of Gujarat says that the sons of the rich and the great were made to work like servants. They were not allowed to indulge in luxury like using sūrmā for eyes or eating betel leaves. Upto last century a banker's son had to learn work by working as a servant in the shop. Why then Gujarat is विवेक बृहस्पति? The reason is, as we have discussed above, the sound and practical common sense obtained from business life and contact of various peoples of other countries. A Gujarati, is not sentimental, he is a matter-of-fact sort of man. At the same time his strong common sense is not a dry quality like that of a military man. विवेक is the power of discrimination between good and bad. His opposition is not offensive but he will please the opposite man and try to explain his own viewpoint. He is known for hoarding wealth, but he is also known for making a good use of it. What we see as the past glory and splendour of this province is generally built by the people's efforts, and not by the efforts of the rulers. Even now its educational institutions have come up by people's efforts. Hemachandra in the 12th century quotes various old Gujarati ślokas of wisdom illustrating his grammar. The śloka given below illustrating the quality of Gujarati people which we just discussed:

जीविउ कासु न वल्लहउं, धणु पुणु कासु न इट्ठु।
दोण्णि वि अवसर निवडआइं तिणसम गणइ विसिट्ठु॥

"To whom life is not dear? Who is not collecting wealth? The great man however is he who regards both as a straw when time comes." Gujarat has done this in the past and is doing this in the present.

A Strange Social Peculiarity: A Bania Culture

The Gujarati social temperament may be called Bania temperament. It is an interesting point to note that in India we have four Varnas, ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय, वैश्य, and शूद्र. In Gujarat we do not hear the words क्षत्रिय and वैश्य. The Rajputs who claim to be क्षत्रिय are called गरासिया that is people living

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on ग्रास–a portion of land. वैश्यs are generally called Banias–वाणियाs. Though–क्षत्रियs–are regarded as higher than वैश्यs in India, the गरासियाs of Gujarat are inferior to Banias or वैश्यs! In other parts of India द्विजs are considered to be higher castes. In Gujarat ब्राह्मण-वाणिया-Brahmins and Banias are regarded as higher castes. Even amongst these two, people respect the Banias more than Brahmins. So Banias really predominate Gujarati culture. A cultured well-known citizen of Ahmedabad once told me that "in Ahmedabad there is only one caste, that is Banias. Even outsiders are also Banias here. What is true for Ahmedabad as the centre, is true for the whole of Gujarat."

Jain Bhandars: The Pride and Cultural Heritage of Gujarat:

When the largest portion of the society is engaged in business, it naturally follows that learning or पांडित्य is neglected by some people. We have seen that in Solanki period both were flourishing side by side. The rich were encouraging learning and art. The credit for such encouragement generally goes to the Jain community. It was a mission for them to encourage writers and authors, get religious books and books on various other subjects copied. Some of these books are profusely illustrated. Enormous collection of manuscripts are found in various Jain Bhandars. They are really the pride of our province. Nowhere in India in the past as well as in the present you find such writing activity or such a collection of manuscripts. Jain Pattavalis give names of the rich men spending after ज्ञानकोषs.

The Bhandars are well cared for. Muni Shri Punyavijayji, the great authority on manuscript collections of Gujarat says that, the Jains encouraged not only their own religious books but books of other religions also. The Jain Bhandar collections are not secterian. The art of writing on palm leaves, paper, and cloth was very well developed in Gujarat. I should like to take this opportunity to suggest that there should be a central organization to take care and develop our great cultural heritage on modern lines. Important books should be published. Scholars should get all facilities to study the manuscripts on liberal cosmopoliton basis. Let me add here an appeal to the great Jain community that such facilities should be accorded to non-Jain students of Art and Architecture to study the art of Gujarat in their sacred temples, which are full of social and cultural history of Guiarat.

Religious Sects

We will not discuss the history of religions in Gujarat as it is almost the same in the whole of India. We may however mention a few peculiarities. The Gujarati temperament cannot bear violent forms of worships. So Gujarat, the home of Pashupatas, slowly discarded violent forms of Shaivism, Bhairav,

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and such pujas. Shaivism became non-secterian. The Mahākāli was transformed into Ambikā and Bhadrakāli. It was on account of such a temperament that Jainism and Pushti Mārgiya Vaishnavism found strength in once predominently Shaiva province. Brahmā the first God of the Trio of Purānic Hinduism is worshipped only in Gujarat and Rajasthan, that is, in one cultural unit. Sun worship was also predominant in these parts and Surya is worshipped with his wife रन्ना. It is the speciality of Gujarat that रन्ना is the chief Goddess invoked in marriages; and the Sun temple at Modhera even in its ruin is a good example for Hindu social and religious history. The worships and customs of so called lower castes also must be studied for our social history which may help for reforms.

Danger Spots in Our History

I must now sound a few words of warning and show some pitfalls or danger spots in writing a history. Propaganda history is already deprecated. Language and its usages sometimes help in historical reseach, but we have to take great care before drawing any historical conclusions from similarity of sound or before extracting meaning by twisting the words. Such a tendency is particularly seen in historical research from Sanskrit or provincial languages. This is the method generally used in our ancient literature, and our Puranas have used it very freely. It may be useful in religious or other literature but not in history. Let us give a few illustrations. The Pūrankār plays upon the word प्रभास our great tirtha—and many derivations are given to show its origin. Even an ordinary reader may come to know from it that the Pūrankār has actually forgotten the true tradition and correct history and tries to put forward various origins by playing upon the word, for which the Sanskrit language is wellknown. In the same way, the correct name for our river Sabarmati is श्वभ्रवती from the begining of the Christian era (from Rudradama's inscripions,) upto the 12th century. Rajashekhar and Hemachandra both name it श्वभ्रवती. The Purānkārs, both पद्म and स्कंद call it-साभ्रमती-which is wrong. The modern Gujarati name-साबरमती-was current amongst the people, and was derived from श्वभ्रवती upto the 13th century; and the local insertions in the Purānas in the 14th and 15th centuries had to invent and sanskritise local names, when the Purānkārs had forgotton the correct name. They invented a story that the river was wandering confusedly -साभ्रमति-in God Shiva's जटा and so, was given this name. Another Purāna gives the derivation from Vasishtha's संभ्रम. So in many such inventions Purānas themselves differ. Our Bhāts and Chārans added to this fallacy of the Purānas and invented, many times, ridiculous derivations of the names. Chārans had their place, in a way, in giving a peculiar colour to our society and to a certain extent, to our history, but

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they have also created great difficulties for research workers. The stories they have invented for the names of गिरनार and पावागढ are good examples of this ridiculous practice. The name–बेगडो–of sultan Mahmud I of Gujarat, wrongly taken to mean बे गढो, because he conquered two forts, is also a good example. Innumerable instances can be given like this. Such a habit though common in India, is found to a greater extent in Gujarat, and it should be avoided or atleast considered with great care, in historical writings.

Saurashtris of S. India

One important instance deserves to be mentioned. There is a community of Saurāshtri Brāhmans in South India, in Madurā and other places. They are called Pattanūlkārans in Tamil and Mr. Thurston and other writers have connected them with the Mandasore inscription of 5th century, in Mālwā, because a word of similar sound Pattawāya is mentioned in the inscription. Pattawāyas are called weavers from our province. I am of the opinion that the word Pattawāya has no connection with the word Pattanulkarans in Tamil. The Gujarati word पटवा and locality of–पटवाशेरी–Patwa Sheri–are really connected with पट्टवाय. No weavers have gone to S. India in the 5th century A.D. When I had been to Madura I tried to study Saurashtri dialect which is a mixture of Tamil, Telugu, Canarese and Marathi words, and is mainly based upon Gujarati. The usages do not seem as old as 5th century. I think they cannot be older than the 14th century as these Saurāshtris seem to have left their native country when Allauddin Khilji's Army invaded Gujarat and Saurashtra. This is an interesting point in the cultural histoty of Gujarat and the mistake noticed here should be now corrected.

Gujarat's Contribution to Indian Music and Dancing :

Development of Fine Arts in all the departments is one of the most outstanding points in the cultural history of a country. In this respect, India has got a place of honour in the world history and Gujarat got its own pecular place in India. Generally Gujarat is considered backward in fine Arts, and especially in music, the most attractive branch of fine arts. It is a misfortune that even the people of this province believe that they had no music in the past and have no taste for music in the present, compared to other provinces. We will consider the present condition of music for which there are historical reasons, but the past shows what an important contribution Gujarat has made to the Indian music, —Bhāratiya Sangit. So we will review it at some length.

Our word–संगीत–means something more than mere music. According to Sharangdev, गीतं वाद्यं तथा नृत्यं त्रयं संगीतमुच्यते. It is given a very high place in man's life in ancient literature. Sharangdev further states that तस्य गीतस्य माहात्म्यं के प्रशंसितुमीशते। धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणामिदमेवैकसाधनम्॥ Let us then see what

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place this three-fold art of संगीत had in Gujarat. Let me first confess that I do not know the A. B. C. of modern or classical music. I want only to show the part played by Gujarat in the development of Indian music, from literary references made about it.

Here we have to consider another aspect of this art, i.e. नाट्य, नृत्य, and नृत्त. Sharangdev in his संगीतरत्नाकर describes old tradition current in his days about these arts. He says नर्तनं is पापकर्तनं. God Brahmā gave नाट्यवेद to भरतमुनि. From him Gāndharvas and Apsaras got these arts and they played them before God Shiva, who was its originater. He taught लास्य to Parvati and Parvati handed it to Bānāsur's daughter Ushā, the wife of Shri Krishna's grandson Aniruddha in Dwāraka. She then taught it to Gopis in Dwāraka and from them this art was learnt by the women of Saurashtra.

This reference of संगीत with Drama and dancing by Sharangdev in the 13th century shows the prominence of this province in the Hindu medieval period. It is to be noted here that Solanki king Haripal of Gujarat wrote संगीतसुधाकर in the 12th century and it is now found in Tamil in South India. We have sufficient evidence to prove that Gujarat was not backward in these arts in the Solanki period as well as in the Muslim period of her history. This reference is not merely to the well-known गरबा dance of Gujarat, but it is something more than that which we will not discuss here.

Part played by Geography in Music:

We have seen what important part is played by geography in social and cultural history of Gujart. The geographical names of Rāgas in Indian music are worth considering. We have got regional–प्रादेशिक names of Rāgas practically from all parts of India, गौड, बंगाल, मालव, सैन्धवी, कर्णाट–कानडा, गांधार, मुलतानी, आन्ध्री, कौन्तली, and द्राविडी etc. are the names derived from geographical regions. Now गुर्जरी, सौराष्ट्री, वेलावली (बिलावल), त्रवणा, सौवीरी, खंभादति (खंभावती–खमाच) आहिरी, लाटी, माध्यमिका are the names connected with western parts of India, i.e., ancient countries mentioned in Rudradāmā's inscription, and by Varāhamihira and Rājashekhara. Why these geographical names are given to Rāgas? Whether the particular place is the birthplace of that particular Rāga or whether the people of that place like it, is a matter for interesting research. This work can only be taken up by a research scholar who is an expert musician interested in social history and cultural geography of our country. He should move amongst the people, hear their folk-songs and compare the tunes with the scientific Rāgas having the name of that particular place. Here I must draw your attention towards a special peculiarity of Gujarat. One Rāga of

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one particular region could get combined with the Rāga of some other province. गुर्जरी and सौराष्ट्री also have their combinations. These, however, are names derived from regions. In Gujarat we have got two names of Rāgas which have been derived from cities. खंभावती is connected with खंभात–स्तंभतीर्थ the great ancient sea port of Cambay. And, another is विलावल–वेलावल, from Sanskrit वेलाकूल the present वेरावल, the old bunder section of the great Tirtha of Somnāth. We have refered to the other cultural aspect of these two great places of Gujarat. It is, however, important to note that these are perhaps the only two Rāgas connected with cities, and that shows their importance as cultural centres of Gujarat even before the 13th century. By the way, it should be noted here that according to Pandit Bhatkhande Raga Multani, which appears as if the name was derived from the name of a city, may only mean the province of मुलतान. I think the only other Raga getting its name from a city may be माध्यमिका a very old city, in the 2nd century and which was on the boundary line of मध्यदेश and western India. It should be added here that Ragas सौवीरी and त्रावण belong to western India coming in the cultural limits of Gujarat. त्रवण is the name of western Marwad, and स्तैवीर is the lower Sindha. It is only a surmise, and I take this opportunity to request the musicians interested in the history and culture of Gujarat to take up this very interesting work of research and substantiate these inferences.

Anarta Desha: a centre of dancing and drama:

In the same way, as we have noted above, tradition places नृत्य, नृत्त and नाटक in Gujarat and Saurashtra which may be the birth place of these arts. A good deal of research can be made in this field also. We know आनर्त is the ancient name of this province. There was no fixed boundary for आनर्त and सुराष्ट्र. We need not bother here about the geographical limits of these regions. The meaning of the word आनर्त is worth discussing, and is most interesting from the standpoint of cultural geography and history. It is believed that one Aryan king called आनर्त gave his name to this province. Dr. A. B. Dhruva held that अनृत, that is, a false religion opposed to Vedic religion, was current in this part and the law-makers of the so-called Aryavarta gave प्रायश्चित्त to the people going to these parts of western India and called it Anarta Desha–आनर्तदेश–from the word अनृत–falsehood. Mr. Umashanker Joshi, a reputed poet and man of learning, in his excellent book about "Gujarat in the Puranas", gives a very interesting interpretation of आनर्त which requires consideration. He has been able to cite from Puranas and old literature as well as from traditions, to prove that this province was famous for its dancers,

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dramatists and musicians, नटनर्तकगायका: and that these नटनर्तका: gave the name आनर्त to this province. If we take into cosideration the geographical name of the Ragas with a particular reference to Gujarat and Western India, and the tradition of नृत्य dancing taught by Goddess पार्वती fo Usha and Saurashtri women, we may have to consider seriously the arguments of Mr. Umashankar Joshi about the name आनर्त. We hope that further researches are made to prove that ancient Gujarat was well versed in these arts. भवाइ–Bhavai–a style of drama peculiar to Gujarat was highly developed in the 13th cent. and the poet dramatist of that age असाइत was also an expert musician.

Music In Muslim Gujarat:

This development of music during the Hindu regime was not destroyed in the Muslim period of our history, and just as Akbar encouraged music in northern India, Sultans Muzaffar Shah II and Bahadur Shah encouraged music in Gujarat. Muzaffar Shah himself was an expert in music and had a good command over musical instruments.

Some of the best musicians of India were in Bahadur Shah's court. The famous Baiju, who once cooled down the anger of Emperor Humayun and stopped the massacre of people of Mandu with the aid of his music, was one of Bahadur Shah's favourite musicians, and the Persian Tawarikh, naming him Manzu, call him the Padshah of musicians. Both Bahadur Shah and Humayun were proud of having him in their courts. Bakshu Naik from the court of Man Tunvar of Gwalior, also joined Bahadur Shah's court, and he gave the name of Bahaduri Todi to a raga of his invention. Ramdas and Mahipat were also in his court. It may be seen from these details that Gujaratis were not devoid of the art of Music and dancing as it is generally believed. I request once again that a thorough research must be made in music and other arts related to it and our University should take an interest in this study on scientific and historical basis. Mr. Narendra N. Shukla with his admirable study of comparative music, may help in good research of this subject on scientific and historical lines.

Architecture in Gujarat

Just as in music, the progress of Gujarat in other arts and architecture also is wonderful, and its interesting history is sufficient to prove that this province was highly advanced in arts of painting, wood-carving, and architecture. It is a matter of regret that our own countrymen have not taken as much interest in writing about our ancient art as European crities have shown. In spite of some mistakes committed by foreign writers in understanding our art properly their actual study is deeper than that of our countrymen. European art–critics are unanimous in their praise of our architecture, and their com-

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parative study of the architecture of the world would be greatly useful to our students. At the same time, it must be emphasised that Shilpis and Sthapatis following the instructions of Shilpa shashtras, were not inferior in the past, as they are still not inferior in the present, to architects and engineers of modern times. A great number of old historical buildings have either gone to ruins or disappeared. But the few standing till this day, can prove that our master builders were not inferior in this art. We have already made a reference to Sompura shilpis, a community of such master-builders; and now we will review the general peculiarities of our architecture without entering into technical language.

It must be regretted that only religious buildings (Temples) are now seen and secular buildings are exceptionally few. The architectural activity was at its highest in the Solanki period though some specimens of older art are also awailable in Saurashtra. The temple building of Brahmana religion was mostly built under the patronage of the state. The real credit of Gujarati art of temple building goes to the Jain community of Gujarat where temples were built by the common man. We have got Jain temples, built by Jain devotees and merchant princes, which are exquisite in their art, beauty, structure and planning, dating from 10th century to 19th century. On the top of Shatrunjay hill near Palitana we have a city of temples, which has no other equal in the whole country. The places called देलवाडा in Gujarat means देवकुलपाटक that is to say, localities famous for their group of temples. Jains have spread no pains in repair, and maintenance of their temples. The Hindu temples, comparatively, are very few and are in a ruined condition like Modhera, Rudramal and some others in Srurashtra alone, with lately demolished ruin of Somnath temple. The Jain temple at Mount Abu, Arasana-Kumbharia and some in South Marwar are the best specimens of the art of Gujarat's temple building activity. Culturally, in this aspect, Marwad, Mewad and Gujarat are one.

Taj Mahal Compared

The Jain temple at Ranakpur, in south-east of Marwar or south-west Mewad is a marvel of architecture. It is famous for its structure and planning as Abu temples are famous for their carving in marble. From architectural standpoint it is superior to the renowned Taj Mahal. Stella Chremarish is right in describing Ranakpur temple as one of the wonders of the world. Taj Mahal is an ornament and not an architecture. It is a marble paper-weight on the table of the Moghul Empire. Aldus Huxly is right in criticising Taj Mahal. He does not like its bald minarets, and compares its dome with an inverted Onion. In Gujarati architecture one may find beauty in every part of the building taken separately as well as in the building taken as a whole. The Taj looks beautiful in its surroundings, blue water of river

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Yamuna at the back, with light blue sky above, red stone mosques on two sides, green in the front, and a mass of white marble in the centre. Take out these surroundings and you will find no beauty in Taj. In Gujarati temples you will find art and architecture both. The architecture, art, and the purpose and motives behind building the Vavs—the step-wells of Gujarat, of which the finest examples now existing are at Adalaj near Ahmedabad, and in Ahmedabad, are the samples of what is perhaps the best in Gujarati culture. European critics are unanimous in their praises of these ideal wells as such wells are no where to be found in any other part of India. The artificial lakes like Sahastraling at Patan and Kankaria in Ahmedabad are also the best pieces of lake architecture showing the taste of the people. The Parabadi, or the dove-cot is also one of such peculiarities of this province. The houses of Gujarat show the cultural temperament and sense of possession, security and self-sufficiancy of she people. The water cisterns–टांकां–in these houses for the storage of rain water are also a unique peculiarity.

Architecture in Muslim Gujarat was Indigenous and Superior to that of any other Part of India

When the Muslims conquered this province, they found themselves amongst a people who since ages were more refined and whose architecture had reached its highest glory. They conquered the province establishing governments resembling military camps, but they could not conquer the art and crafts of Gujarat. On the other hand they were conquered by these people. As a result the Muslim architecture in Gujarat, as Marshall puts it, is the most clever compromise between two completely opposite cultures and it is a wonder in the architectural history of the world. Ferguson, Havell, and all European critics agree on this point, and Vincent Smith and Edwin Arnold describe the Muslim buildings of Gujarat as some of the most beautiful buildings of the world. The muslim rulers were fortunate in finding in Gujarat, as Percy Brown puts it, some of the most accomplished artisans in the whole of India. The temples which adorn this region show that architecture and all the other arts associated with it had become a part of the racial consciousness of the people. Another critic calls Gujaratis essentially a building race. So the style of Muslim architecture that developed in Gujarat, compared to all other provincial styles, is the most indigenously Indian i. e. local. Although in every intention strictly Islamic, the pattern of these buildings, or what may be called the understones, are in the indiom of the country. The artisans and craftsmen were resourceful, more fertile and more vitally artistic than those from elsewhere. This is shown in the use they made of Hindu styles, in Islamic buildings, and this aspect of the muslim architecture in Gujarat is of the greatest importance and of the highest glory.

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Wonderful Adjustment of two Opposite Ideas

They adjusted the Hindu temple ornaments to Muslim Mosques in the most ingeneous and wonderful manner. The toranas, the brackets, the ceilings, the pillars, the niches of Gods, and the string courses (गजथर, हयथर etc.) are used in the most striking manner, simply by changing human and animal figures to vegetation and flowers. They gave the minarets the shapes of temple sides, and kirtistambhas. Their greatest achievement however is the Hindu structure of मेघनाद मंडप into the central facade of the mosque. The European writers on architecture whom we must respect for their deep study and sympathetic criticism, have, however, not properly undersood this special structure. They have discussed it at length and they say that this is a structure to get air and light into the mosque, at the same time adding to its beauty. If we consider the stucture of a mosque always facing the east, we can understand that this kind of structure in centre is not meant for light and air. If we study the Gujarati architecture properly this is nothing but the adjustment of मेघनाद मंडप of Hindu and Jain temples. The best specimen of this can be seen in Sadadi and Ranakpur temples which are contemporaries of Juma Mosque at Ahmedabad. This structure, however, was used in big temples since old days and we can see samples in Kumbharia etc. It is also recorded that Solanki king Bhimdeo II constructed मेघनाद मंडप to the temple of Somnath. The difficulty for Gujarati builders was how to adjust this Hindu mandapa in a Muslim mosque. This they achieved in a masterly way. The Juma Mosque of Ahmedabad, is the sample and of Champaner has reached the perfection. Dr. Goetz of Baroda has done admirable work in the research of architecture. If it is true that a man's character can be known from the house he has built, we can know the character of Gujaratis from their architecture. The students of our culture should take interest in this subject. The world famous carved windows are the chief attraction of the Muslim architecture in Ahmedabad and Sidi Saiyed's mosque has obtained the praises of all the critics. The wonderful phenomena of the shaking minarets of Ahmedabad Mosque is less known to outsiders for want of publication and it still remains a wonder of our architecture, as it is not yet solved by modern engineering. The Jālis and shaking minarets are the chief attraction of muslim architecture in Ahmedabad and are world famous.

Art of Painting

Just like architecture the art of painting also was highly developed from 12th to 15th century. Mr. Ravishankar Raval, the Gujarati artist with imagination and inspiration and Mr. Bachubhai Ravat the Gujarati art critic of high standard are names worth mentioning in this field. Mr. Sarabhai Nawab has done admirable work in the collection and publication of Jain painting from ancient manuscripts. The writings on palm leaves, on cloth, and on paper

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are wonderfully illustrated in Gujarati style, and their colours have not faded since centuries. The critics are of opinion that Gujarati painting was at its best in the whole of India in 14th to 16th centuries. The credit for encouraging this art mainly goes to Jain community, There is a great scope for an art critic for research in the speciality of Gujarati painting from 13th to 16th century, in which Line-drawing attained a high degree. The artists had their patrons, but they did not always produce this art to flatter them. The artists and the sculptors were controlled by their shastras and not by dictation from the wealthy or the powerful. This review will show that Gujaratis can well be proud of their achievements in all the branches of Art.

The Defects

We have seen the peculiarities, specialities and various other good points of the culture of Gnjarat, and our picture connot be complete if we close our eyes to its defects. History may not be of any use if we only be proud of our past glory, or splendour and neglect our defects. The Gujarati proverb–ढालनी बीजी बाजु–the other side of shield–, must be seen and may not be as pleasing as the front side of a shield.

Mad–गांडी–Gujarat

We have noted that Gujarat was called–विवेकबृहस्पति–from very ancient times, but Gujarat is also called–गांडी गुजरात–literally Mad Gujarat. How to adjust these two contradictory terms? There is a proverb–गांडो गूजरात आगे लात पीछे बात–To mad Gujarat a kick must be given first and then a talk.—Why? what is there in Gujarati habits that puts such a blot on its name? On account of historical reasons the whole of India is lacking in patriotism, but Gujaratis have not developed any sense of oneness; no समूहवृत्ति, and no अस्मिता or स्वाभिमान. An illiterate villager, if asked about his country, will only name his district. He does not know that he is a Gujarati or an Indian. The late Prof. B. K. Thakore, in his article and poem–"गांडी गुजरात"–rightly says that a Gujarati has no feeling for its capital as a cultural centre. He never thikns of Ahmedabad as its capital if he does not belong to Ahmedabad District. A Gujarati, therefore, calls himself a Surti or Bharuchi, or Charotari, or Pattani, or Saurashtri (lately Kathiawadi), or a Catchhi. This habit has done Gujarat a great harm which we should not discuss here. In Gujarati we use word वेवलापणुं which has no good English equivalent. We can call it something like half-mad indiscriminate overdoing in everything including what may be regarded as good qualities. The word वेवला is derived from the Sanskrit word विह्वल.

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Fear and Dislike of Military Line and Timid Nature due to Sense of Possession

The inborn business intellect has given good common sense to a Gujarati, but the tendency to neglect all matters other than one's own work, to accumulate wealth, and the sense of possession which is predominent in a Gujarati mind, have taken away a large portion of glory and the good name of Gujarat. The sense of possession has done some harm to Gujaratis. There is a proverb in Gujarati हशे एनुं जशे–"those who possess will have to lose"! This sense has made Gujaratis a timid people. We have many examples to support this from ancient times to this day. Someshwara in his 'Kirti Kaumudi' describes the fear of the people of Gujarat in the times of war. He says, "they are like deer running when a lion is after them." They will only look for carts to run away with their property. 'Vimala Prabandha' and 'Kaneddey Prabandha' in the 15th century corroborate this. Is it not surprising that, as early as 1024, a foreigner comes from a distance of more than a thousand miles, from Gazni to Somnath in Saurashtra, like a violent tornado, loots the country, despoils the temple and runs away safe? Little or nothing is done to stop him and only a belated attack was made on him by Indian kings when he was in Sindh! This lamentable event in our history showed the way to foreingers, and also showed the condition of our people and their provision for defence and offence in times of outside invasion. Even in our own days Gujaratis rarely join Indian army. When story books were required for Indian fighting forces in Africa and the middle east during the last world war the government appealed to the people of India to send their old or used books in provincial languages for the army, and names of such languages were declared to the public. The name of Gujarati language was not in the list. The Gujaratis, if any, were exceptions in the army. Even after independence, the number is negligible. When Emperor Jahangir first entered Gujarat from Malwa, he observed Cactus fences to fix the boundaries of the fields. These fences are difficult to be broken for entrance unless they are cut down. Such fences are not found in any other part of India. The Emperor remarked that it showed a strong sense of individual possession.

We have referred to the praises of Gujarati businessmen by the author of विश्वगुणादर्श चंपू which are wellknown. Nobody, however, has drawn the attention towards a peculiarity of our people described by the poet in the form of an advice. After telling that a house-keeping people are always poor.– (यो गृहेष्वेव निद्राति दरिद्राति स दुर्मतिः ॥) he writes two other slokas in his गुर्जरदेशवर्णनम् which are worth quoting :

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इच्छेद्यस्तु सुखं निवस्तुमवनौ गच्छेत्स राज्ञः सभाम्
कल्याणीं गिरमेव संसदि वदेत्कार्यं विदध्यात्कृती।
अक्लेशाद्धनमर्जयेदपिपतेरावर्जयेद्वल्लभान्
कुर्वीतोपकृतीं जनस्य जनयेत् कस्याति नापक्रियाम्॥
अयुक्तं युक्तं वा यदभिहितमज्ञेन विभुना
स्तुयादेतन्नित्यं जडमपि गुरुं तस्य विनुयात्।
विवित्सुर्नैस्पृह्यं कथमपि सभायामभिनयेत्
स्वकार्यं संतुष्टे क्षितिभृति रहस्येव कथयेत्॥

The ślokas describe the show which the merchants should observe to earn money, and to flatter whatever an ignorant master speaks, and to satisfy his गुरु even though he is a block-head. are realy strange observations. The commentator of the चंपू thinks that these two ślokas are against morality and धर्म and may not have any connection with subject of गुर्जरदेशवर्णनम्—"एतच्छ्लोकद्वयं प्रकृतवर्णजस्यासंगतमिति भाति"।

It seems the commentator has not properly understood the poet's mind. The poet who has given very interesting descriptions of good and bad habits of other countries cannot include these ślokas in the description of Gujarat, without any purpose. It really depicts the Gujarati nature. Whether this is a good habit or bad, is another matter.

Conclusion

We have reviewed the history of the culture of Gujarat in its various aspects and departments, in as short as it was possible, and still, I am afraid, it is quite long. I do not propose here to review the history of Gujarati language and literature which have their own peculiarities. We have seen the good points and defects of Gujarati Culture. We reviewed the work done by eminent scholars and also what is left undone. The importance of continuous research work in all branches of history is stressed, and it is showed that until such work is done it may be very difficult to write a complete history of Gujarat and its culture, in the modern sense of the word. We cannot be aloof from other parts of India, and so a research scholar must be well prepared in the history of other provinces and especially the neighbours. I draw special attention for the study of South-Indian Dravidian culture. There was much social intercourse, between Gujarat and Karnataka. We do not want to enter into any discussion of language from philosophical points in this paper. I must however point out to linguistic scholars to study and find out common words in Gujarati, from Mahrathi, and from other south Indian languages like Kannada, Telugu, Tamil and Malayalam. Much interesting philosophical linguistic and cultural history can be obtained from the study.

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This work cannot be fulfilled by individuals. It must be taken up by big institutions, universities, and government. Facilities to go, stay and study in cultural and historical centres should be provided by these bodies. Educated people in general should take interest in the matter and develop a taste in cultural trips and excursions. There are many places in Gujarat which are neglected and not visited because modern facilities are wanting in such places. Facility and people's taste are interrelated. If there are facilities people would like to visit; and if people go and visit facilities will come. In other European countries people and government take interest and special departments are existing for tourists' conveniences. In some countries this is done even on business lines. We in India have no such taste nor conveneince. Let us hope that such cultural conferences will give impetus to people, institutions, as well as to government.

In conclusion let us again confirm that Gujarat is a part of Bhārat and inspite of various peculiarities, the cultural foundation is the same. All parts, hands, feet etc. make the body, and each part has its own peculiarity. At the same time no part can exist without the body, and no body can be called perfect if a part is not taken into consideration or neglected. Let us see another simile. Rivers meet the ocean. Without ocean rivers are nothing. The ocean however cannot serve the purpose of rivers. So the culture of parts have its value with reference to the whole. The chief aim of the part must be to strengthen the main body. Gujarat therefore must strengthen Bhārat and subscribe its best to India as a whole. Let us hope that Gujarat will not be slow in its duty towards the common Mother–our dear Motherland–INDIA.

जय जय गरवी गुजरात।
जय हिंद॥

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V SELECT PAPERS

Section I: Vedic

The Allegorical Significance of the word for 'Cows' (the plural of go) in the Rgveda

By Dr. V. M. Apte

*1. Semasiological problems like the one undertaken for investigation in this Paper do not always stem from the linguistic obscurity surrounding some words in the Ṛgveda but also from a peculier penchant of the Ṛgvedic poets—a stylistic predilection (call it 'weakness or strength') which was to flower later , in the classical age, into the strange popularity of the double *entendre*. For example, the Ṛgvedic poet while describing the Soma plant and its juice, has all the time, at the back of his mind a vision of the celestial Soma and his words are often applicable to either or both the conceptions of the Soma! The result is that whereas a veteran Vedist like Hillebrandt for a long time held the view that Soma throughout the Ṛgveda is the Moon, other Scholars stoutly maintained that in the majority of the Ṛgvedic uses, the 'Soma' is just the plant and its juice going through the various processes of preparation that culminated in the invigorating drink that cheered but did not inebriate! Similarly when the Ṛgvedic Ṛṣi magnifies Agni, one often wonders whether he is visualizing Agni as the terrestrial form of the Sun or thinking of the Sun as the celestical form of Agni! As regards *gāvaḥ*–the cows–with which we are concerned here, Macdonell who has gone carefully through most of the important theories prevalent in his time remarks: "They are sometimes identified with the Waters and sometimes with the ruddy beams of Dawn".[1] This is, indeed, a counsel of despair, though a perfectly straight–forward statement of the difficulty! It is the object of this Paper to resolve this difficulty or, in other words, to determine the exact allegorical sense of the word *gò* in the plural, for 'Cows' by examining the most typical passages in the Ṛgveda, in which there is very clearly an allegorical description of the 'Cow'

*2. The most decisive passages in this connection are : (i) RV IX. 108.6 ab, tells us that Indra "with his might, cut out (a passage for) the

1. Vedic Mythology, P. 59

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cows (*gāḥ*) that were watery (*ápyāḥ*) and ruddy (*usrīyāḥ*)". This is a very unambiguous statement that *the Cows are the Waters* ('the watery cows' or 'the cows of the waters' meaning the same thing, namely, the Cows=the Waters) (ii) Since, from I. 33.10 d, we gather that Indra milked out (i. e. pressed or squeezed out) the cows *from* the darkness, *with the light*, the Cows cannot be the beams of Dawn, as the latter cannot be described as pressed out *from the darkness with the light*! Similarly (iii) when, according to to III. 34.3, Indra blazing furiously in the forest (forts) of Vyaṃsa, reveals the *Cows of the nights*, the cows can reasonably be supposed to be NOT the beams of the Dawn but rather the Cows of the Waters held in the grip of the nocturnal darkness, within the prison of Indra's foes.

*3. The following operations or events are described in the Ṛgveda as taking place *simultaneously* with the release of the Cows or they are related to such release, as immediately preceding causes or immediately following effects. The antecedent circumstances forming the background of the 'Release-operation' are the following: (i) Indra makes *Vájra*–his ally, (1.33.10 c); and then (ii) attacks Vṛtra, Vyaṃsa and other crafty demons and enemies (III. 34.3 abc); because (iii) these demons have imprisoned the cows within the mountain or the rock (IX. 108. 6); (iv) this latter is a place of confinement where the pitch–darkness of the nights reigns supreme (I. 33. 10 d; III. 34. 3 d). (v) Indra triumps and dislodges the so–far immoveable rock from its position (VI. 17. 5). With the gates of the rock–prison thrown open, he sets free the ruddy cows (VI. 17. 6) *in an upward direction* (X. 138. 2 b)! *Simultaneously* with or as the direct and immediate consequence of this winning back *or* release *or* disclosing of the Cows, the following results ensue: Indra has also won the Soma and set free the seven Sindhus or the flood of waters for the *resumption of their* journey of the (celestial) sea (I. 32. 12 cd; II. 19. 3 ab), he replaces the darkness not only with the Cows but also with the Dawn and the Sun (I. 61. 5b). In the other words, when he moves the mountain, for freeing the Cows, he mounts the sun to heaven; (1. 7. 3.) or produces the Sun (11. 19. 3 cd), or reillumines the Sun and the Dawn (VI. 17. 5 ab), and heaven and earth (VI. 32. 2). (To put the same thing differently) Indra deposits great lustre in the udders of the Cow (111. 30. 14 a) or cooked (milk) in her raw (udders) [VI. 17. 6]. The result is the raw cow goes on bearing cooked milk which was, as it were, the sum total of sweetness stored in her for the nourishment (of the people) (111. 30. 14 bcd; 34. 9 b). The dark Cows *now* become suffused with light and look ruddy (1. 62. 9). The metaphorical nature of this operation is not left in doubt, when the mounting of the Sun into the sky is described as a simultaneous feat (VIII. 89. 7).

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*4. The obvious inference from these accounts is: The Cows cannot be the 'beams of Dawn' because they are described as rotting in the darkness of the nights and because the Cows are described as dark before Indra suffused them with light and made them ruddy, when he released them. But we are not left in doubt when we are told (III. 31. 4) that the grateful Dawns rose to great Indra when he had become the Lord of the Cows after his victory, implying that the Dawns are different from the Cows.

*5. The only alternative, then, is that the Cows must be the Waters and quite in keeping with this view is the reference to the swelling up of nourishment, of honey and food, as a result of the release of the Cows (VI. 17. 3; III. 34. 9 and X. 138. 2).

*6. We further get a glimpse into another Cosmic event from these accounts: The confinement of the *Cows* within the rock-prison by hostile powers like Vṛtra led to a stagnation or suspension of the movements of the luminaries like the Dawn and the Sun who were held back and darkness ensued. *Now, this cosmic phenomenon is exactly what the Ṛgveda describes as happening when the movement of the Waters (āpaḥ)* are blocked up and they confined within the rock-prison by the same hostile forces namely Vṛtra and his allies. Thus the most striking corroboration of our proposition that the Cows are the Waters comes from the fact that the whole story of the *release of the Cows* by Indra is in every detail *(language, motive* and *result)* but a replica, an identical version of the *release of the Waters by Indra!*

*7. The purpose of the Paper will not be adequately served however, if we merely established that the allegorical sense of the word for 'Cows' is 'the Waters' in the Ṛgveda. It will have to be explained *how* the release of the Waters or Cows could be simultaneous with the release of the Sun, the Dawn or the light, by a probe into the mysterious nature of these Waters in the Ṛgveda! The writer has examined in detail the nature of the Waters in the RV. in his Paper[2]: *"Varuna in the Ṛgveda"* and the arguments advanced in that Paper may be restated here very succinctly.

*8 (A) The Waters are both terrestrial *and celestial or aerial.* The attributes of the latter in the Ṛgveda cannot be satisfactorily accounted for, on the hypothesis that they are rain-waters. (B) The release of the Waters and the breaking forth of the Dawn or the emergence of light are described as *simultaneous* events (I. 164. 51 etc.). In fact, the days, the light or the luminaries are described as *floating* on the surface of these Waters (cf VII. 87. 1). (C) The movement of the Waters and the spreading forth or upsurge of the rays of light stem from the same source and follow the same path of *Ṛta,* so

2 *New Idian Antiquary:* July-December 1946.

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that when the Waters were blocked up by Vṛtra, total darkness ensued! (D) These waters are described as moved *upwards* by Indra when discharged *simultaneously* with the luminaries after the killing of Vṛtra (II. 15. 6). Their downward movement is, of course described as, for example, when the Seven Sindhus are said to flow into the jaws of Varuṇa, as into a surging abyss or ocean. (E) The world is said to have consisted of nothing but undifferentiated Waters in the beginning (X. 82. 6; 129. 3). The Waters are, verily, the *Creators* of the World (X. 30. 10). (F) The Cosmic circulation of the celestial Waters and the simultaneity of the free flow of the Waters and the rising of the Dawn are *unambiguously stated in the Avesta*. The Cosmic circulation of the Waters is mentioned in Greek and Egyptian mythologies also. (G) Celestial Waters or watery vapours from which the world was supposed to have been created (according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XI 1. 6. 1; Aitereya Brāhmaṇa I. 1 and the Manu-smṛti 1. 9) and which pervaded the regions above, below and around the earth were envisaged by the Ṛgvedic poets to be something like a mass of nebulous matter, serving as a medium for the transmission of light or the movement of the luminaries around the earth (compare the role of the ether of modern science).

*9. To sum up, the exact *allegorical* connotation of the word for 'Cows' (the plural of *gó*), in the Ṛgveda is (in the opinion of the writer), 'the *Cosmic or Celestial* Waters.'

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2. Panini's Rules and Vedic Interpretation

By Dr. S. S. Bhawe

Pāṇini's grammer as an auxiliary science to Veda is perhaps the most important aid to Vedic exegesis. All the same it is surprising that, generally speaking, the traditional grammarians *(Vaiyākaraṇas)* do not pay so much attention to the Vedic rules of Pāṇini, as separated by Bhattoji in his *svaravaidikī-prakriyā*, than to the rules dealing with classical sanskrit. One who independently studies the Pāṇinian Sūtras would clearly see that Pāṇini treats the entire sanskrit language as a whole and gives rules for the Vedic language in a separate series of Sūtras, only when they are not applicable to the 'classical' and gives exceptions to the general rules by the famous *'chandasi bahulam'*. Of course, Sāyaṇācarya makes full use of Pāṇini's rules and his model Bhāṣya on the first *Adhyāya* of the Ṛk- saṁhitā (i. e. sūktas RV 1. 1–19) demonstrates very clearly how important and indispensable those rules are for Vedic interpretation.

Among the Western scholars, however, there was some difference of opinion on the point. (1) Whitney[1], for example, after comparing a number of Pāṇini's Vedic rules with the fact of the Vedic texts concluded that the former were quite inadequate for the purpose. He found that want of consistency in Pāṇini's 'Terminology' and blamed him especially for his promiscuous use of expressions like *'chandas'*, *'mantra,'* *'yajus'* etc., as also for his want of principle in the choice of the facts described. "...What, then, was the use of his touching the subject of Vedic peculiarities at all?", he asked. A more favourable view, however, was taken by (2) Sylvain Lévi, who tried to answer Whitney's doubts, though in so doing, he only *partially* recognised the importance of Pāṇini for Vedic interpretation. He opined that Pāṇini lay no claims to teaching either the language or grammar of the Veda; but that the language or grammar which he *does* teach *are closely related to them* (italics ours). Sylvain Lèvi[2] clearly appears to take the view that Vedic peculiarities were noted by Pāṇini only to fix more clearly the usage of the current

1. W. D. Whitney: Journal of Asiatic society of Italy (tital in Italian) 7.p. 243 ff, referred to and quoted by Dr. Paul Thieme: Pāṇini and the Veda (Allahabad, 1935) Intro. p. xii.
2. Sylvain Lèvi, Memoire de la société de Linguistique, Paris 14. p. 278, and referred to and quoted by paul Thieme, ibid intro. p. xii

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(i. e. classical) sanskrit. (3) Paul Thieme, however, in his monograph on 'Pāṇini and Veda' refutes Whitney and very well demonstrates (*ibid* p. 37, 38f, especially pp. 63–72) that all the terms like 'chandas–' 'mantra'–etc.,[3] are used by Pāṇini quite systematically; he also refutes Lévi, by pointing out (ibid p. 67 f) that the language of the sacred texts was used in the sacrificial rites (Yajñakarmaṇi, Pān. 1. 2. 34) and in the daily recitations (cf. *anvadhyayam*, Nirukta 1.4 as opposed to bhāṣāyam); and as such it could not be supposed to contain wrong word-forms; it is for this reason that Pāṇini endeavours to *justify* Vedic words and usages that were alien to the *Bhāṣa* by special rules valid only for the Veda. By considering in detail Pāṇini's rules especially on the Vedic *Upapada*–compounds (Pān. 3.2.63–73) and on the *Abhinihitasandhi* in the Veda (Pān. 6.1.115–121) he convincingly demonstrates that the Vedic rules and exceptions given by Pāṇini fully accord with the facts of the Vedic texts, which Pāṇini knew so well, to which he applies his uniquic gifts of observation and capacity of introduction. What is more satisfying is that Thieme has throughout followed, as pointed out in his introduction (p. xiv) the method of oldest Pāṇinian scholars, especially that of removing doubts by *interpretation*. Of course, Thieme could obviously subject only a few Vedic rules of Pāṇini to a critical treatment and there is immense scope for work in that line. A study of his rules on Vedic accent and compounds especially would show, among other things, how important, nay, indispensable, they are for the difficult task of Vedic interpretation.

Eminent Vedic scholars like Oldenberg, Geldner, and others no doubt do take Pāṇini's rules into consideration, but perhaps not quite fully. The rules specially noted by them being those of syntactial character, such as the accent of vocatives, verbs etc. A few instances of the disregard of more important Vedic rules would well illustrate the point. (1) Let us take the case of instrumental determinative (*tṛtīya–tatpuruṣa*) compounds having a past passive participle *(ktānta)* as the second number. According to p. 6.2.48 *(tṛtīya karmaṇi)* in the case of such compounds, the first member will have its *original* accent, this being an exception to the general rule that *tatpuruṣas* accent the final syllable as also to the special rule about compounds ending in verbal derivatives *(kṛts)*. We get many *ktānta*–compounds in the RV. regularly accented on the first member; e.g. *'pàtijuṣṭā nārī'* (the woman loved by the husband) R.V. 1.73.3; *agnidagdhāḥ* (the ancestors cremated by fire) R. V. 10.15.14. On the other hand such compounds not accented on the first member are not to be taken as *tṛtiya tatpruṣa;* thus *'pitṛvittó rayiḥ'*, (wealth obtained from the father) R. V. 1.73.3 is a good example; incidenally the exclusion of the instrumental compound

3. P. Thieme, *ibid* pp. 24–46
4. P. Thieme ibid

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meaning *'by* the father' by virtue of accent gives an irrefutable evidence about the law of paternal inheritance in Ṛgvedic times. But the real difficulty arises where one wants to take such compounds as *tṛtīya* compounds in spite of accent. Sāy. on R. V. 1.11.4 explains the compound *'purustutá'* on the strength of the accent and this rule, which he quotes there. The word means 'praised *in many (places)* or (sacrifices)' and *not* 'praised *by many*', which is against accent. Bhattoji also in the SK, while explaining the so-colled *'thāthādisvara'* (p. 6. 2. 144) gives this very example. Gld. translates the word by 'vielgepriesene' (the much-praised),[1] which does not clearly show whether he discarded the *tṛtīya* compound or not; Prof. Velankar[2] translates it as 'oft-praised', where the exclusion of the *tṛtīya* compound is certainly there. Would it, however, be too fastidious to suggest that 'praised in many (places) or for many (causes)' 'would be a better translation? No doubt, an omnibus exception is given by Pāṇini to this rule by mentioning the *'pravrddhadi*-group' (p.6.21-47), which is an *'akṛti-gaṇa'*, though the Vedic word actually listed in the group is 'kaviśastá' (praised *by* the wise). In fact Sāy. himself, while explaining a similarly accented compound discards what he did at RV. 1. 11. 4 and takes *'purupraśastà'* (RV. 1. 73. 2) as a *tṛtīya* compound in spite of the accent and actually takes refuge under P. 6. 42. 147 *(Prv-gaṇa)*, which he quotes. This is, incidentally, one of many indications, which go to support the theory of many Sāyaṇas. Even Venkaṭa-madhava, an expert in Ṛgvedic grammar, explains *'purustutà'* against accent and ostensibly on the support of *Prv-gaṇa*. So it would appear that in spite of P. 6. 2. 48, and often perhaps without knowing it, one may be right in his translation of such instrumental determinitive compounds only by virtue of P. 6. 2. 141. It is, however, clear that the omnibus *Prv.-gaṇa* should be only our last resort and we should try to apply the rule *'tṛtīya karmaṇi'* as far as possible; at least that seems to be the intention of Pāṇini, otherwise the 'Acārya' (to use the Bhāṣyakāra's favourite term), should not have composed the Sūtra at all!

That the application of this rule will give us a more accurate translation of certain Ṛgvedic words can be shown from the example of the word *vibhvataṣṭám* (RV. 3. 49. 1) occurring as an epithet of Indra. The context is that Heaven and Earth and the Gods fashioned out Indra as 'a slayer of enemies' *(ghanam* vṛtrāṇām). Almost all the interpreters translate it as a tṛtīya-compound in spite of accent and Gld.[3] as 'the *masterly* (i. e. *skilful)* killer of fiends'; Velankar[4] regularly translates it as an instrumental compound

1. RV. HOS 33. 12
2. JUB. May, 1935. p. 35
3. RV. Hos. 34. 429.
4. JUB. May, 1935 p. 35

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by *'skilful* slayer of Vṛtra',[1] as is seen from his explanatory foot-note that *'Vibhva*-taṣṭa means fashioned by the skilful and hence 'skilful'.' Sāy. also takes it against accent to mean 'established *by Vibhu* i.e. Creator'Brahman in the overlordship of the world', possibly putting it in the *Pru*-group. Moreover here the first member is *not 'vibhu'* but *'vibhvan'*, which certainly does not mean the 'creator'. It is no doubt the name of one of the *Ṛbhus*, the heavenly architects, and that might have led modern translators to introduce the conception of 'skilful' in the translation of the word. But that is not warranted, for it is *not Vibhvan*, but *Ṛbhu* or *Ṛbhukṣā* that is generally connected with Indra (cf. RV. 4. 34. 9).[2] Moreover, here we have nothing to do with the proper name of one Ṛbhu, but the word is simply a verbal derivative in *an*. Macdonell[3] in his usual infallible style translates the word with 'far-reaching' as an adjective and that is the meaning of the word all along in the RV and obviously as a verbal noun it may mean 'All-pervading nature', 'Greatness' or some such thing. VM, honouring the accent and also the root meaning of the word hits at the right interpretation, 'fashioned so as to have a big body'.[4] This quite fits in with the context: a slayer of enemies was required; he should naturally have the qualities both of intellect and strength; the epithets *'sukratu'* and *'vibhvataṣṭa'* in the passage amply bring out both these senses. Having once used the word *'sukratu'* = (intelligent etc.), again to introduce the idea of 'skilful' etc. in *'vibhvataṣṭa'* is superfluous. We may, therefore, translate the word as 'big-sized', 'megaformic'; or slightly loosely 'gigantic'? In the light of this, the word *'vibhvataṣṭa'* again occuring in RV 5. 58. 4 in the context of a king fashioned out by the Maruts, can be well translated with 'fashioned so as to be large i. e. 'powerfully built', against Sāy. who does not honour the accent, takes the compound to be *tṛtīyā-tatpuruṣa*, and sees *Vibhvan (the Ṛbhu)* as the creator of the king, which certainly has no authority in the RV. Gld's translation in this case, as '(den) Vollendeten Konig'[5] ('a perfect, consummate king') is nearer the mark; Further in RV 5. 42. 12 the word occurring as an epithet of the rivers, leaves no doubt as to its real meaning 'created for spreading, flowing' i.e. 'widely flowing'? Sāy.

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1. Incidentally why 'of vṛtra' and not 'of the enemies or fiends' as the plural *'vṛtrāṇām'* requires?
2. Vāju devānām abhavat Sukarmā Indrasya ṛbhukṣa Varuṇasya Vibhvā
3. Vedic Index to the Vedic grammar for students p. 497.
4. Vibhvam iti mahan-nāma, Pṛthu-taṣṭam, yathā mahaśarīro bhavati tathā kṛtam 'VM. II. 633. Of course it is difficult to think of a word like vibhva; in RV we have either *vibhvan* or *vibhván*; or 'vibhu (-û),' there being the from 'vibhváh' as nom. or acc. plu. of *'vibhu'*. Perhaps the text of VM is corrupt.
5. 5. 58. 4

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here too goes against accent, and renders the word as 'fashioned by the middle Ṛbhu, viz. Vibhvan' and Gld. also plainly translates it with 'the rivers fashioned by Vibhvan (the divine architect).[1] No doubt the *Ṛbhus* are mentioned in the first *pāda* of the passage, but that does not warrant attributing the work of fashioning the rivers, to Vibhvan, this being none of his usually mentioned cosmic activities.

The question as to whether the middle *Ṛbhu* is meant in such compounds or not would be at once settled if the accent of the word in the particular compound were available; because *Vìbhvan*, the Rbhu (also a general adjective) is accented on the first syllable, whereas *Vibhvàn* taken as an adjective or a noun meaning 'skilled' or 'an artificer'[2] in general (with the shift of the accent) is accented on the last syllable. But in a regularly accented *tatpuruṣa* compound as '*vibhvataṣṭa*' where the first member is accentless, it is impossible to find out which word is used. Yet the text of the RV. helps us well to settle the question. Whenever the Ṛbhu is meant–and context always makes it clear–the word *Vibhvan* is *ādyudātta*, and wherever he is not meant, the word is *antodātta*. Let us see if the latter word has the meaning that we have sought to give to it in the passages discussed so far, especially in RV. 5. 42. 12. The river Goddess Sarasvatī is praised in RV. 6. 61. 13,[3] and she is stated to be '*Vibhvàne kṛtā*' (much the same as '*vibhvataṣṭa*)', which can easily mean 'made or fashioned for flowing, being far-spread etc.', vibhvan being a verbal noun from *vi* √*bhū*, to spread oneself, to multiply etc., *Vibhvan* the Ṛbhu being entirely out of question. Gld. translates the phrase with 'created for giving (lit. unfolding) strength or vigour'[4] and Sāy. with '*vibhvane vibhutvāya kṛtā*'. Obviously they exclude the meaning '*Ṛbhu*' and Sāy. says much the same thing as suggested above, Gld being a little far-fatched, but certainly, not apposed to accept the root–meaning of the word. *Vibhvàn* (*antodātta*) also occurs in another passage, RV 10. 76. 5, where the *grāvāṇaḥ* (pressing-stones) are praised. It contains an exhortation to sing to the stones; '*Vibhvanā cit āśvâpastarebhyaḥ* (*arca*). *Gld translates*, '(I wish to sing a praise to them) who work more quickly than *Vibhvan* himself',[5] following Sāy, who takes *Vibhvan* to mean one of the Ṛbhus, sons of *Sudhanvan*, specially mentioning that their mythical activity of dividing the heavenly cup was famous for its quickness. It is indeed very difficult to su-

1. 5. 42. 12
2. Macdonell: Sanskrit English Dictionary, London, 1893. One, however, feels a bit doutful about this sense of 'artificer.'
3. '*Rátha iva bṛhatī vibhvàne kṛtā...*'
4. 'Zur kraftentfaltung geschaffen, HOS. 34. 164.
5. HOS. 35. 257

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ppose that great Veda-interpreters like Gld. and Sāy. have erred on such a simple point. We remember, Homer also nods, and say that the meaning accepted by Sāy. and Gld. is against accent. It might be that the translation missed the revising hand of Gld. for we see in it two more irregularities, in addition to that of disregarding the áccent. He translates '*arca*' (impv. 2nd per. sg.) as if it were '*arce*' pres. 1st per. sg, which he might have done for the sake of idiom and in spite of the instr. sg. '*vibhvànā*', he connects it with the 'comparative' adjective-'*apastarebhyaḥ*, which Sāy. also does. There *are* three other 'comparative' adjectives in the same *rc.* no doubt, but they are correctly connected with ablative sg. (e.g. *divaḥ cit* etc). If the Ṛṣi wanted an abl. sg. he could have used '*vibhvàno*' without harming the metre in the least. The interpretation, therefore, both of Gld. and Sāy. is not acceptable. (Incidentally perhaps, this is one more instance to show that different Sāy's were working at the Bhāṣya.) We should take '*vibhvàn*' as a noun or an adj. meaning, 'all-pervading, quick, etc.' and translate, '(to them), who are indeed quicker in work than a nimble (artificer)', to follow Macdonell in the meaning, which he rightly attaches to the word; only he wants to take it as a noun, but it appears better to suit the Ṛgvedic idiom to take it as an adjective.

Finally, in one pasasge, in the case of '*vibhvan*' the meaning both of the adjective and proper name of one of the *Ṛbhus* is possible in 'Vibhvataṣṭó' in RV. 4. 36. 5. The reference there is to the wealth (rayiḥ) given by the Ṛbhus, and the' *vibhvataṣṭa (rayi)*' is proclaimed to be praiseworthy. Again, as usual, the accent of the first member is not determinable, yet in a Ṛbhu-context, the middle Ṛbhu is certainly possible. In that case we have to take the compound as tṛtīya-*tatpurusa* in spite of accent, put the word in the Prv.-*gaṇa* and translate it as 'produced by the *Vibhvans*' (because each of the three Ṛbhu names in the plural stands in the RV for *all the Ṛbhus* cf. *vibhvaḥ*, irregular vocative plural of Vibhvan, being an exhortation to all the three Ṛbhus, RV 4.36.3 etc). Sāy. does the same. It, however, we want strictly to stick to Pāṇini (6.2.48) and not to take resort to the *Prv.-gana*, we can discard the instrumental compound, and dissolve it as '*Vibhvane (bahutvāya) taṣṭaḥ (nirmitaḥ)*, 'created *for* multiplying, increasing'.[1] This would well fit in the idea of wealth and would be strictly in accordance with the Ṛgvedic idiom, which often indulges in punning on ths names of deities, and especially on all the Ṛbhu–names, which is actually done earlier in this passage (cf. a pun on the name *Vāja, Vājasrutāso yam ajījanan naraḥ*, 4.36.5. b).

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1. It is felt that in the RV '*rayiḥ*' usually stands for 'cattle wealth' and its multiplication is naturally desired; cf *rayiḥ*, once described as '*viśvatas pṛthuḥ*', which supports the interpretation given here.

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The whole foregoing discussion amply proves that a strict application of Pāṇini's rule *'tṛtīya karmaṇi'* (6.2.48) allows us to probe deeper in to the idealogical world of the Vedic Ṛṣi and in certain cases such as RV 3.49.1, 5.58.4; 42.12 it gives an interpretation, which, it is hoped, is more accurate and more in conformity with the spirit of the RV than what has been available so far and in some more cases such as RV 10.76.5 and 4.36.5. it gives us probably better alternative interpretations. And the whole force of Pāṇini's so carefully framed rules on the point appears to be that (a) wherever a *tatpuruṣa* compound ending in a *ktānta* (past pass. part.) is concerned, we should *always* take it as a tṛtīyā compound whenever its first member is accented[1] and that (b) wherever it is *antodātta*, we should take it to be any *tatpuruṣa* but *tṛtīya*,[2] with the proviso (c) that in absolutely unavoidable cases, we may take such a compound to be a *tritīya tatpuruṣa*, in spite of accent, by making it an exception belonging to the Prv.-gaṇa.[3] This further supports Thieme's view that Pāṇini knew his Vedic texts very well, and we may add, therefore, his rules on Vedic grammar must be taken into consideration more strictly than what has been done so far. This will only further help the philologists' 'critical' method.

More instances are available but are not given for want of space. Indian tradition of Vedic interpretation has all along paid the highest attention to points of Grammar. Many of the well-known peculiarities of the *Padapāṭha*, such as putting an *avagraha* between the members of a compound etc., Yāska's point of view that the 'Nirukta' is only a compliment of Grammar,[4] and Patañjali in agreement with Kātyāyana putting a special plea in his introduction to the *Mahābhāṣya* for the study of Vyākaraṇa especially on the ground of *preserving* and *understanding*[5] the Veda, the phonetic treatises like the *Śikṣās* quoting the stock example of the correct and incorrect accent of *'Indraśatrur vardhasva'*– all these go to show the obvious yet paramount importance of Grammar for Vedic exgesis. Pāṇini is the only available grammarian who treats the Vedic language so exhaustively. The importance of his rules needs emphasis. Some how or other they were neglected by the traditional *Vaiya-*

1. cf. 'pàtijuṣṭā' (loved by the husband) RV 1.73.3.
2. cf. *'purustutàḥ'* (praised *in* many sacrifices) RV. 1.11.4, or *'pitṛvittàḥ'* (inherited *from* the father) RV 1.73.1
3. cf. *'kaviśastàḥ'* (praised *by* the wise) RV 1.152.2 etc.
4. *Vyākaraṇasya kārtsnyam* is the phrase which he uses regarding Nirukta cf. Yaska's Nirukta. He also exhorts that the subjects should not be taught to a non-grammarian *(avaiyākaraṇa)!*
5. cf. *vāṅ no vṛnuyāt ityâdhyeyaṁ vyākaranam*, Patanjali on RV 10.101.4. in his Bhāṣya introduction.

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karaṇas but Sāyaṇacārya, fully explaining the import of Patañjali's views on the point in his introduction makes the fullest use of them, though not in all the Maṇḍalas of the RV and as pointed out at the outset, his Bhāṣya on RV I. 1–19 deserves fullest study from this point of view.

Every word occurring in these hymns (1.1–19) is explained by Sāy. both morphologically and accentally, entirely on the strength of Pāṇini. Even in exceptional cases he *does* follow the grammarian and still, if any difficulty remains, he very intelligently finds some way out. Let us take the case of the word *Yáśas* (fame, food according to Sāy.) noun accented on the first syllable and Yaśás (famous) adjective accented on the last. By the help of modern science of comparative grammar, one takes it as a case of accent–shift due to change of meaning, (another stock instance being 'ápas'–work,[1] and 'apás'-active). One feels that even the ancient scholars would have made use of this science if it were available to them. Sāy., very intelligently notes the two different forms of the same word and explains them well. At RV 1.10. 7he derives the noun *Yaśas* from $\sqrt{\text{āś}}$, to spread on the authority of *Uṇādi-sūtra* 4.6.30, which also explains the ādyudātta modern linguistic science would perhaps not agree with this; but for Sāy. there was no go. When, however, he sees the from *Yaś'asám* (acc. sg.) with accent-shift as at RV 1.1.3, he hits at the adjectival sense all right, takes it to belong to the 'arśa-ādigaṇa' (p.5.2.-127) the from then being *Yasasa* (with a vowel-ending) and as even in that case the accent must be on the *last* syllable, he finaly treats it as a case of '*Vyaytyaya*' (Vedic irregularity). It may appear that this instance goes against the above propounded doctrine of honouring Pāṇini! But it is not so; on the contrary it is a triumph for the ancient grammarian, that in the absence of modern '*critical*' aids they noted the change both of accent and sence and gave or heroically tried to give the correct interpretation all right. Of course, nobody wants to argue that non-challangeable conclusion of modern linguistics should be thrown over-board in such cases, at the same time, rules of Pāṇini, as shown earlier, must also be taken note of as a very important aid, almost infallible aid, to Vedic interpretation.

Another interesting case is that of the word *Mahadhanè* (RV 1. 7. 5.; 40.8. etc.). It has the accent of a *tatpurusa* or *Karmadhāraya;* yet it has got to be taken as *Bahuvrīhi*, as it is given by traditional interpreters like Yāska as a synonym '*saṅgrāma*' *(mahat dhanam yasmin)*. Sāy. finds it difficult to go against tradition, at the same time he has to take note of the accent, which is a stronger factor. He, therefore, at RV 1.7.5[2] takes it to be *Karma-*

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1. Latin '*opus*'.

2. cf. Bhāṣya on 1.7.5: '... *bahuvrīhitve sati, antodāttatvāṣiddheḥ nātra tad gṛhītam... mahat ca tat dhanaṁ ca iti... antodāttaḥ*'

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dhāraya, rejecting tradition, and explains '(we invoke Indra), *for the sake of great wealth' (mahadhane prabhutadhana-nimittam)*, this being contrasted to the word *'arbhe'* (little wealth) in the same passage. Thus strict adherence to Pāṇini offers a criticism of the tradition as preesrved by Yāska and offers very good sense besides. When the word further occurs in the RV at 1.40.8, in spite of contrast to the word *arbha* there too, Sāy. renders *Mahadhane* with *'prabhutadhananimitte'* (yuddhe) this being an attempt both to honour accent as well as tradition. In the grammatical notes on the passage, Sāy. gives the *Karmadhāraya* dissolution of the word and takes the sense *'saṇgrāma'* secondarliy (i.e. by *lakṣaṇā*). At I. 112. 7, the dissolution is dropped, still the explanation is by *lakṣaṇā*, *'mahadhanena upete (saṅgrāme)'*. At 9. 86. 12 the word straight meant *'saṅgrāma'*, the accent and compound being entirely forgotten! Obviously *Mahadhana=saṅgrama* was a strong traditional equation. One feels however, that it was not so in Pāṇini's time; otherwise he would certainly have noted the *Karmadhāraya*-accent contrasted to the *Bahuvrīhi* sense, and mostly composed a *sūtra* and a *gaṇa* for this and such other words (cf. a similar word *'Mahakulà'* discussed below. Some people want to put it under the *'nirudaka*-group', where the words have a Bahuvrīhi sense in spite of *Tatpuruṣa* accent. But that is not acceptable, because *all* the words in that *gaṇa* begin with *'nir'* and words beginning with *'mahā-'* do not go harmoniously with them. Can we say that such words occur in late passages and were not known to Pāṇini? Deeper investigation of the point is necessary. Or can we say that tradition forgot the original sense?

A similar difficulty arises with the word *'mahākulà'* (RV. 1.161.1) as an adjective of the cup, said to be divided by the *Ṛbhu*. The word has a *Karmadhāraya* accent, where for *Bahuvrhii* sense *(i.e. mahat kulam yasya)* we should have accent on the first member. Sāy. does not comment on this, the reason is perhaps that as the Bhāṣya proceeds further, grammatical points are not so closely noted. Can we suggest that this is an additional argument for the relatively younger age of the passage? Preferably this is a case for a new *gaṇa* of *Bāhuvrīhi* compounds irregularly accented? Regarding *'mahadhanà'* there is ground to suppose that the *Karmadhāraya* sense was acceptable to Pāṇini.

The foregoing discussion, it is hoped, makes it clear that Pāṇini's Vedic rules are very important and if further studied more thoroughly would throw considerable light on the Veda. Geldner's now fully translation of the Ṛgveda was actually completed more than a quarter of a century back and if a fresh translation, aided by all the research material accumulated during the period, is to be attempted, the result of a deeper study of Pāṇini's rules must be

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taken into consideration for a really good and more acceptable result. Such a study may open some fresher fields: (a) a reconstruction of the *gaṇas* on the strength of Pāṇini's rules dealing with the Vedic language would be possible and would be a good aid to Vedic exegesis, (b) Further insight into the chronological problems of the Veda may also be available through it, (c) a study of the irregularities and inconsistencies in the Sāyaṇabhāṣya in the light of Pāṇini will throw new light on its text as also on that of the other Bhāṣyakāras like Venkaṭa-Mādhava, (d) and finally it will be very useful for a historical grammar of Vedic Sanskrit.

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II Iranian Section

3. The Pahlavi Word 𐬯𐬎𐬥 Sun

By Dastur Dr. Hormazdyar Mirza, M. A.; Ph. D.

So far as has been ascertained this rare word occurs in the Dēnkart, the Great Bundahisn, and the Pahlavi-Pazand text of the Skand Vimānīk Vicār. It occurs six times in the Dēnkart (ed. Sanjana Vol. III p. 128.16, 10; p. 130.13,15; Vol. VI p. 291.1,4; ed. Madan p. 112.1,4; p. 113.13,15; p. 262.16,18); a dozen times in the Great Bundahisn [ed. T. D. Anklesaria, p. 117.3,9; p. 118.1 (written 𐬯𐬎𐬥 for 𐬯𐬎𐬥), 3,7; p. 119.4; p. 142.5; p. 144.1, 5,10,12]; and the pahlavi text of the Skand Vimānīk Vicār gives two instances of this word (ed. Hoshang and West, Chs. III.37, V.45). The corresponding Pazand form is 𐬯𐬎𐬥 *sun;* and it occurs thrice in the Pazand text of the S.V.V. (Chs. III.37; V.45; VI.42).

In the Sanskrit version of the Skand Vimānīk Vicār; Neryosang variously translates the word by (1) *pratimā;* (2) *anurupa;* and (3) *upama*—all these words suggesting similar ideas. Hoshang and West translates (p. 267): 'description; nature.' So also West (S.B.E. XXIV pp. 127,142,150). P. Pierre Jean de Menasce gives 'maniere, espice' (Menasce, S.V.V., Fribourg en Suisse 1945, p. 285.) In the Denkart, Sanjana reads *yehvūn*, and translates "હોનારત, સરજત; હયાતી; જિંદગી; Destiny, fate, chance. 2. Life, existence."

In the Great Bundahisn, the context in each case is so very clear that we can fix the meaning without any co-lateral aid. In the Gr. Bund. in some instances we find 𐬯𐬎𐬥𐬀𐬐 ēvēnak in place of sūn in a similar context, e.g.

Gr. Bd. p. 116.13-14: apārīk hac [ēn] ēvēnak mēvak xˇānēnd.
Gr. Bd. p. 117.3: apārīk hac ēn sūn yavartāk xˇānēnd.

From this we can safely conclude that the Pahlavi word sūn is a synonym of ēvēnak: 'shape, form, manner, kind, sort, nature, description' etc. This is further and more satisfactorily confirmed by the fact that the Pahlavi word sūn of the Gr. Bd. is replaced in all available instances by ēvēnak in the shorter version of the Bundahisn, edited by Justi, by M. R.

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Unvala, and by Westergaard (Bundehesh, ed. Westergaard, p. 64.16; p. 65. 3,10,12,18).

On the strength of what has been stated above, it is clear that the word sūn is an Iranian word; and it may be regarded as what is known as 'pseudo-heterogram' (Junker, Frahang I Pahlavīk, p. 16.). The word may be explained as a form derived from Old Iranian *Savana*-the present participle of the root sav-, su- 'to go, toset in motion' (Kanga, Avesta Dictionary, p. 558; Bartholomae, Altir. Wb. 1714). The word, therefore, may originally mean 'going, motion, currency,' and hence 'what is current, i.e. mode, manner, method, form, kind, species, etc.'

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Section III: Classical Sanskrit

4. Sramanera-Tika

By Dr. A. S. Altekar

Śramaṇera-ṭīkā is a commentary on Āchāra-sāra, a work laying down the rules for Buddhist novices. It was unknown in India and was preserved in Tibet, and is one of the Manuscripts that were brought to India about 18 years ago by Rahula Sankrityayana from Tibet. The name of the author of the original work is unknown, as also of the commentator. The time of the commentator would be about the 11th century A. D. The Ms is written in proto-Maithili characters of about the 12th or 13th century A. D. Only one manuscript is available for editing and its photographs are often indistinct in several places. Hence the task of editing is rather difficult. The text of the Āchārasāra has been lost, but some of its verses can be reconstructed with the help of the 'ṭīkā'. They were all in Anushtubh metre and were two hundred in number.

The work deals with the usual ten commandments daśa-śikshā-padas given to a novice, viz., 1. Ahiṁsā, 2. Adattādāna, 3. Brahmacharya, 4. Mrishāvāda, 5. Suramaireya, 6. Uchchaśayana, 7. Gandhamālyavilepana, 8. Nrityagitavāditra, 9. Vikalabhojana, 10. Jātarupagrahaṇa, and 11. Prakirnaka. The treatment of the majority of the above topics is brief and commonplace, but that of Ahimsa, Adattādāna, Brahmacharya and Mrishavada is exhaustive and throws a lot of light on the contemporary monastic life.

The author belonged to the Mahāsamghika school of the Mahāyāna Buddhism, six of whose subdivisions are mentioned, viz., Vadina, Arthasiddha, Śaladvayanivasinah, Bhadrayana, and Haimavata (185). The author regarded Manjusri, the coming Buddha, with peculiar veneration and salutes him at the outset of the work even before paying respect to Gautama Buddha. The latter is regarded as having Dharmakaya, Sambhogakaya and Nirmanakaya. His name Buddha is explained in various ways; he was free from darkness, his *buddhi* had been developed, his *mohanidra* had been terminated vyapanitanidra, he was awakened from the sleep of Samsara, samsāraśayanādutthitāḥ. The first 24 folios deal in the usual scholastic way with the qulifications of the Buddha, as given in the Mangalacharaṇa.

The next fifty three pages deal with Ahiṁsā. The treatment is naturally exhaustive and comprehensive. Direct murder by one's own hand or

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weapons or persons or by administering severe purges is naturally tabooed, as also by bringing about miscarriages or abortions. One should not also encourage suicide by saying that journey to the other world is like going to a picnic, nor should one direct a traveller to a road infested with thieves, snakes or crossed by dangerous rivers (34). One was not to allot a cot to a guest which has a snake on it nor was a man to be advised non-surrender of stolen articles if that would lead to his torture and death. To hire a murderer was as good as to commit a murder oneself. To forecast the death of a person was also prohibited.

If a murder was committed while one was beside oneself, *bhrāntachitta*, then the sin of himsa did not arise. If one killed a person instead of another, then also there was no fault. This is rather a questionable doctrine.

Branding of animals, piercing nose string into their noses, burning corn chaff, drinking whey, conjee, or concoction, if they contained germs, exposing cots containing bugs to heat or cold, using sajantuka water for trees or buildings was also prohibited. If a well dug for building a monastery contained *sajantuka* water, it was to be strained; if the jantus had a natural death being short lived, then the water could be used (73). Otherwise a new well was to be dug or the work was to be abandoned.

If one got sajantuka water, it was to be thrown back in the same well or in a river joining the sea or in a reservoir in the monastery kept for the purpose. It was not to be thrown in salt water. A thirsty traveller could take sajantuka water, after allowing it to settle down for three *ghatikas*.

Meat was not to be taken only if expressly cooked for the monks. Meat cooked for one monk could not be eaten by another. But if the host assured the monk that the meat was cooked for the śrāddha of his father, or that the animal was killed because it trespassed in the field or that the bird was killed by a flacon, then the meat could be eaten.

The unknown auther of the work had a legalistic trend of mind. He gives us accurate definitions, enumerating the different constituents of the offences. Thus the offence of murder had five elements: (1) There must be an attack, (2) It must be on a human being, (3) The intention to kill must be there, (4) It must be calculated to cause death, (5) and must result in death (f. 42). The offence of theft also had five constituents: (1) The article stolen must be worth more than a Kākiṇī, (2) It must belong to another, (3) The monk must have this knowledge, (4) There must be intention to steal, (5) The object must be removed.

Very often extremely nice distinctions are drawn. In the case of the theft of an elephant, the removal is complete if it is taken for four steps or made merely to change its direction if grazing in a wood (83). Removal

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need not be to one's own custody; if a monk kept away a stolen necklace at another place, with a view to take it away from it later, then also the theft is complete. Mere loosening the rope by which a necklace is tied to a peg amounts to removal. If one emptied out a pot containing honey, milk etc. by causing a hole in it, then also the removal was complete.

Intention was sufficient to constitute an offence; if several monks have the common intention of theft, and one keeps a watch while others break open the house, all are guilty. Agreement to share the proceeds of theft is equal to theft itself (100). *Mrishāvāda* (false statement) is differenitiated from Avitathavāda (inaccurate ststement); in the former there is the intention to cheat; in the latter, it is absent.

There is a certain amount of fallacy if we proceed to reconstruct the monastic life of the age with the help of books like Acharasamgraha. It would be wrong to assume that all the offences enumerated in the Indian Penal code are frequently committed by every Indian; similarly it would not be correct to hold that the majority of the monks were guilty of the lapses mentioned in this book. Nevertheless a reading of the book leaves the impression that the number of the black legs in the monastaries was fairly large. That this work should warn the monks that they should not steal the banners hung on the stupas, or the necklaces from the houses of rich persons, or elephants grazing in forests, that they should not sell or pledge the property of the monastery (115) or that they should not collude with the merchants in evading the octroi duties by putting the gems on their own persons at the octroi barrier (108) or that they should not have intercourse with animals or with cleft figures moistened with oil (125) shows that everything was not well with monastic life. To argue that the Brahmacharya of a monk remained intact if he was criminally assaulted by nuns while he was in meditation, in sleep, or overdrunk *(surāpānamatta)* or if he maintained that he did not relish the intercourse (129) discloses a rather alarming state of affairs, as also the injuction that a monk should not hold up for admiration a woman who served him in privacy (133)[1]. It appears that some monks were not

1. Buddhist nuns & monks often served as messengers or agents in arranging marriages, as we know from Sanskrit dramas; our present work expressly prohibits this practice. They often acted as arbitrators in bringing about division of joint families; the work contains a warning that while doing so, they should not keep a share for themselves. Our work permits the privileges of *varshāvāsa* to vibhranta, Kudrishti, & nastika monks as also to those who had temporarily entered Grihasthashrama if they worked no harm to Samgha (113). The monastic community was thus far from the ideal one. There were novices who used to steal the पात्रचीवर of their teachers (94).

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quite indifferent to their appearance; there is a warning that *haritalachūrṇa* and chandanakumkumachurna should not be used for making the face smart & shining (rupanishpatti) (169). There is an express provision that monks should not deal in wine, lac, weapons, and poison. The work warns the monks that the plea, that in a particular place monks indulge in Vikala-bhojana, or usury & therefore they also should be allowed these indulgences, is invalid (171). There were often disputes about the distribution of *pātra* and *chīvara* between the permanent residents of a monastery and those who had come to stay there temporary. There were often mutual recriminations; our work warns the monks that they should not indulge in Jatinyunata, Kulanyunata, Dehanyunata or Vrittinyunata.

The work throws interesting light on monastic administration also. Separate accounts were kept of the income and property of the Stupa or Temple and of the monastery. Monks used to be appointed receivers for a fortnight or a month and they could not transfer the receipt of the samgha to the temple & vice versa, except by making written entries of the loans concerned. While giving charge they were to draw special attention to these transactions (97).

Gifts were assigned to the temple or monastery according to the intention of the donor. If the donor made no assignment, the gift was given to the temple if it consisted of gold or silver, seats and cots to chaturdisha samgha and robes &c to sammukhibhuta sangha. If the donor simply said चीवरमूल्यं दास्यामि then the gift was for the संमुखीभूत संघ; if he said वर्षोपितानां दास्यामि, then it went to the चतुर्दिश संघ. The property of a dead monk went to his Upādhyaya; if he was touring, then the simatasthayi monk also got a share in it. It was the function of this monk to assemble the monks from the neighbouring viharas at the time of Uposatha. The shares of monks in Varshavasa, who had left the monastery before distribution were reserved for them and kept in Kalpakuti.

Seats and cots were always the property of the monastery, they were alloted to monks for temporary use. They could not sell or pledge them; they had to keep them in good order & repairs, while in their possessions. Senior monks were assigned *manchas*, and the junior ones *pithas*.

If a monastery had extra rooms, three were always reserved for guests, one of class I, one of class II & one of class III. If guests were more than three, then as many as twelve could be accommodated in one room. If the guests were fewer than rooms, they could be alloted more than one room.

It will be thus seen that the Sramaneratika throws quite an interesting light on the contemporary Buddhism. Unfortunately as the photographs are indistinct in several places, and as we have only one Ms, it is impossible to dicipher the whole of it in a satisfactory manner.

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5. An Indonesian Birth-story of Hanuman

By Dr. C. Bulcke, S. J.

When reading foreign versions of the Rāma-story, which are at times very strange indeed, one is easily tempted to qualify them as entirely new productions of, say, Tibetan, Indonesian or Indo-Chinese imagination. In reality they are usually combinations of elements found in India. The Indonesian birth-story of Hanumān is a case in point. On the other hand, the great variety of Indian Rāma-stories has led scholars to believe that many of these stories are pre-Vālmīki. A thorough study of Rāmakathā-literature, having due regard to chronology, has convinced me that it is through Vālmīki's immortal epos that the Rāma-story became popular. Its popularity led to many additions and variations, which, however, seem to indicate a gradual growth, and, in most cases, a quite natural evolution of elements present in Vālmīki. Consequently, there seems to be no need whatever to postulate sources of the Rāma-story different from the ballads which Vālmīki knew. The various forms of the birth-story of Hanumān offer a good illustration of this gradual, almost natural, growth and also of the clear priority of Vālmīki's version of the Rāma-story.

The Indonesian Hikayat Seri Rāma[1] has the following birth-story of Hanumān. Gautama's unfaithful wife has three children, Anjanī (from her husband), Bāli and Sugrīva (from princes out of the world of spirits). Anjanī betrays her mother. Thereupon Gautama throws Bāli and Sugrīva into a magic tank, saying: If they come out unchanged they are my own. Both leave the water as monkeys, and go to Lagur where Bāli becomes king and Sugrīva his vice-roy. Anjanī's father imposes this curse on her: to stand open-mouthed on the point of a needle for a hundred years. A saint had warned Lakṣmaṇa that during his wanderings with Rāma, he would come across two tanks, one of which has the power to turn into animals all those that bathe therein, the other tank having the power to turn them into human beings again. When the exiles reach the spot, both Rāma and Sita insist on bathing in the first tank, in spite of Lakṣmaṇa's explicit warnings, and are turned into monkeys. They go off to disport themselves, and it is with great

1 Two editions: a Dr. Shellabear in JRASSB Vol. 17(1917) b Roorda van Eysingen, 1847. Both are compared and analysed by W. Stutterheim in Rāma-legenden and Rāmareliefs in Indonesien, Muenchen, 1924.

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difficulty that Lakṣmaṇa can catch them, and throw them into the second tank, by which they become human again. Sita has conceived in the interval; the foetus is extracted and brought by the Wind-god into the mouth of Anjanī, who, in due time, gives birth to Hanumān.

At first sight this seems to be an entirely new form of Hanumān's birth-story. In reality, however, every element of the above narrative is found in Indian literature. The Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa already narrates Ahalyā's infidelity, and has a birth-story of Hanumān, according to which he was born from Añjanā and Vāyu. Many Indian sources combine the above two elements and make Anjanī into the daughter of Gautama, who is cursed by her father and becomes the mother of Hanumān. A popular story from the Punjab[2] has it that one day Ahalyā awakens Gautama at midnight, the moon having risen. Gautama goes to the Ganges, but is told by the river-goddess to return later. Arriving home he finds his daughter Anjanī sitting in the court-yard. He asks her who is in the house; she answers "Mañjāra", which word means either cat or mother's lover. Gautama, angry because of the equivocation, curses her that she become pregnant. As a result she bears Hanumān.[3]

Another story from Gujarāt is somewhat similar, but makes Shiva the father of Hanumān. This new element is easily explained from the more ancient books where it first occurs, viz. the Shaiva and Shākta Puranas. The god Śiva had no role to play in the original story of the Rāmāyaṇa. It was only natural that his devotees should find him a place in this, the most popular kathā of India. In the oldest documents we find merely a mention of the fact that Hanumān is Rudrāvatāra.[4] In later sources, this is made much more explicit, and various stories are found which tell us *how* Śiva became the father of Hanumān.[5]

According to a popular story in Gujarat,[6] Anjani is cursed by her father Gautama, for helping Indra in his evil designs on Ahalyā and threa-

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2 Cf. Macauliffe, M.A. The Sikh Religion. Vol. VI, p. 56. Note 2

3 The original form of this story is found in the Kathasaritsagara: Indra out of fear for Gatama has taken the shape of a cat and it is Ahalyā who lies to Gautama and is cursed to become a stone. Cf. III, 17

4 Cf. Skanda purana, Mahabhagavata Devi P., Bṛhaddharma P., Mahanataka etc.

5 For example, the story of Visnu assuming Mohini-rupa and causing *effusio seminis* of Shiva; Cf. Shiva-P., Shatarudrasamhita, Ch. 20 and many other sources, mentioned in my Ramakatha No. 545, published by Hindi Parisad, Allahabad University.

6 Cf. R.E. Enthoven. The folklore of Gujarat. I.A. Vol. 40 Suppl.

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tened that she become the mother of a fatherless child. To prevent this she buries herself in the ground as far as the waist and begins austerities in the hope of propitiating Śiva. Nārada, ordered by Śiva, delivers a mantra into her ear, by which she conceived Hanumān. He had the form of a monkey, because at the time Anjani happened to behold a monkey Keshi, on a neighbouring tree.

A story from South-India, found in two different forms, brings us much closer to the Indonesian version. In the Tattvasaṃgraha Rāmāyaṇa we read the following birth-story of Hanuman: "Śiva and Pārvatī see on Mount Kailāsa a Vānara pair in love-sport; at that time Pārvatī conceives an oversized baby which she transfers, even as it is first conceived in womb, to sage Gautama's daughter who was doing penance for the sake of a child; just at that time God Wind going that side took a fancy for this daughter of Gautama, to whom He transfers the child conceived by Parvatī; as a consequence of all this, Gautama's daughter bore to God Wind Āñjaneya, an ultimate manifestation of Śiva."[7] The above does not explain very well why Hanuman is born a monkey, but the other South-Indian version, written down by J. Fenicio S.J. circa 1600 A. D. is much more explicit on this point.[8] One day Īśvara and his consort Paramesvarī invited the gods to one of their famous dance-performances. Whilst the guests were assembling Paramesvarī looked towards the forest, where she saw two monkeys disporting themselves. At her request both Śiva and herself became monkeys and went off to the forest to play together. Some time later the impatient guests despatched the Wind-God to fetch the absent hosts. In the meanwhile Śiva and Pārvatī had taken their normal appearance; but Pārvatī, who during the interval had onceived, was ashamed at the prospect of giving birth to a monkey. She, therefore, asked the Wind-god to transfer the child from her womb to that of another woman. He agreed and tranfered it to the womb of Anjanī, who later gave birth to Hanumān.

This story, then, is the origin of the Indonesian version of Hanuman's birth. In Indonesia Rama and Sīta have been substituted for Śiva and Pārvatī, and another Indian story, viz. that of Anjanī being cursed by her father, has been added to it. It is true that the method of transformation is different: Śiva and Pārvatī assume the shape of monkeys of their own will, whereas Rāma and Sītā are changed into monkeys because of bathing in a tank. But even this latter element is not an Indonesian invention; it is found in an interpolated canto of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, which, moreover, relates

7. Cf. the summary by Dr. V. Raghavan in Annals of Oriental Research, 1953, p. 33

8. Cf. Livro da Seita. Ed. by J. Charpenter. Upsala 1933

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the birth of Bali and Sugriva. A monkey Ṛkṣaraja, seeing his own image in a tank on Mt. Meru, jumps into the water and is changed into a beautiful woman. From her are subsequently born both Bali and Sugrīva, having as fathers Indra and Sūrya respectiveiy.[9]

However strange, then, the Indonesian birth-story of Hanumān may seem to be at first sight, the above analysis clearly shows that every element of it is found in India. Other Indonesian, Indochinese and Siamese versions[10] of the story, where Hanumān is the son of Rāma, are all somewhat similar and clearly dependent of the birth-story quoted at the beginning of this paper.

Finally we must mention another form of the Hanuman-janma-katha. Very late sources, such as the Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa, connect the birth of Hanumān with the Putreṣṭi-yajña of Daśaratha, and give us to understand that Hanumān is a partial incarnation of Viṣṇu. A vulture or crow steals part of the pāyasa, which eventually reaches Anjanā, who, in consequence, bears Hanumān.[11]

The many forms, therefore, of the Hanumān-janma-kathā, however varied they may be, bear clearly the imprint of the narrative as found in Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa. In all of them Añjanā (Anjanī) is the mother, and Vāyu although no more the father, still plays a role in most of them. The story as found in Vālmīki is by far the most widespread; still it must be admitted that many sources, none of them earlier than the 8th-9th cent. A. D. accept Hanumān as an incarnation of Śiva. The late date at which this new element appears, is a sufficient guarantee that it does not go back to ancient pre-Vālmīki popular forms of the Rāma-story. On the contrary, this new element, as pointed out above, can easily be explained by the desire of the Śaivas to give their Iṣṭadeva a place in the Rāmāyaṇa. As to the birth-stories where Hanumān is an incarnation of Viṣṇu, they are later still and cannot be traced before the 15th-16th centureis A. D. These narratives will seem less surprising if we remember that similar stories are found with regard to Sītā and Vibhīṣaṇa also. In Siam[12], a crow sent by Rāvaṇa, steals part of the pāyasa, which is given to Mandodarī, who, subsequently bears Sītā. A story from South-India[13] has it that a crow stole part of the pāyasa as Daśaratha was proceeding to his inner apartments. This was brought to Kaikaṣī, who, in consequence, bore Vibhīṣaṇa.

9. Cf. Uttarakāṇḍa, Sarga 37, interpolated Sarga 1.
10. Cf. my Ramakatha Nos. 548-550
11. Cf. Ānanda Rāmāyana 1, 2; R.E. Enthoven, ib. p. 54; E. Moor, The Indian Pantheoin, p. 316; P. Thomas, Legends of India, p. 80
12. Cf. Rāma-Kīrti, Ch. 10
13. Cf. J. Fenicio ib.

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At the end I would like to point to the possible origin of Hanumān's birth-story as found in Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, where Hanumān is the son of Vayu and Anjanā. Since there is no mention whatever of Hanumān, neither in Vedic literature, nor in the Gathas of the Buddhist Jātakas, it seems probable that the later popularity of Hanumān is due to the diffusion of the Rāma-story and the role he plays in it. His original name *Hanumān* is probably derived from Dravidian languages, and means male *(āṇ)*-monkey *(Manti)*.[14] Later on he might have been given the epithet Vāyuputra, because of his exploits in the Rāma-story. In the Sumagga-Jātaka (No 430) mention is made of a vidyadhara, a magician, whose name is *Vāyussa putta*. Nowhere in that jātaka is there the slightest allusion to Hanumān or any other monkey. Elsewhere too *Vāyussa putta* is used in the meaning of vidyādhara or magician; and in the Mahābhārata *Vātika* means magician.[15] Now, in the Rāmāyaṇa, Hanumān jumps across the sea, finds out where Sītā is, fetches the mountain with the herbs and performs exploits which are truly marvelous. It is therefore possible, and perhaps probable that, because of these exploits, he was given the name of Vāyuputra, i.e. magician. After that it was almost normal, that some story or other should have originatet to explain his name and make him actually the son of Vayu and an apsarā, who, due to a curse, had become a monkey. In the ancient literature of all countries do we find similar etymological stories: the name of the hero or heroine is more ancient than the story which is construed afterwards in order to explain the origin of the name.[16]

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14. Cf. J. R. A. S. 1911 p. 803

15. Cf. German Oriental Journal, Vol 93, p. 89

16. For other etymological stories in Rāma-kathā literature, re. Sītā, Rāvaṇa, Kuśa, Bāli, Sugriva and Vālmīki, Cf. my Rāmakatha, No 612. Special mention may be made of the story in the Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa of Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, by which the name *Hanumān* is explained. Jāmbavān relates that after his birth the child jumped into the sky to seize the sun, which he took for a fruit. Assaulted by Indra, the child fell bown and droke his chin *(hanu)* on a rock; in consequence he was called *Hanumān*.

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An Episode in Siddhicandra's Life similar to the Yavani affair of Jagannath

By Prof. R. C. Parikh

Siddhicandra is known to the student of Sanskṛt literature as a joint author with his guru Bhānucandra of a commentary on the Kādambarī of Bāna. He lived (circa, 1587 to 1666 A. D.) during the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngir and Śāhajahān and received his schooling at the court of Akbar and was intimate with Jahāngir and other Moghal princes. He not only became a well-grounded sanskṛt scholar but he also studied Pārasī that is Persian at the instance of Akbar. He was the author of several works of which twenty one are known. (Cf. introduction to Bhānucandra carita p. 71-74 & my introduction to काव्यप्रकाशखण्डन. One of his important works is a sort of criticism of kavya-prakaśa and is called kavya-prakaśa-khandana, a work recently edited by me. In this work, he also refers to a Bṛhad tīkā on kavya-prakaśa which he wrote in the name of his guru. This work, however, is not yet discovered. Another important work of his is the life of his guru, named Bhanucandra carita. The latter part (chaturtha-prakaśa V. 68 onwards) of this work is in fact, his autobiography which is interesting from various points of view. This work has been edited by the late Shri Mohanlal Desai and published in The Singhi Jain Series. It throws many side lights on the social and religious contacts and conflicts with the Islamic Mogal rulers.

The story of the love-affair of Panditrāja Jagannātha with Yavanī who is sometimes called Lavangikā is well-known to the students of Jagannātha. This episode of his life is not regarded as historical but is attributed to the jealousy of his rivals and caste-fellows. The discussion of the following episode in Siddhicandra's life, however, would make scholars pause befor they reject this tradition about Jagannātha as altogether improbable. The narration of this event, I may say incidentally, contains a description of the beautiful Nurjahān which, as for as my knowledge goes, is the only known Sanskṛt description of that remarkable Queen.

After Siddhicandra became intimate with Jahāngir, he used to meet the emperor frequently. One such meeting is described in the following verses. At this meeting, Jahangir was accompanied by his Queen who was at the time known as Nurmahāl who is called Nurmahallā by Siddhicandra. Siddhicandra, at the time, was, as he himself says, twenty-five years of age.

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That jovial and pleasure-loving empoeror did not approve of this handsome young man remaining ascetic and not enjoying the pleasures of life, particularly the company of beutiful women.

वयसीद्दृ(?) ततस्ततस्ताम्रतरुणी करणोचिते सौख्यं विषयिकं त्यक्त्वा किमात्मा तपसेऽर्पितः। (श्लो. २३९) Siddhicandra replies—

'नवे वयसि या दिक्षा नैव हास्याय सा सताम्।
नहि पीयूषपानेऽपि प्रस्तावः प्रेक्ष्यते बुधैः॥२४१

and so on. Jahāngir is not easily convinced and argues with him as follows. At the time siddhicandra informs us that the king's eyes were rolling with the effects of wine.

'कृतकादम्बरीपानविघूर्णितविलोचनः।
भूयः प्रत्याह भूपस्तान् भीष्मगंभीरया गिरा।'
'प्रवर्धमाने तारुण्ये मीनकेतनसद्मनि।
अत्यंततरलं चेतः कथं स्थैर्यमुपैति वः॥' २४७–२४८

Siddhicandra replies—'ज्ञानेनैतद् स्थिरीभवेत्।२४९

Jahāngir retorts by saying—

'भवदुक्तंमिदं मया। सम्यक्कृतया कथं ज्ञातुं
शक्यं तद् ज्ञानमन्तरा।'२५१

Siddhicandra argues with him by giving several illustrations in which men and women are not influenced by sensual pleasures.

The king is pleased with his arguments but is not inclined to change his mind. At this point Nurmahallā joins issue. She is described in the following verses १२५९–२६८

'मञ्जरीरूपवृक्षस्यं पुष्पेषोरिव कामिनी।
प्रभासौभाग्यरत्नस्य लक्ष्मीर्लावण्यवारिधेः॥
तदग्रमहिषी नूरमहल्लास्तेऽतिवल्लभा।
जितं भासेव वक्त्रेन्दोर्नासीद्यस्याः स्मितं बहिः॥
अङ्गुलिपल्लवोल्लासि नर्खाशुकुसुमाञ्चितम्।
असेवि भूपदृग्भृङ्गैर्यस्या बाहुलतांयुगम्॥
काञ्चीपट्टो नितम्बेऽस्ति मदधःस्थेऽपि नो मयि।
इतीव दुःखतस्तस्यां मध्यदेशः कृशोऽभवत्॥
आभितः शोभते यस्याः श्यामला कुन्तलावलिः।
विधुभ्रमेण वक्त्रस्य रजनीवानुचारिणी॥
वीज्यमानस्य विश्वेन लोचना चलचामरैः।
यत्कण्ठो मुखराजस्य वेत्रासनमिवेक्ष्यते॥
भ्राजेऽनुमीयमाना या विपंची मधुरस्वरैः।
मुक्तावलीव भारत्या यन्मुखे दशनावली॥

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अब्ज एव क्रमौ यस्या न हंसो यदसेवत ।
गतिनिर्जयलज्जैव जानीमस्तत्र कारणम् ॥
इत्यस्याः सकले गात्रे महान् दोषोऽयमेव हि ।
अपि वर्षशतैस्तृप्तिः पश्यतः कस्यचिन्नहि ॥
सत्यप्यन्तःपुरे तस्यां रेमे क्ष्मापतिमानसम् ।
लक्ष्ये नक्षत्रलक्षेऽपि चक्षुश्चन्द्रतनौ व्रजेत् ॥

As I have said before, this is the only instance of the description of the beautiful Nurjahān in sanskrit literature.

तदा विश्वंभराभर्तुः सा ब्रवीत् प्राणवल्लभा ।
'तारुण्ये क्व मनस्स्थैर्यमसंभाव्यामिदं वचः ॥' २६९

Siddicandra replies—

'बलक्षाधिपतिः किं न तारुण्येऽभूज्जितेन्द्रियः ।' २७०

and quotes the following—

'सोलह सहस महेलिआं, तुरी अठारह लक्ख ।
साइंकेवइ कारणइं, छोडया सहरबिलक्ख ॥' २७१

(This reference to the King of Balakkha might be the result of his study of Persian literature.) He defends his thesis in the proper tārkika style. The haughty Queen, however, rejects his arguments—

स्मयाभिभूता भूयोऽपि सैवतान् प्रत्यभाषत ।
'योगस्तु भुक्तभोगानां नृणां प्रान्ते प्रकीर्त्तितः ॥'
'भुक्त्वैव विविधान् भोगान् ये त्यजन्ति त एव हि ।
लोके स्युस्त्यागिनः सम्यग नान्ये त्वप्राप्ततद्रसाः ॥'
'अलब्धविषयास्वादा ये भवन्ति तपस्विनः ।
ते स्युर्वनेचरप्रख्यास्तत्त्वातत्त्वविदो नहि ॥'
'अरुचिः स्यान् नृणां शश्वद् भुज्यमाने च वस्तुनि ।
तथैव भुक्तभोगस्य विषयेषु न चान्यथा ॥'
'अदृष्टे वस्तुनि प्रायो मनो धावति सत्वरम् ।
तथैवाभुक्तभोगस्य मनस्तत्रैव गच्छति ॥' २७५–२७९

After the Queen finishes, Jahāngir joins the wordy duel. He says—(२८४–२९७).

ततः श्रीमज्जिहांगीरः पुनस्तानभ्यधादिति ।
'सर्वमेतन्मयाऽश्रावि त्वद्वचो युक्तिसंयुतम् ॥
मुनिमार्गानुगामित्वं साम्प्रतं साम्प्रतं न ते ।
विलोक्येन गन्धफलीप्रख्येयं यत्तनुस्तव ॥
मालतीमुकुलेयुक्तं किं कुकूलाग्निमोचनम् ।
योग्यं वा नलिनीनाले क्वचित् ऋकचदारणम् ? ॥

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वरं क्षौमाम्बरे किं स्यात् कर्करीत्कर बन्धनम्।
उच्चैर्मणिचूर्णस्योचितः क्षेपः किमीक्षणे ?॥
काचकुम्भे किमु श्रेष्ठं दृढान्मुद्गरताडनम्।
किं रम्भास्तम्भगर्भेऽसिघातः पातः सतां मतः॥ ?
अस्मिन् शिरीषपुष्पाग्रसुकुमारे कुमार किम्।
केशोन्मूलनमुख्यानि दुःखानीष्टानि तेऽङ्गके॥
आश्रमेषु च सर्वेषु ज्यायान्गृहेव कीर्त्तितः।
प्रवर्त्तनं यतोऽन्येषां तदाधारतया स्थितम्॥
वाहिनीभिः परिवृतः समुद्रस्त्वं समुद्रवत्।
तिष्ठ मत्सूनुसादृश्यमुद्वहन् मम सन्निधौ॥
मृगेक्षणाभिः संसारसारता ज्ञायते जने।
अतः सदारतां तावत् स्वीकुरुष्व मदुक्तितः॥
यतः पुत्रादिसम्पत्तौ, साफल्यं जन्मनो भवेत्।
पादपो हि फलाभावे, ग्रामीणैरपि निन्द्यते॥
तृणादपि लघु प्रोक्ता, धान्यत्वग्मार्गणास्ततः।
अतो हि तुच्छताहेतु, कर्म कुर्वन्न लज्जसे॥
अहो रूपमहो सत्त्वमहो विद्यापरिश्रमः।
भवत्सु सर्वशोभाकृन्मुक्त्वैकां पादचारिताम्॥
जगत्कर्त्रा कृतं सर्वमस्माकं भुक्तिहेतवे।
तन्निर्देशं प्रकुर्वाणा, अग्रेऽपि सुखिनो वयम्॥
इहाऽपि दुःखिनो यूयं, परत्राऽपि च दुःखिनः।
भविताऽस्येश्वर प्रोक्तमार्गातिक्रमतत्पराः॥'

Jahāngir's words 'God created all this for our enjoyment and by obeying his command, we shall be happy hereafter, while you are unhappy here and will be so hereafter' should be noted. They show a trend of thought of probably based upon Islamic view of life.

Siddhicandra, is no doubt, agitated but manages to keep cool and answers the emperor. (२९८-२९९)

इति यौक्तिक माकर्ण्य सुरत्राणोदितं वचः।
ते पुनर्धैर्यमालम्ब्याऽविलम्बेनोत्तरं ददुः॥
'आदिष्टं सत्येवैतत् प्रियं च प्रभुभिः परम्।
रक्तानां क्षोभयेच्चित्तं विरक्तानां तु न क्वचित्॥

Jahāngir persuades him as follows:—(३०१ to ३०४—)

मन एव मनुष्याणां प्रमाणं पुण्यपापयोः।
मनो विना विधाने च न काचिन्तियमक्षतिः॥

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अत्रापि कश्चिद्दोषश्चेत् प्रायश्चित्तेन तं पुनः ।
निराकुर्याल्लङ्घनोत्थं कार्श्यं पथ्यादनादिव ॥
उत्सर्गश्चाऽपवादश्च यतिधर्मेऽप्युभौ स्मृतौ ।
सर्वैरपि यतः सार्वैस्तदैकान्तग्रहो मुधा ॥

किञ्च

स्याद्वाद एव सर्वत्र युक्तः स्याद्वादवादिनाम् ।
तेषामेकान्तवादस्तु मिथ्यात्वमिति गीयते ॥

It may be noted that Jahāngir uses the argument Syādavāda,—the Jain theory of reconciling opposites—against this Syādavādin.

Siddhicandra answers Jahāngir point by point but the emperor finally orders him as follows—

'गार्हस्थ्य मूररीकृत्य भुंक्ष्व भोगान् पुरंध्रिभिः ।
देशाधिपत्यं मन्यस्व गृहाणाश्वगजान् पुनः ॥'
'इमां शेषामिवाशेषां मदाज्ञां कुरु मूर्धनि ।
न चेत् त्वाममुना नेता कृतान्तातिथि तामहम् ॥' ३२७

Of course, Siddicandra does not yield to the threats of the emperor and the king finally banishes him out of his court and the city.

In the light of this episode, one can say that it is quite probable that Jagannātha might have been tempted similarly by Jahāngir and beeing a man of the world and lover of beauty might have succumbed to the blandishment of the king and the charms of the young Persian beauty. I think that the Lavangikā affair is not to be attributed to the malice of his caste-fellows and rival pandits but that it must have some historical justification behind it.

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7. The Importance of Tradition and Asvaghosa in determining the date of Kalidasa

By H. R. Aggarwal, M. A., PEs.

The date of the illustrious poet Kālidāsa has been confounded by two significant papers read at the last Oriental Conference held at Lucknow, namely No. 35 by Dr. R. K. Chaube in the Classical Sanskrit section and No. 7 by Sri Kota Venkatachalam in the History section. Dr. Chaube has traced the history of the word 'Apratiratha', along with cognate words Rathi, Ardharatha, and Maharathi throughout the ages since the Vedic times and also traced it in the Visnusahasranama. He concludes with the significant remark, "Its unique use in the Śakuntalā by Kalidasa shows *beyond doubt* that Kalidasa was connected with the Imperial Guptas whose coins and inscriptions bear out the use of this epithet (Italics)". Probably he believes that Kalidasa flourished in the 4th or the 5th century A. D. Unfortunately Dr. Chaube has laid too much emphasis on the use of a single word 'Apratiratha' by Kalidasa and the conclusion arrived at by him cannot be rightly deduced from the hypotheses laid down by him. Much more significant however is the use of certain *Vedic Words* by him and his *unartificial style* which clearly place him in the transitional period between Vedic and Sanskrit, is earlier than the beginning of the Christian Era.

Shri K. Venkatachalam has reckoned the periods of the different dynasties that ruled the country from Magadha, beginning with the Mahabharata chronologically and reached the conclusion that "the beginning of the Maurya dynasty comes to 1534 B. C. and that of the Gupta period to 327 B. C." He further remarks that "according to the Greek histories, the king of Magadha at the time of the invasion of Alexander was Gupta Chandra Gupta and not Chandra Gupta Maurya. So Chandra Gupta Maurya cannot be confounded with Gupta Chandra Gupta". This bold assertion however did not receive any serious attention of the scholars, probably because it is not tenable on epigraphic and numismatic grounds, otherwise Kalidasa's association with the Imperial Guptas would place him in the pre-christian era, even earlier than the lst century B. C.

Traditionally however Kālidāsa is associated not with the Imperial Guptas, but with Vikramāditya, the founder of Vikrama era (57 B. C.). The latter is said to be the son of Gandharvasena, King of Ujjayinī. He established

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the Vikrama Samvat to commemmorate his victory over the Śakas, and he came to be known as Śakāri. He was himself a great lover of poetry and also the patron of the great poet Kālidāsa. It is note-worthy that Śātavāhana king Hāla who flourished in the lst Century A. D. has recorded the munificent and grand personality of Vikramāditya in the Gāthāsaptaśatī. E. g. of the following verse.

संवाहण सुहरस तोसिएण दन्तेण तुहकरे लकखम्।
चलणेण विक्कमाइत्त चरिअं श्रणुसिविखअं तिस्सा॥ ५।६४

While commenting upon this verse Gadādhara writes:-

"पक्षे संवाहणं संबाधनम्। लकखवं लक्षम्। विक्रमादित्योऽधि भृत्यकर्तुकेन शत्रुसंबाधनेन तुष्टः सत् भृत्यस्य करे लक्षम् ददातीत्यर्थः।"

This shows that the fact of Vikramāditya's distributing lacs to his servants in honour of a victory over his enemies was well-known to the author of the Gāthā saptaśatī, M. M. Pt. Har Prasad Shastri has dealt with the historical character of Vikramāditya in lst Century B. C. (cf Epigraphia Indica Vol. XII P. 320). Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar raised certain objections to this on the basis of certain astrological references (Bhandarkar Comm. Vol. P. 187-9), which have been explained by M. M. Pt. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha (cf प्राचीन लिपिमाला. P. 168) and need not be repeated here.

It is significant that Vikramāditya of lst Century B. C. is frequently mentioned in the Jain Literature.

(a) According to Prabandha koṣa, King Vikramāditya is said to have founded the Samvat in Mahavir Samvat 470 (i. e. 527-470=57 B. C.).

(b) The Patāvali of Acharya Merutunga records that the Śakas ruled over Ujjayini for 14 years; that King Vikramāditya, son of Gardabhilla seized Ujjayini by ousting the Śakas from that place, and that this (memorable) event took place in Mahavir Samvat 470 (i. e. 57 B. C.) It further records that King Vikramāditya ruled for 60 years, his son Vikramacarita (i. e. Dharmāditya) for 40 years, and his successors Bhailla, Nailla and Mahāmada for 11, 14 and 10 years respectively.

At that time in Mahavir Samvat 605 (i. e. 78 A. D.) the Śaka Samvat was founded. This very aptly conforms with the above tradition and the difference of 135 years between Vikrama Samvat and Śaka Samvat.

(c) The शत्रुञ्जय माहात्म्य of Dhaneśvara Sūri also mentions that Vikramāditya would flourish in Vīra (Mahāvīra) Samvat 466.

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This tradition is further corroborated by numerous references in द्वात्रिंशत् पुत्तलिका, राजावली and कथासरित्सागर and has consistently come down to us through the stories of adventures of the Rājasthāna collected and edited by Col. Tod. Vikramāditya has throughout been known as Śakāri and king of Ujjayinī. It is noteworthy that the Kathāsaritsāgara clearly mentions two Vikramādityas, one King of Ujjayinī whose adventures he descibes in detail in the 18th Lambhaka, and the other King of Pāṭaliputra (in the 7th Lambhaka).

Attempts have been made to identify Vikramāditya, the founder of Vikrama Era, with Candra Gupta II Vikramaditya.

Vikramāditya Śakāri, as known to Indian tradition, is the proper name of the chivalrous king who ruled over Ujjayini after ousting the Śakas from there and not the epithet of a king who ruled over Pāṭaliputra. The very fact that Candra Gupta II adopted Vikramāditya as his epithet presupposes that there must have been some vary famous king of that name before that date. (For instance, the kings of Rome adopted Caesar as their title, but there was a king of that name before them.)

The Imperial Guptas were connected with Magadha and Pāṭaliputra and not with Ujjayinī. They had founded a Samvat of their own, and they never adopted Vikrama Samvat or Mālava Samvat. How did then the name of Vikrama came to be associated with the Samvat of 57 B. C. if Vikramāditya Śakāri did not establish it in the pre-christian Period? The importance of tradition cannot be underrated. Unless there are strong reasons to disbelieve the tradition, it cannot and should not be lightly discarded. Those who disbelieve the tradition have also to show when and in whose interests was that tradition manufactured.

That Kālidāsa might have flourished in the 1st Century B. C. is further corroborated by the remarkable affinity between the works of the Buddhist Poet Aśvaghoṣa and those of Kālidāsa. There is a close resemblance between the two poets not only in thought and the handling of the subject matter but also in style, the use of Alamkāras and choice of metres etc...E. g. *Subject matter* (cf Buddhacaritam III 13-19, the description of the procession of Siddhārtha with Raghuvamśa VII 5-12 the description of the procession of Raghu; similarly cf the attack of Cupid on Siddhārtha (Buddhacaritam XIII 6) with the attack of cupid on Śiva (Kumāra III, 6). Such examples can be multiplied. Similarly the use of words like धिष्ण्य and निर्वाहण etc. as also the use of several compounds is exactly identical in both. Similarly the use of Alamkāras e.g. their similies:-

मार्गाचल व्यतिकरासुलितेव सिन्धुः शैलाधिराजतनया न ययौ न तस्थौ। (कु. सं. ५. ८५)

with सोऽनिश्चयान्नापि ययौ न तस्थौ तरंस्तरंगेष्विव राजहंसः॥ (सौन्दरानय ४,४२)

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or व्यूढोरस्को वृषस्कन्धः शालप्रांशुर्महाभुजः । (R. V. I, 12)

(The description of Dilīpa)

with दीर्घबाहुर्महावक्षाः सिंहांसो वृषभेक्षणः । (Saaundara. II, 58)

The resemblance is so striking that they could not have written independently. It is also admitted on all hands that Kālidāsa is certainly superior of the two. Some scholars however believe that Kālidāsa must have followed Aśvaghoṣa because he is more developed than him. This however ignores the fact that the history of Sanskrit Kavya is the history of its growing artificiality. Kālidāsa is certainly less artiticial. He uses certain Vedic words in his works and flourished in the transitional period between Vedic and Sanskrit. On the other hand Aśvaghoṣa never uses any Vedic word. The earliest Buddhist Literature was written in Pali. Aśvaghoṣa the great Buddhist scholar wrote his works to popularise Buddhism but had to write the same in *Sanskrit.* This shows that some great Brahmanic revival must have taken place in the Pre-Christian era. That the greatest Brahmanic poet might have imitated a Buddhist poet and paraded the things borrowed by him in both his Mahākāvyas is not believable. On the other hand, it is quite believable that the Buddhist poet imitated the greatest Brahmanic poet. If he did not come up to his level it was because he was not possessed of as penetrating and fine poetic genius as that of Kālidāsa. The chronological difference between Kālidāsa and Aśvaghoṣa should be as little as possible. Aśvaghoṣa flourished in the lst Century A. D. in the reign of Kanishka. If Kālidāsa be treated as his predecessor, the difference between the two would be about a hundred years; but if Kālidāsa be placed in the regime of the Imperial Guptas, this difference would recede three centuries. This too is a very important factor in determining the date of Kālidāsa.

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8. Bijapur Calligraphy (A.H. 1000-1035)

By Dr. Nazir Ahmad M.A.; Ph.D; D.Litt

The first 35 years of the llth century of the Muslim era coincides with the reign of Ibrahim Adil II, who was the most gifted prince of Bijapur and to him the world owes an amazing debt in learning and scholarship. He was a poet and critic of very high order and excelled in various branches of fine arts, particularly of music, painting and calligraphy he was considered as a skilled master. To the last named branch the Sultan was attached from his boyhood days. The contemporary historian, Mohd. Qasim Firishtah makes a reference[1] to his early training in the arts ot penmanship. The other scholar of the age, viz., the author of the *Majmaul-Gharaib* speaks[2] in superlative terms about the Shah's attainments in this art. The *Sih Nasr-i-Zuhuri* fully confirms[3] the views expressed by the above writers. The historians[4] of the subsequent period fully share the opinion of their predecessors, that Ibrahim Adil was an adept in various styles of Persian calligraphy, particularly in Naskh, Suls, Raihan, and Nastaliq hands. Zuhuri was so impressed by his achievements as to compose 83 Rubais[5] and a long Qasidah[6] extolling the Sultan's success in the art.

Únfortunately no specimen of his calligraphy has been avilable so as to make an estimate of his excellence in this art. But his devotion to it and his proverbial liberality attracted a number of renowned artists from Persia and Arabia to his court with the result that within a short time the Sultan of Bijapur succeeded in introducing a separate Dakhini School of Calligraphy which was subsequently established on a firm footing. The styles which were popular during the reign of this gifted prince were Naskh, Suls,

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1 Vol. II, P. 48

2 Its only copy in the hand of author himself is preserved in the Central Records office, Hydrabad. Its date of transcription (A. H. 1027) corresponds to that of its completion. Its foll. are not marked.

3 pp. 58–59

4 Vide Fuzuni's *Futuhat-i-Adilshahi*, fol. 367, Zubairi's *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 275 and *Subh-i-Sadiq*, p. 1823.

5 Kulliyyat, pp. 646–651, (6) Ibid pp. 42–44 It begins:

چیست آں پیکر کہ سرتا پا زبان است ودہاں درسخندانی بعالم طاق ازجفت بیاں

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Raihan, Riqa, Shikast and Nastaliq. Of these the most popular was the Naskh which, being the important fundamental style, is chiefly responsible for bringing in a renaissance in the art of calligraphy. The popularity of the style lies in the tendency to realise the grace latent in the script itself; that is, the writing and not the ornamental rythm it could display, became the object of calligraphy'.[1] Despite the fact that this style was mostly used by Arabic speaking peoples, the causes of its chief popularity in the Deccan during this period could not be known. It was not without Sultan's special attachment to this style that all the significant MSS of his *Kitab-i-Nauras* (except one, which is in Raihan, an offshoot of the same) are found in the Naskh Calligraphy. The *Muraqqa-i-Adil Shahi*, preserved in the Salar Jung Collections (Hyderabad) and containing the specimens of the handwriting of various penmen of the court of Ibrahim Adilshah is chiefly predominated by Naskh Style of Persian calligraphy. The scattered inscriptions found in paintings, architectural buildings and elsewhere are also suggestive of the popularity of this particular style.

The Suls is the ornamental variety of the Naskh style. It differs from the latter only in the proportion of its curves and stroke. As it was commonly used in ornament, it was generally written in bold curves and wide swinging waves slightly recoiling on their pointed tops. The royal calligraphist, Abdul Latif Mustafa, used the Suls hand in transcribing the *Kitab-i-Nauras*. The *Muraqqa-i-Adilshahi* shows the popularity of this style after the Naskh. The inscriptions of the buildings are mostly in this style.

Resembling the Suls and its pointed strokes but more peculiar in its execution is the style called Raihan. Its strokes end in straight points and rarely turn up in a curve as in the Suls. The old MSS of the *Kitab-i-Nauras* having been written in this style fully confirm its popularity during the reign of Ibrahim. The above album consists of sufficient specimens of Raihan style pointing to its popularity.

The Shikast style is a simplification of the Nastaliq in which the letters are rarely disconnected from each other. Though the style looks as having been written in a careless way, much practice is needed to write this hand artistically. We come across various specimens of this style during the reign of Ibrahim which proves its popularity in that period.

The curves of Nastaliq style are smooth or oval or round like crescent. Its strokes are long and pointed like a straight sword and flow either horizontally or with a slight bend. It was also common in Bijapur.

The important calligraphists of the court of Bijapur were these:-

1. Ziaud-Din–Muslim Calligraphy, p. 45

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1. Khalilullah Butshikan by descent a Syyid of Herat occupied the foremost place among the royal calligraphists of Bijapur. His Nastaliq style excelled the writings of all the earlier and later penmen. In the prime of his youth he went to Shah Abbas and served him as his teacher. When Shah Abbas left Khurasan for Iraq, Khalilulah set out for India and was tied to the apron-string of Ibrahim II. The Safawi monarchs of Iran having been on friendly terms with the sovereigners of the Deccan, Shah Abbas sent for Khalilullah and the latter was sent off to the Persian court by Ibrahim Adil as his plenipotentiary. Having received proper esteem at the court of Persia, he returned to India and passed the rest of his life at the Adilshahi court with glory and distinction.[1] Zuhuri has given[2] a vivid and graphic description of Khalil's skill and dexterity in the art of penmanship. It is said[3] he copied the Kitab-i-Nauras with great care and presented it to the Sultan in A. H. 1027/1618, who was extremely pleased with the gift and the accomplishment of the artist. He conferred on him the title of Badshah-i-Qalam; i.e., 'the King of Pen' and as a mark of respect made him sit on his throne. After the ceremony was over he bade his courtier to accompany him to his residence. The words, *Shah gardid badshah-i-Qalam*, give the date of the ceremony.

(2) *Muhammad Baqir of Kashan*,[4] the notable poet at this court was an accomplished calligraphist and in a number of his verses he has alluded to his excellence in the art of calligraphy. His teacher in this art was Muizz-ud-Din Khattat of Kashan, one of the most reputed calligraphist of his time. Baqir's early excellence in this art had claimed for him the charge of the library of Sadrud-Din Muhammad Waiz of Shiraz even earlier than A.H. 975. He was again placed in charge of the library of Nawab Farhad Khan, the prime minister of Shah Abbas, most probably at the suggestion of the Shah himself in A.H. 1001-1002/1591-92. It was owing to his accomplishments in the art that on his arrival in Bijapur the charge of the state library was made over to him, where he was to supervise the work of subordinate scribes and to look to the quality of their handwriting. He had been on this post over 28 years until his death in 1034/1626.

The biographers and even one historian have unusually admired his style of calligraphy. The contemporary *Maasir-i-Rahimi* mentions him with

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(1) *The futuhat*, p. 367.
(2) *The Sih Nasr-i-Zuhuri*, pp. 77-79.
(3) *The Tazkira-i-Khushnawisan*, pp. 79-80.
(4) Vide the *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, foll. 140-141; *Arafat-ul-Ashiqin*, foll. 152-53; *Suhuf-i-Ibrahim*, foll. 138

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the title 'Khush Nawis'; the author of the *Majma-un-Nafais*, who had seen his Diwan in his own hand, also mentions the same title. The other contemporary Taqi pays a very glorious tribute to his skill in this art. But it is not known which style or styles he was skilled in. In Taqi's biography the term *'Raihan-i-Khat'* though used figuratively, may, however, refere to his excellence in the Raihan style of calligraphy.

Unfortunately no specimen of his handwriting has been traced so far. The MS. of his Diwan preserved in the Salar Jang Museum apparently of contemporaneous nature, has been revised very carefully with additions and modifications, in a different *shikast-amiz* hand. These corrections may be ascribed to the author himself but for a term, 'Wa lahu', used only for the third person. On the title page of the copy of the *Kitab-i-Nauras* prepared by Mustafa, appears a note in an elegant Nastaliq about the introduction of the MS. into the state libary in A.H. 1022/(1613). Since at that time Baqir was the supervisor of the state library, the above note may be assigned to him.

Baqir must have copied the Sultan's book, but no such MS. is traceable. The one preserved in Bankipur (in the Khuda Baksh Libray) was transcribed by Muhammad Baqir; but there is nothing to show that he is identical with the famous calligraphist at the court of Bijapur.

(3) *Zuhuri*, the well-known poet and prose writer at the court of Bijapur, was an adept in the art of calligraphy. He could write Shikast and Naskh hands very well. It is said he copied out Rauzat-us-Safa many a time and thereby earned a lot. However, specimen of his Naskh-cum-Nastaliq style appearing in the MS. of his Diwan having been corrected in the author's own hand, adequately prove his excellence in this art.

(4) *Abdul Latif Mustafa* was an important calligraphist of the court of Ibrahim Adil. He was a master of many styles; and a number of specimens of his Naskh, Suls, Raihan and Riqa styles are available to us through the *Muraqqa–Adilshahi*. He prepared a MS. of the *Kitab–i–Nauras* in Naskh and Suls styles which was subseqently removed to the State library at Bijapur in A.H. 1022/1613. In the above *Muraqqa* he mentions him as Abdul Latif Mustafa, Abdul Latif Majlisi or only Abdul Latif. The name is generally preceded by such words as *'Kamtarin Shagirdan'* or only 'Shagird'. The dates accompanying the specimens vary from A. H. 1024 to 1033 (1615–1624). It shows that his reputation as a calligraphist had only been established during tne last twenty years of the Sultan's reign. His son, Abdnl Halim was also a calligraphist of equal reputation. The artist seems to be a Persian.

(5) *Abdur Rashid* was another adept in this art of the Adilshahi court. His accomplishments in Calligraphy had claimed for him a reputa-

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tion which he so well deserved. He made a copy of the Sultan's *Kitab-i-Nauras* and presented it to the author who kept it in his private collection. The MS. has come down to us and is dated A. H. 990 (1582) in the hand of the scribe himself. But it is incorrect for the MS. could have not been prepared earlier than A. H. 1012 (1603). It was, however, removed to the State Library of Bijapur in A. H. 1037 (1628). The MS. is in a beautiul Raihan style fully displaying the mastery of the scribe in the art of calligraphy. Abdur Rashid was a master of Naskh and Suls styles as well. It is fully proved by the specimens of such styles in the *Muraqqa-i-Adilshahi.* He also seems to be a Persian calligraphist.

(6) *Abdul Halim,* son of Abdul Latif Mustafa, was a more reputed scribe than even his father, who specially excelled in the Naskh and Suls styles of calligraphy. A number of specimens of his writings in various styles have come down to us through the above *Muraqqa.* He had the privilege of transcribing the *Kitab-i-Nauras* which is preserved in the collection of Professor Husain Ali of Hyderabad. The MS. in Naskh and Suls styles, bears so close resemblance both in form and spirit, with that of his father that it would be difficult to distinguish one from the other. Despite the fact that neither his copy of the *Kitab-i-Nauras* is dated, nor is any of his specimens, still we have reasons to believe that he also belonged to the court of Ibrahim. It is also possible he might have served Muhammed Adil as well.

(7) *Yusuf Ibrahim Shahi* was a skilled artist as is proved by the specimens of his writings in various styles found in the above *Muraqqa.* He was a master of various styles of calligraphy but chiefly excelled in the Naskh style. The title Ibrahimshahi appended to his name is suggestive of his attachment to the court of Ibrahim Adil. In short, there is no hesitation in calling him a Bijapur calligraphist of the reign of Ibrahim Adil II.

This is not the exhaustive list of the calligraphists who had flourished during the reign of Ibrahim Adil. The specimens of these artists, however, adequately prove that under the the Sultan's patronage Bijapur had become a chief centre of the art of calligraphy which, by popularising the special variety of Naskh calligraphy, rendered valuable service for the cause of this art.

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Section V: Arabic and Persian

9. Insha-writing and Hindu Insha-Writers of Gujarat

By C. R. Naik, M.A., B.T., Ph.D.

The 'Ilmu-l-Insha is epistography, the art of drawing up letters and documents. The professional letter-writers in the chancellaries (Diwānu-l-Insha) were called Munshis.

The post of a Munshi under the Mughal sovereigns was reserved for scholars who could also write a beautiful hand. The Munshi was qualified both as a poet and a prose writer and could readily recall to his memory, as occasion demanded, appropriate verses from standard authors. The position of a Munshi was a very responsible one, for upon his diction depended largely the impresssion of the power and greatness of the state he represented. His document was judged at rival courts on its face value, that is to say, on the dignity of the language employed, the high tone of the rhetoric displayed and the powerful manner in which the object was expressed. There was the rank of the Mir Munshi (i. e. the chief Munshi) who was the head of all other Munshis in different administrative branches.

In the beginning there had not been much literature on the subject; but later on when in the middle of the 17th century Munshis from Iran ceased to come to India in consequence of some political trouble, many books were written on the subject by natives—Muslims as well as Hindus.

They were of two kinds—(1) some Munshis wrote books on art and (2) the Munshis of princes and big nobles used to preserve the copies of all the private and official letters that they drafted. Thereafter they compiled the same into a volume in their life-time if permitted by circumstances. They used to write the preface thereof. It might not have been their intention to prepare a historical work for the posterity but there is no doubt that their object was to display their proficiency in the subject and pride over the style and the rhetorical language and also to provide a model for those who desired to study the 'Ilmu-l-Insha. They used to allow others to copy it. Often after their death, their sons or friends collected all stray letters and compiled them into a volume to perpetuate the memory of the deceased. Once it was ready, others would avail themselves of the work. Even ordinary clerks used to keep a collection of the copies of the official or political letters for their sons to study the art and thus to get into the government service.

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The order (A. H. 990-A. D. 1582) of Todarmal, Akbar's revenue ministar to have all papers written in Persian (instead of one set in Persian and a duplicate one in Hindi as under Shershah) compelled all Hindu officials to master the Persian language.

The Hindus not only studied the language but so many made a name in sundry branches of knowledge in Persian. There is a considerable contribution of theirs to the Insha-writing. Harkaran[1] who lived in Jahangir's period seems to have been the first of the renowned Hindu Insha-writers. There had been several others later on like Malek Zădah Munshi[2], Chandrabhan Barahman[3], Madhavram[4] and others.

In Gujarat, the Kăyasths and the Năgars, being by nature adaptable to new circumstances, pushing, astute and fond of power and position, studied Persian to secure imperial service and political advancement. From the Persian MSS. available it is found that the people of the Brahmakshatriya and Bhargava Brahmin communities, too, took interest in the study of Persian and by dint of their personal merits, shrewdness, dexterity and especially their proficiency in Persian, many of the people of these communities held offices of high position and trust—not a few rising to the post of the Diwan.

There was a big number of them who enjoyed the posts of the Munshi. It is because of the same reason that some of the families in Gujarat have their surname Munshi which they inherited from their ancestors who enjoyed that post in the state employ.

On the subject of Insha, in Gujarat there is a large number of MSS. by Muslim Munshis. But many Hindoos, too, occupied the post of Munshi and the work that has survived them is not inconsiderable. They emulated the flowery and ornate style current at the Mughal Court. As such, their Insha-composition was not always easy and natural. The language of so many letters that I have come across has been found affected and forced in expression. They were not clear and direct in statement and as brief as was

1. He was the son of Mathuradas Kanbu of Multan and the Munshi of Nawwab I'tibar Khan, the Subahdar of Akbarabad between A. H. 1034 and 1040 (A. D. 1624 and 1630).

2. He was better known by this name though his original name was Munshi Lalchand. He was a famous Munshi of Shah Jahan's time.

3. He is the most renowned of all Hindu Insha-writers. He was the Mir Munshi of Dara Shikoh. He was a poet too and his nom-de-plume was Barahman. After the demise of Dara Shikoh he was living a retired life at Banaras where he died in A. H. 1073 (A. D. 1662).

4. He was the Munshi of Lutfullah Khan, the Naib Subahdar of Lahore during Aurangzeb's time.

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consistent with a distinct setting forth of the writer's object. They used to be needlessly long and a trial to temper and patience. The expressions used to be courteous and set phrases used were trite and hackneyed. The most peculiar part to be noticed is the bombastic language and fulsome flattery of the addressee.

The letters addressed to emperors, Nawwabs and high officials were encumbered with long trains of titles, rhythmic diction, cut and dry phraseology according to the practice of the age. The virtues were described in the superlative degree. The titles of the emperors as well as the lowest officers were fixed which were used in documents. It indicated want of courtesy to name the ruler or prince and the ruler was called *Khalifullah fil-arz* or *Zillullah* etc. After the death, such types of names like Firdaws Makani, Jannat Ashyani, 'Arsh Ashyani etc. were used. Everyone of the Hindu Munshis of Gujarat seems to have been able to write Persian verses and epigrams in which the date of an event was yielded by the total numerical value of the Arabic letters contained in the significant phrase or sentence, as calculated by the rules of '*abjad*'.

There was in the language the tasteful blending of Arabic sentences with Persian. Also we come across such phrases and expressions which have been coined by them and in which there is the unusual admixture of Persian and Arabic words just as:—

عندالتلاش ـ عندالرسید ـ دانا الغیب و الاشکار ـ حسب النوشته ـ حسب الفرموده

Moreover there is the use of so many Hindi words which make the perusal often very difficult such as:—

رسوي ـ پرساد ـ مندر ـ سابر ـ سرگباسی ـ دهات والہ ـ سیدهہ ـ کاسی ـ ناکابندی ـ یک پنتهہ دو کاج ـ

We come across words, phrases and sentences of the following types, too:—

بفضل مهاراج = By the grace of Maharaj (i. e. Deity)

سلمہ المهاراج = May Maharaj (i. e. God) keep him safe!

مایان = We

بیرونات = Out-side

عمرجی = A Persianised form of the proper noun used for persons. In Gujarati it is with *alef*.

کوچیدن = to march

جس دستک ایشان را بخشید = He (i. e. God) gave credit to his hand.

حکم طلا در لنکا دارد = It is like gold in Lanka.

Further there is the conspicuous tinge of the Hinduism (or Hinduiyyiat) on the language used in their private correspondence. In so many

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letters we come across such expressions:—

سویها گوتی بهنجی با - درشن ماتاجی - بعد اسرباد درازی عمر - سهولیت جاترا

The addition of جیو at the end of the names of persons referred to, for courtesy, the use of the Hindu months along with the Persian days of the week (though the corresponding lunar years and months, too, are often given therewith) and such other things are remarkably found in their letters.

The letters incidentally include much valuable data for the history of cultures.

The following letter has been given to illustrate some of the above peculiarities[1]:—

نور بصر لخت‌جگر سعادت سیر فرخنده اثر سرمایه حیات مورد حسنات لاله بهولا ناتهه راو طول عمرد بعد آسرباد درازی عمر و اقبال و صحت و تندرستی آن خجسته خصال إنها آنکه رقیم بهجت ضمیمه آن عزیز مرقومه اساد شد چترتهی روز چهار شنبه همراه قاصد آینده این سمت محتوی بخط کهانداس واگجی ورود مسرت آورد از فحوای مضامین خیریت آئین قوافل انبساط را منزل دل مشتاق ساخت چون ایام نورات است بحضور ایشوری استدعای که از زبان برآید و و جان من سراید ترقی درجه و افزونی جمعیت و امتیاز آن وافر تمیز که هر دم آرزو است سری جیو کامیاب مطالب دلخواه گرداناد - پنج روز است نروتم بسبب حیله گذرانی در فیصله مبلغ تقروضه که بر ذمه او واجب‌الاداست جلاافزای کاشانه جیل‌خانه شده اند امروز یا فردا چندکسان را در میان داشته تمسک باقی به هفته بندی نوشته خواهد شد و بوقت صبح پذیری آن به آن عزیز خواهد نوشت مابقی احوال بدستور است پونجا پاریکهه گفت که کلیان رای اگر اینجا بیاید حساب اینجا بکنم من گفتم که حساب بروده مرا بفهمانید و اینکه خواهد شد در اینجا هیچ تکرار نیست چون نزد آن عزیز کسی نیست چه کند کلیان رای چگونه آید خیریت می بینم اینها را در فهمانیدن حساب بروده حیله حواله در آورده مرا نقصان دادن اراده معلوم شد - مهاراج حفاظت خواهد ساخت هم خورد و کلان بخیریت هستند اساد شد کهشتی روز جمعه امروز بخانه تریکم پندایه لدوی چورمه ضیافت قوم است جگر گوشگان در آنجا رفته اند به خورسندی هستند-

Details about some collections of Ruqa'aat and about some Insha-writers are given as under :—

Collections

Àjaibu-l-Àfáq:—It is a collection of letters written by the emperors Farrukhsiyar (A. D. 1713-19) and Muhammadshah (A. D. 1719-49) and

1 Ma'aadanu-l-Insha compiled by Bholanatha Sarabhai, pp. 23-24 (MS.)

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by the chief officers of State to Rajah Chhabilaram and his successors together with the replies.

Chhabilaram Năgar was one of the early supporters of Farukhsiyar who rewarded his services with the title of Rajah and the office of Diwan-e-Khalisah. He was afterwards appointed Governor of Jlahabad where he died in A. H. 1131 (A. D. 1718).

The work is divided into three sections (Fasl), comprising severally the letters of Rajah Chhabilaram, of Rajah Girdhar Bahadur (Chhabilaram's nephew) and Rajah Chimna. It is designated as[1] عجایب الآفاق و غرایب الدہر

There is a copy of it in Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay, which contains 88 pages.

Ruqa'a-e-Gharib:—It is of about A. H. 1200 (A.D. 1785). The collection was compiled by Kishanji Vedanti belonging to Ahmedabad. The portion of the book in the library of Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad contains only the preface and that, too, is full of mistakes committed by the scribe.

Majmu'a-e-Dănesh:—It was complied by Keshoordas Chhabildas Desai of Broach, who was the ancestor of Shri K. M. Munshi, the Governor of Uttar Pardesh. He was living in A. D. 1792.

The work is divided into four sections—(1) Petitions to the emperor of Delhi (Shah Alam) from Nawwab Rafiu-d-Dawlah Nek Nam Khan Bahadur and Nawwab Imtiyazu-d-Dawlah Muazzaz Khan Bahadur. (2) Letters from the Nawwabs of Broach to Shuja 'u-d- Dawlah Safdar Jang Bahadur and his big peers, (3) Letters that Nawwab Nek Nam Khan Bahadur and Muazzaz Khan Bahadur wrote to Mehta Bhaidas, Bhukhandas and Lalludas at different times when they went out of the city and (4) Miscellaneous letters that were received and written.

The first thing that strikes the reader in the style of the letters is the outer phase of the grand phraseology. There will not be found wanting in the diction any adjectival phrase or title that was borne by the monarchs of Asia and that has not been used for the sovereign or the Nawwab to whom the letters were addressed.

Ruqa'aăt-i-Gunăgun-e-Ranchhodji:—It is the work of Ranchhodji, the famous Diwan of Junagadh, a Vadnagara Nagar, who was born in A. D. 1768. He had imbibed the spirit both of the Persian language and of its literature. He wrote in Persian much on widely different subjects.

There are two MS. copies of the work[2] in Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay.

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1. Charles Riev—Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum, p. 986
2. Janab Muhammad Umar Kokil—The list of MSS. in Forbes Gujarati Sabha, p. 33 (Gujarati)

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One of them contains in all eleven pages. In the first seven (1 to 7b) pages there are the letters of Diwan Ranchhodji. Pages 7b to 10a contain the letters of Fazl Ali addressed to Diwan Ranchhodji and in the pages 10b to 11, there are the letters of the latter in reply.

The work begins with رقعه در تعریف انبا (i. e, the letter in praise of the Goddess Amba).

Ma'aadanu-l-Insha[1]:—There were so many letters of Sarabhai, the Vadnagara Nagar of Ahmedabad, addressed to his son Bholanath (d. 1886), lying scattered. Bholanath collected all of them and named the compilation Ma'aadanu-l-Insha.

It has been divided into two *daftars* and every *daftar* has been further divided into four Maktubs. In the first Maktub of the first *daftar* there are forty letters, in the second, 48, in the third, 21, and in the fourth, 49. In the second *daftar* in the first Maktub there are 44 letters, in the second, 11, in the third, 22, and in the fourth, 6. In so many letters of the first *daftar*, the year is Vikram Samvat 1900 and in the second 1903.

On the whole the language is simple but at times he indulged in rhetorical embellishments. In his letters, there is a considerable use of apt and appropriate quotations.

From the perusal of the work, it is gathered that Sarabhai had a religious bent of mind and was the worshipper of Shiva. We find him often resorting to Shivsanbu and Ishwar for help. The book throws a very useful light on the social customs, prevalent among the Nagars of Gujarat[1].

Minor works with few details

Al-Insha[2]:—It is a small booklet of a medium size, compiled by Bhupatrai. The letters that are in it had been written for Mehta Motichand.

Ruqa'aăt:—They are the letters of Sundarlal, a resident of Paldi in Ahmedabad. He was in service of Nawwab Lutf Ali Khan Bahadur. There is a MS. in the library of Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad.

From his letters it is found that he was living in A. H. 1111 (A. D. 1699).

Ruqa'aăt[3]:—It was written by Munshi Bhalchand. It bears A. H. 1218 (A. D. 1803).

Ruqa'aăt[4]:—It was written by Girdharlal. It is a work of about

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1. The date in the MS. of the Aparav Bholanath Library is A. H. 1275 (corresponding with Vikram Samvat 1915–A. D. 1859). The name of the scribe is Thakor Maneklal, the son of Trikamlal.
2. There is a MS. in the library of Gujarat Vidya Sabha, A'bad.
3. " " " " " "
4. " " " " " "

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A. H. 1237 (A. D. 1821]. The name of the scribe is Shaikh Ghulam Muhiyu-d-Din who belonged to Broach. It contains letters from the Mutasaddi af Surat and the Fojdārs of Cambay and Baroda.

Diaries containing letters

Diary of Shivlal[1]:–The diary of Shivlal, the son of Sundarlal belonging to the Nagar community and living in Ahmedabad, contains a preface, ruqa'aāt and verses composed by him. In it there are so many ruqa'aāt, one of Nandlalji, one of Udairam Mehta, two of Ravishankar (in one of which there is the date 3rd Rabiu-l-Awwal A. H. 1175 (A. D. 1721), one of Rajshankar, some of Munshi Diwanji, one of Sadashankar Ranchhoddas who was a poet too, some of Sukhram, some addressed to Munshi Gulabchand and replies thereof and many others. This diary was completed in A. H. 1162 (A. D. 1748).

Diary[2] of Munshi Nandlal:–Munshi Nandlal was in service of Mahantrao Gopalrao in A. H. 1178 (A. D. 1764), who was the Subahdar of Ahmedabad under Fathsingh Gaekwar. He was a poet too.

The diary contains ruqa'aāt, some of which are dated A. H. 1176 (A. D. 1762). One of them is addressed to Ali Muhammad Khan, the author of the wellknown work Mirāt-e-Ahmadi.

There is a قصیدہ بہاریہ in the diary whose مطلع is

شد از لطف داور پروردگار جہان را طراوت از ابر بہار

It is dated A. H. 1145 (A. D. 1732).

Some Munshis about whom some particulars have been available

Durijanmal Munshi:–He was very fond of quoting verses in his ruqa'aāt.[3] In one there is a reference to the capture of the fort of Panahala[4](A. H. 1110-A. D. 1698) upon which he sent felicitations. He was living in A. H. 1119 (A. D. 1707).

Kalalchand:–He was addressed by people as Munshi Saheb. He belonged to Ahmedabad. There is a considerable number of stray letters written by him. There is one[5] addressed to the Nawwab Saheb, in which he sent felicitations on the settlement of some dispute in which the Nawwab Saheb might have been involved. He was living in A. H. 1119 (A. D. 1707).

Jagjivandas:–He worked as the Mir Munshi of the Naib Subahdar, Muhammad Beg Khan. Thereafter he was appointed as Waqai-nawis of Rajpipla. He compiled the Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh[6] in A. H. 1120 (A. D. 1708) from

1–2. There is a MS. in the library of Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad.
3. There are some of his ruqa'aāt in the library of Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad.
4. Near Kolhapur about twelve miles north-west
5. In the library of Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad
6. Riev Vol. I, p. 231 b.

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the record of the passing events that he had kept from the time (A. H. 1107–A. D. 1695) he had entered the imperial service. I came[1] across a letter of condolence written by him from Kutiana in Saurashtra to Mukundrai in A. H. 1126 (A. D. 1714) on the demise of the latter's mother. He addressed him in it as برادر مهربان and referred to his mother as خواهر.

Munshi Balmukund:–He worked as a Munshi under Nawwab Abdullah Khan. There are some of his Ruq'aăt that were written by him in his official capacity and others are personal letters. He was living in A. H. 1124 (A. D. 1722).

Munshi Gokaldas:–He was famous as a poet too and as such his nom-de-plume was Sabr. He was living in A. H. 1150. (A. D. 1737).

Munshi Mugatram:–Nothing has been known about his work as an Insha-writer. There is a MS. written by him entitled Tasnifăt-e-Mugatram, which is in the library of Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay[2]. From it, he seems to have been living in A. H. 1204 (A. D. 1789). Keval Kishanji:–I came across several of his letters[3]. He began so many of them either with a Rubai or Qitaah e. g. the first verse of one Rubai is:–

که همچو تشنه گرما زده بآب زلال دلم بدیدن روي تو آرزو مند است

I am quite sure, quest and research carried on with avidity, assiduity and a sense of dedication by Persian scholars will make available more materials of interest about the subject as so many fruits of the incessant labour of the Persian-knowing Hindus have been locked up in private houses of their descendants and relatives.

1. In the collection of stray letters in the Library of Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad
2. Janab Muhammad Umar Kokil–List of MSS., p. 30.
3. There are some in the library of Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad.

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Section VI: Pali and Buddhism

10. Buddhist Approach to the Universe

By Buddha Prakash

"Indeed, our earth is so infinitesimal," wrote Sir James Jeans, "in comparison with the whole universe; we, the only thinking beings, so far as we know, in the whole of space, are to all appearances so accidental, so far removed from the main scheme of the universe, that it is a priori all too probable that any meaning that the universe as a whole may have would entirely transcend our terrestrial experience, and so be totally unintelligible to us. In this event, we should have no foothold from which to start our explanation of the true meaning of the universe[1]" To the Buddha, however, this explanation of the universe did not appear necessary for solving human problems. He aimed at providing a code of human conduct for the furtherance of good and the alleviation of evil. Hence he began by postulating the universe as something given. The questions as to whether the universe is eternal or evanescent, finite or infinite, whether mind and matter are identical or different, whether *Nirvāṇa* is attained after death or not etc. did not bother him. "Poṭṭhapāda", he exclaimed, "neither are these questions relevant nor beneficent. Hence I declared them irrelevant."[2] But despite his persistant evasion of these issues he provided a method and laid down the rudiments with which his successors succeeded in developing a conspectus of the universe.

Let us begin with the principle of causation which the Buddha enunciated so precisely and emphatically. "For him afer long striving this doctrine resulted as the final possibility of explaining human life as it presented itself to him. Concentration on this thought and the spiritual insight thereby brought about into the inner connection of the life-process was for him a state which must be looked upon as complete *Nirvāṇa*."[3] Not only is this doctrine meant for explaining human life, but it expresses also the process of origination and cessation as a natural and universal law. The five categories

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1. *The Mysterious Universe* p. 128
2. *Poṭṭhapādasutta: Dīgha Nikāya* I, 9. Vide also *Mālaṅkhaputtasutta: Majjhimaṇikāya* II, 2, 3.
3. Mutsumodo: *Die Prajñāpāramita Litteratur* p. 28.

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of being *(Skandha)* viz. matter *(Rūpa)*, sensation *(Vedanā)*, perception *(Sanjñā)*, impression *(Saṅskāra)* and consciousness *(Vijñāna)* comprehending the entire psychological and epistemological processes, the twelve phenomenalistic antecedents *(Āyatana)*, namely, the six faculties of sight, hearing, smelling, taste, touch and mind and their corresponding six types of objects, constituting the physical and physiological system and lastly the eighteen elemental roots *(Dhātus)* i, e, the aforesaid six faculties, their six objects and the six types of consciousness resulting therefrom, summing up the entire conspectus of the universe, animate and inanimate-are all subject to this rule.[4] In this chain of causation each link is separately though interdependently arranged. The cause leads to the effect but does not itself crystallize into it. The seed results in the tree on account of external environment, but before the tree is there the seed disappears and the effect is a totally different thing from its cause. No doubt, the seed is a potential tree but it is the pressure of climatic forces and the action of alluvial functions which fill up the fructification of that potentiality in the shape of the tree. Thus the cause of the tree is not the seed alone but the whole environment in which it grew, or say, the entire universe.[5]

In this process of causal change a new and totally different thing springs up from the ruins of another which we call cause.[6] Chlorine which is a poisonous substance when mixed with a certain quantity of sodium, becomes salt so essential for human life. Similarly oxygen, a fatal poisonous gas, when taken in a certain quantity is most necessary for life. These are instances of qualitative change resulting from quantitative change. There are also examples of quaulitative change following a different juxtaposition of causes. The Axoloti of Mexico, if given a portion of bullock's thyrogin, becomes in six weeks time, a terrestrial lizard. It is due to the lack of thyrogin, that it remained an aquatic being. Here, it can doubtless be said that the function of causal operation has been to actualize the Axoloti as the lizard or to manifest in the effect what was latent in the cause. But what is the role of thyrogin? To say that it has been merely a neutral instrument to effect the transformation is a puerile logomachy. As a matter of fact, the administration of thyrogin is an active cause working on the Axoloti and changing it into the lizard. In this process the Axoloti is destroyed and

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4. Vide *Mahānidānasutta: Dīgha-Nikāya* II, 5; Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakosha: hetu-pratyaya-janita-rūpādayaḥ saṅskṛitāḥ.*

5. *Ibid: na tveka-pratyaya-janitam sarvathālpapratyayatvépi avashyam dvau pratyayau staḥ*

6. Asanga: *Yogāchārabhūmi: pratikshaṇam cha navalakshaṇāni pravartante. Kshaṇabhaṅgurashcha pratityasamutpādaḥ*

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the lizard generated. Thus there has been no evolution from the Axoloti to the lizard, but a revolution in which the former perishes and the latter comes into being. There is a "discontinuous continuity"[7] in this process of transformation, a frog-leap rather than a snake-sleek. Likewise the movement of the universe-its dismemberment and recomposition is by gaps, spasms and jerks. The sudden proximity, for instance, of a wandering star within a distance of less than three times the sun's diameter, tore off the sun's outer mass by its gravitational force and this long filament of gas rotating round the parent body, the sun, started rapid condensation and breaking up into fragments resulted in independent detached globules of varying sizes, our earth being one of them. It is an accident that the earth formed an edge of that tapering column having thus a temperature propitiate to the growth of life. How life evolved from the simple bacteria and a moeba into the complex man and the stupendous diplodocus is itself a tale of wonders and miracles. As for the composition of the universe, numberless spatio-temporal structures forming sub-ether waves, flow into electronic charges which by varying movements, combinations and interactions constitute different atoms and create the multifarious and multitudinous varieties of matter. The action of the neutron causes a diversion in the cylical rotation of the electrons and thus creates numberless types of atoms and boundless reserves of energy. In 1939 Hahn and Strassmann demonstrated that proton of Uranium can be broken into with the help of the neutron and at the time of explosion it emits a vast amount of energy. The neutron contains 1/30 volt power of energy, but it ejects from uranium 200000000 volts of it which has become the most dreadful instrument of destruction at the present day. We should also expect a day when this energy would be utilized for the well being of man.But who knows ? Our sun which is losing 4 millon tons of its weight per second and has since its creation become reduced in size and weight to only a half and probably much less, will become after a million years as extinct as if it had never existed. We with our world will also sink in the ocean of primordial energy whence we emerged. In our place another solar system with other planets will appear. A recent discovery annonnced in the press relates to the observation of a star 300 million times larger then the sun.[8] And who knows how many such stars are threatening our annihilation.

The Buddhist point of view is just the same and is summed up in the significant phrase *"Pratītya-samutpāda"* or "causal origin." *'Pratyaya'* does not simply mean cause; it also means lapse or annihillation. Hence

7. Vide S. Radha-Krishnan: *Indian Philosophy* Vol. I page 380 et. seq.
8. Vide Sir H. S. Gour: *Science's Survey of the Universe, Calcutta Review (1941) p. 4.*

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this rule implies that on the destruction of one thing, another comes into being. Thus everything is impermanent, momentary and phenomenal.[9] The universe is in perpetual flux. We cannot go down the same stream twice. The idea of a soul dominating and ordering the actions of a living being and the idea of God dominating and ordering the universe are childish figments to please the fools.[10]

How trenchently and caustically the Buddhists criticized these concepts is manifest from the following excerpt from the dialogue of King Milinda with Nagasena.

"Master ! if there is no such thing as soul what is that in us which sees sights with the eye, hears sounds with the ear, smells fragrance with the nose, tastes relish with the tongue, touches things with the body and knows them with the mind ?"

"Sir ! If there is a soul apart from the body which living inside us sees sights with the eye then, on plucking out the eyes it should see better through the enlarged hole, on tearing off the ears it should hear better, on cutting off the nose it should smell better, on pulling off the tongue it should taste better and on lacerating the body it should touch better.[11] Thus, Sir ! there is no soul in us."

The principle of causal origin leads straightway to the rule of relativlty. "There is subject, this can only be said from the standpoint of the object; there is object, this can only be said from the standpoint of the subject. Besides this, there is no way of proving them."[12] This interdependence of subject and object, or of cause and effect, rules out the independent existence of either. Hence "nothing exists in itself, detatched, absolute, self-contained."[13] Ether, gravity, time, place and the like are relative. The theorem that two parallel lines never meet together is imaginary since on the round surface of the earth nothing can be perfectly straight. A standard of measurement, a rod or wire of iron increases or diminishes by one tenth of a millionth part of its length in the act of being turned from one direction into another. Hence the measurements obtained thereby are only relatively correct. As Prof. Albert Eienstein writes "Whatever words science

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9. Dharmakīrti: *Pramāṇa-Vārtika* I, 272: *Sattāmātrānubandhitāt* Jnāva-Shṛī: *Kshaṇabhanga* I, 1 *yat sat tat kshaṇikam.*

10. *Vide Pathikasutta: Dighanikāya* III, 1; *Kevattasutta: Dīghanikāya* I, 2; *Brahmanimitikasutta: Majjhima–Nikāya* I, 5, 9; *Tevijjasutta: Dīghanikāya* I, 13; *Milinda–pañho* II, 1.

11. *Milindapañho* III, 4, 44.

12. *Nagarjuna, Mādhyamikakārika* 62

13. *Ibid* 58, 59

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may use for its concepts, light, quantum, distance, mass, four dimensional continuuam, electron or whatever they be, we find in each case that each of these words stands for a body of mathematical relations and consequently science does not tell as anything about the substance of the elements out of which we have built up the perceptual world. It tells us merely mathematical specifications of those elements."[14] Nagarjuna expresses this view by the term '*Shūnyatā*', which Dr. Stcherbatsky translates as 'relativity'. "We use the term relative," he writes "to express the fact that a thing can be identified only mentioning its relations to something else and becomes meaningless without these relations."[15] There is thus a system of relationships constituting the pattern of the universe. But there is a rhythm, routine and regularity in the relative and changing aspects of the World. To quote Louis de la Vallèe Poussin. "Si les–Bouddhists n'admettent ni juge, ni creataur du moins, reconnaissent–ils une justice infaillible et souveraine, une justice, merveilleusement informèe et souple, bein qu'elle s'agisse méchaniquement."[16]

This becomes clear when we look at the universe from the standpoint of its relationship with Yogic *Pratyaksha*. We find that existence does not appear in one and the same form at successive moments of Yogic *Pratyaksha*. Hence it cannot be described as static, eternal and unchanging. It rather appears or presents itself in varying forms. Hence it is fluid, phenomenal and fluxional. But the varying forms in which it appears or presents itself have an underlying character of similarity.

That is why the data of various experiences can be connected and correlated together, the architectonics of thought can be based on them and the formation of laws, principles, propositions and definitions regarding the nature of existence becomes possible. The similars as facts of experience possess a commonness of nature and features (*tādātmya*,) and thus they remind us of one another. The interconnection of these points in a string of thought leads to the introduction of the idea of continuity (*santati*) and

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14. Albert Eienstein: *Generalized Principle of Relativity*

15. Stcherbatsky: *The Buddhist Conception of Nirvana* p. 173; vide the exposition of Nagarjuna in *Vigraha Vyāvartini 22* in *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* Vol. XXIII: iha hi yaḥ pratītyabhāvānām bhāvaḥ sā shūnyatā. Kasmāt? Nissvabhāvatvāt. Ye hi pratītyasamutpannā bhāvāste na sasvabhāvā bhavanti svabhāvābhāvāt. Kasmāt? Hetupratyayāpekshatvāt. Yadi hi svabhāvato bhāvā bhaveyuḥ pratyākhyāyamapi hetupratyāyam bhaveyuḥ.

16. Valleé–Poussin: *Le Booddhisme, Opinions sur l'histoire de la dogmatique* p. 70

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procession (*prabandha*) as a logical necessity. Thus the universal flux appears in the form of a universal procession.[17]

From this standpoint the principle of causal origin (Pratītyasamutpāda) assumes the form of *Prākarṣika*, which shows the continuity of the order of becoming, in place of *Kshaṇika* which represents the momentary duration of each appearance or experience. In between these two forms, *Prākarṣika* (continuous) and *Kshaṇika* (momentary), come the other two forms, *Sāmbandhika* (relative) which indicates the relativity of the processes and factors of causal operation and *āvasthika* (substantive) which demonstrates the succession of the stages of individual life processes. This scheme is adumbrated by Vasubandhu and Yashomitra.[18]

As for the inter-relationship of mind and matter, the Buddhist attitude may be stated in the words of Feuerbach. "The true relation between thought and being," he writes "may be expressed as follows: being is the subject and thought, the predicate; thought is conditioned by being and not being by thought. Being is conditioned by itself, had its basis in itself.[19] This idea of being, being separate from mind is the keynote of Buddhist thought.

A consideration of the concepts of prescience and nesciences in Buddhism shows that it allows the right of reality to stand independently of the thinking mind. All descriptions and denotations of reality are ideal constructions of the mind, the handiworks of *Nirmāṇachitta (Abhidharmakosha* VII, 50-51). Their value in the representation of reality arises from the fact that at the back of the psychological process of their formation is the impact of the object on the organ of sense. They express that particular fact of reality, which affects the sense organ, when the process of cognition takes place. Hence the linguistic and conceptual descriptions of reality represent the variety of approaches to it. Two contradictory concepts represent two different approaches to a common object. The negative concepts, therefore, do not imply the absence of knowledge regarding the subjects they treat; they rather imply a kind of knowledge regarding them which is different from that which the positive concepts imply.

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17. Radha Krishnan: *Indian Philosophy Vol. I, P. 370 f; Satkari Mukerjee: The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux P. 205*

18. *Abhidharma-kosha* III, 25; Vide the comments of Rahula-Sankrityayana: *Chaturvidho'pi pratītyasamutpādaḥ. Kshaṇika* (*Kshaṇabhavaḥ Kshano'syāsti Vā; Prākarṣikah (Prakarsena dīvyati charati vaprabandhayuktaḥ ityarthaḥ); sāmbandhikaḥ* (hetu-phala-sambandhayuktaḥ); āvasthikaḥ (dvādashapañchaskandhikāvasthā yasya bhavet.)

19. Ludwing Feuerbach: *Preliminary thesis on the reform of philo-Works* Vol. II, P. 263

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Thus, according to Vastubandhu nescience (*avidyā*) implies a kind of knowledge of which the practical bearings on human conduct run counter to or are other than those of prescience (*vidyā*) kind.[20]

This variety and multiplicity of terms and concepts embodying the numberless approaches to reality are resolved for practical purposes into three in Buddhism. The first is *abhisambodhi* or the essential nature of reality standing in its own right; the second is *Abhisamaya* or the conceptual duration of reality in the form of thought sequence; and the third is *Desaña* or the doctrinal description of reality as a law or object. This three-fold approach to reality is best illustrated by the three-fold description of the Buddha in Mahāyāna theology. There he figures in three forms (*Kāyas*).....,*Dharmakāya Nirmāṇa-kāya* and *Sambhogakāya* each corresponding to *abhisambodhi abhisamaya* and *desanā* standpoints of reality. Thus *Dharmakāya-Buddha* is the personification of the essential nature of reality standing in its own right; *Nirmāṇakāya Buddha* is the personification of reality as brought within one's conception in the form of thought and *Sambhogakāya-Buddha* is the personification of reality as comprehended in a doctrine propounded for the guidance of others.[21]

Thus we observe that Buddhism accepts the independence of reality.

Besides this, in the scheme of Buddhist antology Vijñāna or consciousness is the mental reflection of *nāma-rūpa* and *Nāma-rūpa* or mind and matter are completely inter-related and co-existing. As Nagasena told King Milinda "All gross objects are matter and all minute mental attributes are mind. Both are inter-dependent on each other. One cannot exist with the other. Both go hand-in-hand.

If the hen is not pregnant there can be no eggs and vice versa, because the chicken and eggs are inter-dependent. This has been going on for ever."[22]

The *modus operandi* of the relationship of mind and matter or consciousness and being is the formation of the image of the external object on the mind (*Pratibhāganimitta*). In the realistic systems of Sautrāntika, Vaibhāṣika and Sarvāstivāda philosophy. This image is regarded as the mental counterpart of the external object as contacted by the organ of sense, whereas in the idealistic systems of *Yogāchāra-Vijñānavāda* philosophy this image

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20. *Abhidharmakosha* III, 280 (Vidyāvipaksho dharmo'nyo'vidyāmitrānṛitādivat.

21. N. Dutta: *Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism and its relation to Hinayana* pp. 96 ff.

22. *Milinda-Pañho* II, 2, 9

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is regarded as an ideal creation of the mind from its own fancies and preconceptions. Thus in the realistic systems, the world of matter has an independent entity and existence of its own, whereas in the idealistic systems it is merely a reflex of the world of mind. In the opinion of the Buddha the two are separate and the mind may or may not receive or form any image referable to an external object. If the image is not received or formed we cease to be interested in an external thing and we are not affected by pleasure and pain and happiness and misery on this account.[23]

The Sautrāntikas accept only the objective external world of phenomena and consider consciousness as its inward precipitate. The Vaibhāṣikas accept both being and consciousness as ultimately real. The sarvāstivadins accept the existence of things as the diversities and developments of the intertwining activities of the twelve bases of cognition, which comprise the concepts of mind and matter.

Vasubandhu shelves off the question of the interrelationship of mind and matter altogether and explains existence as he finds it phenomenally and objectively. It does not, according to him, consist of one or two primary substances, whether material or spiritual, it rather comprises a number of elements *(Dharmas)*. Out of these 75 Dharmas or elements, three are uncompounded viz space, cessation by comprehension of truth and cessation by extinction of cause. The remaining 72 are compounded or liable to change. They are grouped in five categories :

1. Body or matter *(Rūpa)* with eleven divisions : the five sense organs, their 5 objects and also an interesting psychological concept called *Avijñapti* which may be called unmanifested action of sub-conscious effect.

2. Feeling (Vedanā)

3. Perception *(Sanjñā)*

4. Impression *(Saṅskāra)*–intended to include all the states of mind distinct from the other Skandhas as well as traits of the individual outside consciousness. They are consequently divided into (1) Sanskāras associated with consciousness and saṅskāras not associated with consciousness. They are further divided as follows :

I SANSKARAS ASSOCIATED WITH CONSCIOUSNESS

(i) Ten generally present in consciousness: feeling, perception, will, contact, desire, understanding,memory, attention, inclination and concentration.

(ii) Ten generally good : faith, courage, equanimity. modesty, disgust of the objectionable, absence of greed, of hatred, of desire to harm, dexterity of thought, zeal.

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23. *Dīghanikāya* Vol. I P. 70

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(iii) Six generally bad or indifferent : dullness, carelessness, clumsiness of thought, disbelief, sloth, excitement.

(iv) Two generally bad : immodesty and not feeling disgust of things objectionable.

(v) Ten bad of limited occurence : anger, hypocricy, envy, jealousy, approval of objectionable things, causing harm, unfriendliness, deceit, trickery, exhileration.

(vi) Eight undetermined : remorse, torpor, reasoning (in a bad sense), relfexion (in a bad sense), passion, hatred, pride, doubt.

II SANSKARAS NOT ASSOCIATED WITH CONSCIOUSNESS

Fourteen : acquisition, a force which keeps together the elements of our stream of consciousness, non-acquisition, a force which keeps some of these elements in abeyance, allotment of groups, a force producing general classes, three forces which produce respectively unconsciousness, the attainment of the unconscious and the attainment of cessation, life force, origination, continuance, deday, impermanence, 3 forces giving signification to words, sentences and syllables.

5. Consciousness *(Vijñāna)*[24]

On this classification which is largely made up of an enumeration of empirical terms there was no agreement in different school. There is a theravādin list of 51 *dharmas* in *Dhammasangini*. The Kathavathu discusses several such doctrins which show many differences in detail.[25]

In this analysis consciousness comes last. It is to use the expression of Forel "an internal reflex of the activity of the brain.[26] It is synonymous with mind and reason."[27] It is also the chief force of life and the distinguishing feature of the animate world. Beyond it the illusory soul of the Vedantists, the unconscious soul of the Nyāya-vaisheshika school and the emdodied soul of the Jain doctrine have no meaning. Above it, the belief in divine spark, divine grace, divine order and the like have no *raison d'être.*

"Herein the standpoint of Buddhism," wrote Oswald Spengler, "is that of the Western psychologist and Western Sociologist of today who reduce the inward man to a bundle of sensations and an aggregate of electrochemical energies."[28] "To the psychologist the conception of a soul," writes Stout, "is not helpful. He has no independent means of knowing anything about

24. E. J. Thomas: *History of Buddhist Thougth* P. 162 et seq
25. *Ibid* Page 163 *chetanā mānasakarma*
26. cp *Abhidharmakosha*
27. cp *Ibid* : *chittam mano'tha vijñānam*
28. *The Decline of the West* Vol. I 356

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it which can be useful to him. For him the term soul is virtually only other name for the total system of psychical dispositions and psychical processes."[29] The researches of Pavlov have established that mental action is essentially psychical behaviour or the working of cortex, cerebrum, nerves and glands in a particular manner. The hormones generated by thyroid, parathyroid, Adranal and other glands condition the reflexes of the mind to a very large extent.

This behaviouristic view is favoured by Buddhaghoṣa in his interesting Door-theory of cognition *(Dvāra-Kathā)*. According to it, the external sense-door and the internal mind door are set one behind the other. The impact of the object on the sense-door results in the image-formation in the second-mind-door simultaneously. The passage of this process of thought-formation and image-formation is marked by various psychic stages *(chitta-vithīs)* which serve the purpose of the sensory and motor nerves, that effect the inter-action of the sense-organs and the cerebrum.[30]

Later day Buddhism, however left this ground. It put conciousness before being. Vasubandhu himself under the spell of Yogachara wrote that the universe is the consequence of conciousness.[31] This somersault upset the true perspective of Buddhism and vitiated its inherent scientific value.

29. G. F. Stout *Groundwork of Psycholgoy* p 8
30. cf *Atthasaline* P 72f
31. *Trinshika: Vijñaptinapariāṇamāsan*

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11 "A rare manuscript of Abhidharma-deepa-vibha sa-Prabha Vrtti"

By Prof. Padmanabha S. Jaini, M. A., Tripitakacarya

Recently a good many old works on Abhidharma have come to light. The Abhidharma-kośa of Vasubandhu, Sphutārthā Kośa-Vyākhyā of Yaśomitra, Abhidharmāmṛta of Ghosaka and lastly the Abhidharma-samuccaya of Asaṇga have given us a good account of the various schools of the Ābhidharmika-Buddhism. A new addition to these discoveries will be found very valuable. Among his many discoveries from Tibet Pandit Rāhul Sānkṛtyāyana found a rare manuscript of a text named Abhidharma-Pradīpa. He brought photographs of these manuscripts and they were treasured in the Patna Museum.* The work is being edited by me, it will be published by the K. P. Jayaswāl Research Institute, Patna. A brief account of this valuable manuscript will be found welcome to all students of Abhidharma.

The marking lable of the photograph of this manuscript bears the words "Abhidharma-Pradîpa". The title of the book however, as is mentioned in the first verse is "Abhidharma-deepa"-"शास्त्रं करिष्याम्यभिधर्मदोपम्।" The manuscript contains also a commentary on this Abhidharma-deepa, as is evident from the concluding words of each Pāda of an Adhyaya. e. g. अभिधर्मदीपे विभाषाप्रभायां वृत्तौ प्रथमाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः and so on. At the end of the seventh chapter and at the end of third Pāda of the eighth chapter, however, the text is called 'Abhidharm-Reipa' अभिधर्मप्रदीपे विभाषाप्रभायां वृत्तौ though elsewhere it is uniformly called Abhidharma-deepa. Thus the original work was *Abhidharma-deed* or Abhidharm-Pradeepa in verses. Vibhāṣā Prabhā is the name of the commentary (Vṛtti) on this text. The commentary seems to be a work by another person and not by the author himself.

Unfortunately the manuscript discovered is incomplete. Only 62 leaves are available to us which contain about seven hundered and fifty original verses and commentary on the same. As the discoverer of the manuscript remarks, not less than 89 leaves are missing. The third Pāda of the eighth (perhaps the last) Adhyāya is available. The whole book, therefore, might have contained not more than 160 leaves. It is, therefore, safe to conclude

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* I am greatful to the K. P. Jayaswāl Research Institute, Patna, for kindly giving me the manuscript for editing.

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that the original text is of about two-thousand verses, a large part of which is lost to us.

The text is divided into eight Adhyāyas and each Adhyāya is further divided into four Pādas. The book seems to follow the pattern of Abhidharma-koṣa in dividing the chapters. Thus the eight Adhyāya contain discussions on the following eight topics. viz.,-Dhātu, Indriya, *Kāritra or (Lokadhātu ?), Karma, Anuśaya, Ârya-mārga, Dhyana and Jnāna.

The name of the author is not mentioned anywhere in the text. The first stanza mentions only the name of the text. The last parts of text are missing. The words Deepa-Kārāḥ and Ācārya-kam occur only once in the commentary and that is proof to shaw that the Vṛtti is not by the author of the verses. Nor do we know anything about the Vṛttikāra. The text 'Abhidharma-Pradeepa' or its commentary is not quoted either by Yaśomitra or by any other writer on Abhidharma. Even Bu-ston, the famous historian does not mention it. A work of such merits should not have remained in darkness, but it is a fact that it has remained unnoticed for centuries.

The whole text as well as the commentary make scores of references to the Kośakāra, i. e. Vasubandhu, the author of the Abhidharma-kośa and severely criticize his views. The following passages will show how vehement is this criticism :—

(१) कोशकारस्त्वाह-"अनुशयनात् खल्वपि: । तदेतद् ब्रह्मम । निरुक्तानुशयार्थपरिज्ञानात् ।"

(२) किमर्थं पुनरयमल्पार्थः सुमहाग्रन्थसन्दर्भविधिरारभ्यत इति ? कोशकृदाचष्टे "न ह्यत्र किञ्चित्बल-मुत्प्रेक्ष्यते" इति तं प्रतीदं बलमादर्श्यते ।

(३) कोशकारः पुनस्तां (=सभागताम) वैशेषिकपरिकल्पित जातिपदार्थेन समीकुर्वन् पायसवायसयो-र्बलसाधर्म्ये पश्यतीति ।

(४) अत्र पुनः कोशकारः प्रतिजानीते...सचितिकेयं(=निरोधसमापत्तिः) समापत्तिः" इति । तदेतदबौद्धीयम् ।

(५) "संस्काराधिष्ठानजमायुर्न विपाकः" इति कोशकारः । तत्र किमुत्तरमिति ? नैतत् सूत्रेऽवतरति, विनये न संदृश्यते, धर्मतां च विलोमयति । तस्माद् बालवचनादध्युपेक्ष्यमेतत् ।

These are a few of the many references to Kośakara that are to be found in the commentary. The author of the Vṛttti goes to the extent of saying-'इदमिदानीम् अभिधर्मसर्वस्वं कोशकारकस्मृतिगोचरातीतं वक्तव्यम्..... ।"

The name Vibhāṣa itself makes it evident that the text belongs to the Vibhāśika school. The Vrttikāra while discussing the आधिपत्य of इन्द्रिय says-"कोशकारादयः पुनराहुः -स्वार्थोपलब्धावेव चक्षुरादीनां पञ्चानामाधिपत्यम्" तदेतद्वैभाषिकीयमेव किञ्चिद् गृहीतम् । नात्र किञ्चित्कोशकारस्य स्वकदर्शनम् । वैभाषैरेव स्वार्थोपलब्धिरुक्तेति ।

*Only one leaf dealing with the third Adhyāya is available. The subject dealt there is 'Kāritra'. It may be कारित्राधिकार.

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The Vṛttikāra refers four times to वैभाष, once to विनयधर वैभाषिक and quotes the वैभाषिक view in six places. Five reference to अभिधर्मग्रन्थ are found. प्रकरण and विभाषा are twice refered to, and two passages from ज्ञानप्रस्थान are quoted. He refers to काश्मीर and in three place quotes their views. The पौराण–view is quoted twice. Only one reference is fonnd to बहिर्देशीयक. The views of the text and commentary on निरोधसमापत्ति and जीवितेन्द्रिय agree with the views of बहिर्देशिक, i. e. the Gāndhāra school of वैभाषिक. The commentary makes five references to दार्ष्टान्तिक and in one place it says–दार्ष्टान्तिकस्य हि सर्वमप्रत्यक्षम् ।

This shows the identity of the Dārṣṭāntika view with the view of Sautrāntika. The Sautrāntika view is quoted thrice and there are two quotations from Bhandanta *Kumāralāta*.

The text mentions four famous schools of Buddhism. They are–

सर्वमस्ति प्रदेशोस्ति सर्वं नास्तीति चापरः ।
अव्याकृतास्ति वादीति चत्वारो वादिनः स्मृताः॥

सर्वास्तिवाद, विभज्यवाद (प्रदेशवाद) वैतुलिकवाद, (शून्यवाद) and पौद्गलिकवाद are the four famous schools recognised by him. He includes दार्ष्टान्तिकs in the group of विभज्यवादिन्s. This classification is of great value in tracing the development of various schools of Buddhism. Of these he says–

एभ्यो यः प्रथमो वादी भजते साधुतामसौ ।

and mentions the fours views, viz., that of धर्मत्रात, घोषक, वसुमित्र and बुद्धदेव. He favours the view of वसुमित्र who is called a great opponent of साङ्ख्यमत. *Vasubandhu* also mentions these four and favour वसुमित्र. The three remaining schools, the commentator says, are to be classed respectively with लोकायतिक वैनाशिक and नग्नाटपक्षs.

The text abounds is reference to the original words of Buddha, to the Sūtra and Abhidharma. There are thirty three quotations beginning with 'उक्तं भगवता', forty quaotations from different sūtras, three quotations from Śāstra, four reference, to Abhidharma–Grantha and one reference to Āgama. The commentator refers to various views of different Buddhist Ācāryas. The पौराण–view is quoted twice. There are ten references to others. He critisizes the वैतुलिक view of शून्यवाद which is called वैनाशिक, two verses of शून्यवाद are quoted. Once he calls him सर्वास्तिवादविभ्रष्टि–वैतुलिकः ।

The following sūtras are mentioned in the commentary:—

राहुलोवादसूत्र, लवणोपमसूत्र, आनेज्यसूत्र, माहकीमातृसूत्र, स्थविरक्षेमकसूत्र, कात्यायनसूत्र, हस्तताडोपमसूत्र, गोमदपिण्डोपमसूत्र, अर्हत्परिहानिसूत्र and सत्पुरुषसूत्र.

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He quotes a few stanzas like दूरंगममेकचरम् अशरीरं गुहाशयम् and बहवो शरणं भान्ति etc., which are found in धम्मपद.

A very interesting discussion is found in the text which is of great value in tracing the development of the doctrine of Bodhisattva. The commentator gives in detail the thirty-two महापुरुषलक्षणs and eighty अनुव्यञ्जनs of बुद्ध. He discusses the doctrine of Bodhisattva and its relation to *Śrāvaka-yāna*, only four Pāramitas viz., दान, शील, वीर्य and प्रज्ञा are mentioned. He states that the *Vinayadhara Vaibhāiṣikas* read only these four and the Vaibhāṣikas hold that क्षान्ति and ध्यानपारमिताs are परिवार of शील and प्रज्ञापारमिता।

The author encounters a heretic view that the बोधिसत्व मार्ग is not preached by the Buddha in the पिटकत्रय.

The दीपकार says that the Buddha has preached in the पिटकत्रय such things as three पुण्यकृतिवस्तुs, four अधिष्ठानs, seven सद्धर्मs, seven योगs, three स्कन्धs, three शिक्षाs, four पारमिताs (in विनय) and above all thirty seven बोधिपक्ष्यधर्मs

तस्मान्न बोधिमार्गोऽन्यः सूत्रादिपिटकत्रयात्।

He too considers the three Pitakas as the word of Buddha त्रीणी पिटकानि धर्मो but adds–"यत्खलु भगवता बुद्धेन भाषितं तच्चतुर्ष्वागमेषु स्थविरमह। कश्यपस्थविरानन्दादिभिः संगीतिकर्तृभिः उदानगाथाभिर्निबद्धं तदेव ग्राह्यम्।"

This discussion bears one to believe that here the author is encountering the views of *Theravāda* and is establishing the authenticity of his "Piṭaka-traya" against the Thera-vāda canon.

The commentary contains various references to other Non-Buddhistic Schools and scholars. The Sāṇkhya and Vaiśeṣika view is often criticied. Vindhya-vāsi, a great Sāṇkhya is criticised. He refers to वार्षगण्यपक्ष. There are two references to Jainas. They are called नग्नाटs or निर्ग्रन्थ शिरोलुञ्चकs. The text also refers to पारसीकs, their मन्त्रs, their religious customs like धर्मबुद्ध्या मातरं पितरमभिप्र-...and alludes to their special practice of मातृगमन. It is interesting to note that all these are referred to by Vasubandhu also in his Bhāṣya on Kośa.

Date and Authorship of Abhidharma-deepa

We shall now turn to the problem of the date and authorship of our Text. Unfortunately both the text and commentary are silent on these points. The most striking point in the text and commentary is their constant reference to the Abhidharma-Kośa of Vasubandhu. In spite of the vehement criticism directed against the Kośa, our text abounds in verbal similarities with the Kārikās of the Kośa. Our commentary devotes about thrity-eight pages (Two sides of ninteen leaves) on the first Adhyāya, of which twenty-nine pages contain

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sixty-five verses of the text and the commentary on them. A comparison of these verses with the forty-eight Kārikās of the first Adhyāya of Kośa shows such astonishing word to word similarity that one might take the former to be a paraphrase of the latter. This applies more or less to all other chapters. But what is more striking is that, our Vibhāṣā Vṛtti bears a still greater similarity with the Bhāśya of Vasubandhu on his own Kārikās, fragments of which are available in the Sphutārthā-Vyākhyā of Yaśomitra. When we consider our author's vehement criticism of the Kośa on the one hand and the word to word similarity, both in the text and the commentary on the other, we are led to the conclusion that the author of Abhidharma Pradeepa is trying to correct the views of Vasubandhu as contained in his own Bhāśya, and at the same time is preserving the non-controversial parts of the Kārikā and Bhāṣya.

The style, both of the text and commentary, the references to the old and contemporary schools of Sarvāstivāda and Vaibhāṣika, the criticism of the old Sānkhya teachers like Vindhyavāsi and Vārṣaganya, the reference to Pārasikas which are common to both-the Abhidharma Kośa-Bhāṣya and Abhidharma-Pradeepa-and the absence of any reference to the Buddhist scholars of the Post-Vasubandhu period prove beyond doubt that this is a work of some junior contemporary of Vasubandhu.

Judged from the nature of the work, these two books, viz., the Kośa and our text appear to belong to what Prof. Tākākusu calls the "The school of Neo-Vaibhāṣika Śastrins" of which *Vasubandhu* and *Saṃghabhadra* were the two representatves, the former leaning towards Sautrāṇtika and the latter holding the orthodox views. I, therefore, believe that the author of our text is Saṃghabhadra, a great contemporary and oppnent of Vasubandhu.

Prof. Tākākusu, in his learned article on[1] "the Abhidharma Literature of Sarvāstivādins" gives a detailed account of a tradition, based on the authority of Paramārtha, according to which Saṃghbhadra compiled two works. The first was known as *"Samaya-Pradeepikā"* which merely explains the doctrines of the Vibhāṣā. The latter was known as *Nyāyānusāra*, which refutes the Abhidharma-kośa in favour of the vibhāṣā. He further adds- "The Samaya-Pradeepikā, the author himself tells us, "is a compendium of his earlier work Nyāyānusāra, which is too elaborate and abstruse for general students". Prof. Tākākusu remarks-" Vasubandhu's Kośa -kārikā itself, being a summary of doctrines, was not objectionable to any follower of that system; the only objection being directed to the prose exposition of the Kośa in which some doctrines of Sautrāntikas are found incorporated. This being the case Saṃghabhadra cites freely the Kārikā of his opponent and explains them

1. J. P. T. S. 1904-5, Page 120.

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according to the orthodox views of his school....."

This account of Saṃgbabhadra helps us to understand the astonishing similarity of our Text and commentary with the Kośa-kārikā and Bhāṣya, as well as the vehement criticism of Kośa–Bhāṣya by our author and commentattor.

The name *Samaya-pradeepikā* as translated from Chinese can as well mean Abhidharma-Deepa or Pradeepa. The word Samaya is a synonym of Abhidharma. Regarding the word Pradeepikā, Prof. Tākākusu remarks–"Pradeepikā is our conjecture; it may be some such word of like meaning".

We can, therefore, safely conclude that our text Abhidharma-deepa is not other than this so-called Samaya-Pradeepikā of Saṃghabhadra.

The contents of this Chinese Samaya-Pradeepikā tally quite well with our Text. It is reported that Samaya-Pradeepikā is divided into nine chapters, the first being introductory and the remaining eight dovoted to the following topics—

1. Discrimination of general subjects
2. ,, of articular ,,
3. Causes
4. Actions (Karma)
5. Passions (Anuśaya)
6. Noble Persons (Ārya-marga)
7. Knowledge (Jñāna)
8. Meditation (Dhyāna)

The Abhidharma-deepa does not contain the first introductory chapter. The remaining chapters are the same. The third chapter of our Text is lost to us. Only a few pages are available in which Kāritra (causation) is discussed. It is my conjecture that the third Adhyāya might be *"Karitrādhikāra"*, dealing with causation and not with 'Loka-Dhātu' as in the Abhidharma-Kośa. If this be correct our Text tallies well with the Samaya-Pradeepikā.

Yośomitra, in his Sphuṭārthā-Kośa-Vyākhyā makes several references to Saṃghabhadra and quotes one of his verses. But this verse is not traced in our text. The views of Saṃghabhadra as referred to by him do appear in our Text, but neither so elaborately nor in that very language. Not a single verse from our Text is quoted.

It is my conjecture that here Yaśomitra is quoting from Nyāyānusāra of Saṃghabhadra which was primarily written in refutation of Kośa-bhāṣya. We do meet explanations of Yaśomitra, in his Sphutārthā, on several points which appear as answers to the objections raised by the author of Abhidharma-deepa and its commentary.

Thus the tradition, the style and the relation of our Text and commentary with the Abhidharma-Kośa-Kārikā and Kośa-Bhāṣya support our view that this Abhidharma-deepa is a work of Ācārya Saṃghabhadra, a contemporary of Vasubandhu, the author of Abhidharma-Kośa-bhāṣya.

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Section VII : Prakrit and Jainism
12. Mohanagrha in Malli-Jnata, Kautilya's Arthasastra And other Prakrit Literature.

By Dr. Gustav Roth

[Abbreviations: Gaṇ-T. Gaṇapati Śāstri's Edition of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, Trivandrum 1924, MJ-Malli Jñāta, Meyer, J. J. German Translation of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: Das Altindische Buch Vom Welt Und Staatsleben, Otto Harassowitz 1926, Rāy.-Rāyapaseṇaijja, Samar.-Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra, Baroda 1924 2vols, Vaidya N. V. Nāyādhammakahāo, Critically Edited, Poona, 1940.]

"Mohanagṛha" in its Prakrit form "Mohaṇaghara" is mentioned in the chapter 8: of Nāyādhammakahāo representing the 6th Anga of the Jaina Śvetāmbara Canon.

According to this text Malli was the daughter of King Kumbhaka before she entered the state of a Tīrthānkara. For a certain purpose forseen by her "ohi" she ordered to have constructed a "mohanagṛha", described in the Malli Jñāt. (Vaidy. p. 94, 95 and No. 39 of my edition.) as follows:

Tae ṇaṃ sā Mallī koḍumbiyapurise saddāvei 2 evaṃ, vayāsī gaoohaha ṇaṃ tubbhe devāṇuppiyā asogavaṇiyāe egaṃ mahaṃ mohaṇagharaṃ kareha aṇegakhambhasayasannivitṭhaṃ, tassa ṇaṃ mohaṇagharassa bahumajjhadesabhāe cha gabbhagharae kareha, tesi ṇaṃ gabbhagharagāṇaṃ bahumajjhadesabhāe jālagharayaṃ kareha, tassa ṇaṃ jālagharayassa bahumajjhadesabhāe maṇipeḍhiyaṃ kareha jāva paccappiṇanti, tae ṇam sā 'Mallī maṇipeḍhiyāe uvarim appaṇo sarisiyaṃ... kaṇagamayiṃ matthayacchiḍḍaṃ pumuppulapihāṇaṃ paḍimaṃ karei 2 ....."

Translation: Then Malli called her servants and spoke to them as follows: "Go You, Beloved by Gods, and construct a big delusive house (mohaṇaghara) propped on several hundreds of pillars in the Aśoka tree park, and exactly in the middle of this delusive house six central apartments (gabbhaghara), and exactly in the middle of these central apartments a lattice chamber (jālaghara), and exactly in the middle of this lattice chamber a pedestal with inlaid stones... upto... they reported (that the work is done). Then Malli made a statue of herself on the pedestal with inlaid stones, resembling her..... a golden one, with a hole on the top and with a lid in the shape of a lotus."

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Malli used to take piece after piece of her food everyday to put it in the hole on the head of the statue, causing a horrible smell worse than that of a dead snake.

The six garbhagṛhas are thought to be grouped round the jālagṛha as passage No. 156 of my edition shows.

According to this passage six kings are taken separately without knowing from each other to the respective "garbhagṛhas" to see Malli visible by the deceptive similarity of her statue in the central "jālagṛha." Malli goes and removes the lid on the top and a horrible smell comes out of the hole. By this the six kings are taught a lesson about the deceptiveness of outside beauty.

The kings who came to marry her, are so impressed by this example that they loose every desire to enjoy worldy pleasures and become followers of Lord Mahavira.

As far as I can see, the technical term "mohanagṛha" does not occur in other Sanscrit Literature. I could not trace this term either in our Sanscrit Dictionaries or in the Kośas accessible to me as follows: Hemacandra–Anekārtha Saṃgraha, Mankha Kośa, Hemacandra–Abhicintāmani, Śāśvata Kośa and Amara Kośa.

Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1,20 however refers to it. Richardt Schmidt in "Nachträge zum Petersburger Wörterbuch" Lpz. 1928, gives reference to this passage and translates: Liebeslustgemach–Chamber of erotical pleasures.

The Paia–Sadda–Mahaṇṇavo, by H. D. T. Sheth, Calcutta, 1923, does not mention "Mohanagṛha".

The Abhidhānarājendrakośa of the Śvetāmbara Vijayarājendra Sūri (1826–1906) refers to it and gives parallel references. Woolner's Illustrated Ardha–Māgadhī–Dictionary, vol. 4,1932, gives also evidence of it and translates: "A private chamber for sexual enjoyment."

Kauṭ. 1,20 reads: Vāstukapraśaste deśe sa–prākāra–parikhā–dvāram anekakakṣyā–parigatam antaḥpuraṃ kārayet, Kośagṛhavidhānena vā madhye vāsagṛhaṃ gūḍha–bhitti–sañcāraṃ mohanagṛhaṃ, tanmadhye vā vāsagṛhaṃ, bhūmigṛhaṃ vā āsanna–kāṣṭhacaitya–devatāvidhāna–dvāram aneka–surunga–sañcāraṃ, prāsādaṃ vā gūḍha–bhitti–sopānaṃ, suṣira–stambha–praveśāpasāraṃ vā vāsagṛhaṃ yantra–baddha–talāvapātaṃ kārayed āpad–pratīkārārtham āpadi vā kārayet, ato'nyathā vā vikalpayet sahādhyāyi–bhayāt'. I follow the reading, which T. Gaṇapati Śastri in the I st vol. p. 98 of his edition gives. But instead of his reading "devatāpidhāna" I prefer with R. Shama Śastri and Jolly "devatāvidhāna", why, will be discussed later.

Shama and Jolly differ from Gaṇ. in so far as they don't read "vā madhye" behind "kośagṛhavidhānena" and I think that Gaṇ. has the better reading here.

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I am trying to translate: "In a place appreciated by somebody well-versed in architecture he shall have his castle constructed with walls, ditches and gates, surrounded by several circular enclosures,

Either he shall have the bedroom constructed in the middle (of the palace) in the way of a treasurehouse with secret walls and passages as a mohanagṛna–delusive house, or in the middle of this (mohanagṛha) the bedroom, may be as a chamber in the ground, which has one door and being in its plan in accordance with a deity (of the building–ground), with a wooden temple close by and with several underground passages, may be as an upper storey room with secret indoor steps in the wall,

Or he shall have the bedroom constructed with entrance and exit through an hollow pillar and with a trapdoor in the ground connected with a mechanism. He shall have it done as protection against casualities,

Or he may vary it in a different way from this (mentioned above) in fear of his colleagues (of the Study of Arthaś), who know all the tricks."

Gan. is right when he gives the reading "vā madhye" before "vāsagṛha" as it is very essential to the character of such a room to be in the middle according to the set form of passages mentioning items of Architecture. May I remind you for instance of our parallel passage in MJ 39 with uhe formulas "bahumajjha–desabhāe—bahumadhya–deśabhāge" in connection with "mohanagṛha".

But the punctuation mark, which Gan. has placed behind first "vāsagṛha" is misleading, so it is not quite clear that "mohanagṛha" is clearly mentioned here as technical term in connection with "kośagṛha" too.

This fact is also not clear in the Translation of Shama Śastri p. 39: He shall construct his own residential palace after the model of a treasure house, or he may have his residential abode in the center of the delusive chamber, provided with secret passages made into the walls..."

By this translation Sham. simply ignores "tan" before "madhye" though to be found in his edition on p. 40.

J. J. Meyer did also not understand, translating on p. 49: Gemach der Liebeslust–"chamber of love pleasures". He is wrong when he brings "tan" in connection with the palace in the passage: "tanmadhye vā vāsagṛham", translatating: "Order in der Mitte des Wohnpalastes das Schlafgemach–Or in the center of the residential palace the bedroon."

I think there is no doubt that "tan" can only be brought in connection with previous "mohanagṛha". The security shall be more improved by the alternative of also placing the bedroom in the middle of such a "mohanagṛha", after the statement before that the bedroom has to be constructed as a "mohanagṛha". Translating "chamber of erotical

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pleasures" Meyer felt it impossible to find the bedroom, supposed to be the place of pleasures, placed in the middle of this and so he brought "tan" in connection with "antaḥpuram".

This clearly shows that "mohanagṛha" is used here as a technical term to improve security.

It is very tempting to read with Gaṇ.: devatā-pidhana-dvāram
instead of: ,, -vidhana- ,,
when we think of the last chapter in Daśakumāracaritam and of Kauṭ. 12,5 where someone in Danger is advised to enter a "daivata-pratimā-cchidram" and "gūḍhabhittim vā daivata-pratimā-yuktaṃ bhūmigṛhaṃ" is mentioned. (I prefer this reading of Gaṇ. vol. 3, p. 178 to that of Sham. having a second "vā" behind "yuktam".) Kaut. 2,5 prak. 23 is in certain respects a parallel passage to Kaut. I, 20 dealing with the construction of a "kośagṛha" but without mentioning our term "mohanagṛha".

The passage reads: "...ekadvāraṃ yantrayuktasopānaṃ devatā-vidhānaṃ bhūmigṛham kārayet." (Gaṇ. reads again "devatāpi" vol. I. p. 132,5)

As "devatāvidhāna" represents the "lectio difficilior", it has to be found out, if we can get any proper meaning from this term.

Meyer translates Kaut. 1,20 on P. 49,"Oder ein unterirdisches Gemach (soll er als Schlafgemach herrichten lassen), das hinaus-führt zu einem nahen Heiligtum aus Holz oder zu einer Tempelanlage - or an underground chamber (he shall have it made as a bedroom), which leads to a close sanctuary constructed by wood of to a construction of a temple."

Meyer gives in his Note 4 another interpretation: deavatāvidhāna - Göttereinrichtung, Götteranlage-"arrangement for the deities, construction for the deities".

Sham. translates this passage: "or in an underground chamber provided with the figures of goddesses and of altars (chaitya) carved on the wooden doorframe."

Meyer thinks of an underground passage leading from the bedroom to the temple.

He translates "devatāvidhāna" in Kaut. 2, 5 on p. 77: "mit einer Vorrichtung für die Gottheit - with an arrangement for the deity" and suggests to think of a small room with the images of deities in his Note No. 7.

Sham. translates : "solemnised with the presence of the guardian deity" (p. 55) and comes nearer to the right interpretation.

We see how different interpretations the same translater gives for a technical term occurring in Kaut. 1. 20 and Kaut. 2, 5.

"Devatāvidhānā" mentioned in both passages in closest connection with "Bhūmigṛha" must have the same meaing; We read in Kaut. 2,3, prak. 22:

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koṣṭhakālayeṣu yathoddeśaṃ vāstudevatā sthāpayet–In alcoves (Meyer suggests "shrine" in note 5, p. 75) he shall have the guardian deities of the building-ground placed according to their place."

Meyer's tranlsation for "vāstudevatā" "Gottheiten der Hausstätten–deities of home-stalls" is not clear enough.

The conception of "vāstudevatā is well known from the treatise Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra. We find a list of all guardian deities of the building ground for instance in vol. 1, chapter 14, p. 61, starting with verse 12. Verse 32 reads: ityeṣa vāstudevānam nighaṇṭuḥ parikīrtitaḥ - by this the list of the guardian deities of the building ground has been mentioned,"

In chapt. 11 of Samar.vol 1 under the title "Vāstutrayavibhāga" we learn that the building ground has to be divided in padas–plots-attributed to Brahman, who covers nine padas, and to other deities who are called "padadevatāḥ" in verse 10.

The architect has to divide the ground in "vaṃśas–stripes" and in "padas-plots" to which ther espective guardian deities, town-quarters and buildings are assigned, as we learn from chapt. 10, verse 5, vol. 1 of Samar.

One who is well versed in the construction and planning of a town or any other building in connection with the respective guardian deity is called "vidhāna-vit".

We read in Samar. 1. 10. 89, p. 45:

"Suvarṇakārān āgneyyām tathā vahnyupajīvinaḥ
niveśayet karmakārān anyānapi vidhānavit."

The expert for planning shall settle the goldsmiths as well as the drivers and the other workers too in a place belonging to agni." (South East.)

This pada arrangement is also the base in the planning of a king's palace. About the bedroom of a king being of special interest to us in connection with Kauṭ. 1, 20 we read in Samar. 15, 23, p. 63, vol. 1:

Prekṣāsaṅgītakāni syur gandharve vāsaveśma ca
kāryā vaivasvate śālā rathānāṃ dantināṃ tathā

"The theatre, the music-rooms and the bedroom shall be constructed in the Gandharva (plot), the hall for the cars and the stable for the elephants in the plot of Vivasvant."

These passages of the treatise of architecture make it certain that "devātavidhāna" is not "construction of a temple or arrangement for deities." but a technical term of the meaning: "plan in accordance with a deity of the building ground."

So I interpret "devatā," as "vāstudevatā" a term well known to Kauṭ. as we have seen. and "vidhāna" as the "planning, construction" according to a deity of the groundplan.

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Now it has become understandable why "devatāvidhāna" is specially mentioned in connection with "bhūmigṛha" in two passages of Kauṭ.

A "bhūmigṛha–underground building" is constructed into the "vāstu–the building ground" being the base for consructions above, so the demand to have the construction of such a building done in accordance with the deities of the building ground specially in our case has become quite comprehensible.

I think this interpretation of "devatāvidhāna" gives a good sense and I therefore prefer the reading "vidhāna to pidhāna" which Gan. gives.

Both passages in MJ and in Kauṭ. complete each other in an ideal manner. In MJ "garbhagṛha" and "jālagṛha" "are mentioned in a mohanagṛha", the both first terms not mentioned in Kauṭ, but Kauṭ. tells us about secret passages and walls in connection with "mohanagṛha", in which the bedroom of a king and a treasure-house has to be constructed to improve security.

As I said in the beginning of my paper, I am not able to trace "mohanagṛha" in other Sanscrit literature. Vaidya refers to "mayasabhā" in Mbh. in his Notes p. 19 to MJ.

But this term can be also traced in other Prakrit texts belonging to the Uvanga of the Jaina Śvetāmbara Canon, in Rāyapaseṇaijja and Jivābhigana.

By the kind help of the Librarian of Central Archaeological Library in New Delhi I could use the Edition: Rāyapaseṇiyasuttaṃ, Sampādaka Pandita Becaradas Jivaraj Dosi, Vi. samv. 1994, Prakāśaka: Shambhulal Jayashi Shah, Gurjargrantharatna karyalaya. This text, which often is a real compendium of terms of architecture in its "Varṇakas" has the following passage on p. 197 of edition metioned above: "Tesu ṇaṃ vaṇasaṃdesu tattha tattha tahiṃ tahiṃ dese dese bahave āliyagharagā (v. I. āli), māliya–gharagā, kayaligharagā, layāgharagā, acchaṇagharagā, (v. I. acchaya.), picchaṇagharagā, majjaṇagharagā; pasāhaṇagharagā, gabbha–gharagā, mohaṇa–gharagā, jālagharagā, jāla–gharagā, kusuma–gharagā, cittagharagā, gandharvagharagā, āyansagharagā, savvarayaṇāmayā acchā jāva paḍirūvā.

The v. r. variae lectiones are from "Rājapraśnīyasūtra" by Bala Brahmacari Pandit Muni Shri Amolak Ṛṣi Jl, which text I could use by the kind help of the librarian of the Digambara Library at Arrah near Patna.

Translation: "In these forests, scattered here and there, there were many Alikatree–bowers, Malikatree–bowers, Kadali–bowers, Liana–bowers, resthouses, (I follow here the reading 'acchaṇa'–āsana, v. 1. acchaya–akṣaka= Baheḍā kā vṛkṣ in Sheth's Pkt. Dictionary, a meaning which would also fit in the whole of this passage), places for entertainments, swimming pools, dressing chambers, inner apartments cottages, delusive houses, Shaltree–bowers,

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lattice-bowers, flower-bowers, picture-bowers, music-bowers, halls of mirrors (shīsh mahall), decorated with all precious stones, bright...upto...beautiful."

We see that "gabbhaghara" and "jālaghara" here are also mentioned beside "mohaṇaghara" which terms we have met in MJ 39 in connection with "mohanagṛha" too.

The Commentary of Malayagiri gives the following explanation of the Rāy. passage, quoted above: "mohanam maithunasevā" ramiyaṃ mohaṇa-rayāim ( ) + iti Nāmamālavacanāt tatpradhānāni gṛhakāni mohana-gṛhakāni vāsabhavanāni- iti Bhavāḥ.

Translation: " 'mohanam' is sexual intercourse, pleasure of love, sexual enjoyments by intercourse." So according to quotation from Nāmamālā, Houses in which this is the main thing are mohanagṛhas=bedrooms so Bhāva.

The Com. of Abhayadevasuri says to our passage in the Malli Jñāta: Mohaṇagharayaṃ ti sammohotpādakaṃ gṛhaṃ, ratigṛhaṃ vā, Gabbhagharae tti mohanagṛhasya garbhabhūtāni vāsabhavanānīti kecit, Jālagharayaṃ ti dārvādimayajālakaprāyakuḍyaṃ yatra madhyavyavasthitaṃ vastu bahiḥ-sthitair dṛṣyate.

Translation: "Mohanagṛha" is a house which causes confusion, or a pleasure house.

"Garbhagṛhas" are bedrooms having become "garbhas" of a "mohana-gṛha", this is the opinion of some.

"Jālagṛha" is a chamber, the walls of which mostly consist of lattice work of wood etc., where an object placed in the center is seen by people standing outside.

The development in the meaning of our term "mohanagṛha" has become obvious: First "mohanagṛha" was used as a term of security with the function to mislead a person in the building.

Second the meaning "ratigṛha" arose, mentioned by the commentators and Bhāva, when the bedroom of a king had to be constructed as a "mohanagṛha" too, for a king was supposed to be in high danger in his sleeping room according to Kauṭ.

The original meaning of "mohana" itself is "delusive, deceptive", the second "mithuna-intercourse" used as an euphemestic expression.

It seems to me probable that this modification in the meaning of "mohana" was influenced by the second meaning of "mohanagṛha"="ratigṛha" as "vāsagṛha". This does not exclude the possibility that later commentators knowing the second meaning of "mohana" transferred it to their interpretation of mohanagṛha in the sense of ratigṛha in every case, after the primary meaning had become obsolete. In Jīvābhigama ed. by the Hindi Translater

+ these brackets are in the text.

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Amolak Rishi, Vīr Nirvāṇa Samvat 2445, Hyderabad, available in Jaina Digambara Library at Arrah, "mohanaghara" is also mentioned just beside "gabbhaghara." I have given the full reference in my Notes to MJ.

The conclusion can be drawn from this that "mohanagṛha" was originally closely linked with the well known term of "garbhagṛhas", which were arranged in a "mohanagṛha" or as a "mohanagṛha" in certain cases to make the entrance of an outsider difficult. The Sanscrit treatises on Architecture: Mānasāra and Samar. don't mention our term.

Conception of "mohanagṛha" in a narrative of the Avasyaka-Literature

We could make it certain from Kauṭ. 1, 20 that a treasurehouse had also to be constructed as a "mohanagṛha" with secret walls and passages.

A narrative from Leumann's Āvaśyaka-stories shows that "mohanagṛha" is a conception belonging to the common possession of a cultural period of considerable antiquity.

In his article: Two new evidences for the Indian origin of 1001 Nights ZDMG. 89, 1935, p. 302 ff. written in German, Ludwig Alsdorf has published and translated a text from the not printed manuscript of Leumann's Āvaśyaka-stories, which includes a narrative referred to our subject.

A king of Ujjain had four servants, very skilled in their respective jobs.

We read about the fourth servant: cauttho sirighario, tāriso sirigharo kao, jahā aigao, na kiṃci pecchai.–The fourth was a treasurer. He had constructed such a treasurehouse, that when somebody entered, he could not see anything!

It is clear that the treasurer had constructed the treasure-house as a "mohanagṛha" with secret walls and passages, when we think of our both Kauṭ. passages, I have dealt with.

The further development in our story makes it still clearer. These servants came under the power of another king and had to demonstrate their abilities before him. We read about the fourth: "Tā bhaṇḍariena pavesio, gao: kiṃci na pecchai aṇṇena dāreṇa darisiyaṃ–Then the treasurer let (the king) enter the treasurehouse; when he had gone inside, he did not see anything. He was made to see the treasures by another door.

There cannot be any doubt that we have the conception of a "mohanagṛha" before us in this narrative.

He, who enters such a building, will not be able to see anything first, as the treasures are kept safely in the "safes" behind secret walls and passages. So the king thinking that the room he had entered be the real room of the treasurehouse, had to be taken through another door to see the hidden

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treasures in secret places behind secret walls and passages: Alsdorf suggests in his Note 4 to his translation on p. 305, to read "dāeṇa" instead of "dāreṇa", and translates: another servant showed them to him; he also discusses as another possibility: "aṇṇena dāreṇa–in another way".

After we have learned something about the construction of a "mohanagṛha" from Kauṭ. 1, 20 and of a "kośagṛha" from Kauṭ. 2,5, I think this passage has been handed down correctly and does not need any emendation.

To sum up: The definition of the term "mohanagṛha" will be according to the different references mentiond above: A delusive house with secret walls and passages, in the center of which "garbhagṛhas, jālagṛhas, vāsagṛhas and kośagṛhas may be constructed to improve security.

The occurrence of this technical term in Jaina Prakrit texts and in Kauṭilya exclusively as far as I can see, what Sanscrit Literature is concerned, gives a further evidence for close relations between Kauṭilya and Jaina Prakrit Literature, both belonging to the same Ancient Indian cultural stratum.

"Mohanagṛha" has proved as a technical term of high antiquity closely linked with "garbhagṛha", having become obsolete in later times, but preserved in Kauṭilya and Jaina Prakrit Literature.

The term "garbhagṛha" survived and can be traced in Sanscrit treatisies about Architecture and other Sanscrit texts.

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13. Some Common Terms in Jainism and Buddhism

By R. C. Jain, B.A.

Jainism and Buddhism are two branches of Śramaṇa Sanskriti. They have many points in common in their philosophy and religion with some differences in details. Their terminology is also to some extent common. A comparative study of these similarities and differences is very interesting and valuable. An attempt is made here, to make a comparative study of a few common terms from Jainism and Buddhism.

I अर्हन्त

Section A

According to Jainism:—

षट्खंडागमटीका of Virasena called धवला explains this: अरिहननादरिहन्ता। By the destruction of the enemy he is called अरिहन्ता. The enemy is मोह delusion. रजोहननाद्वा अरिहन्ता। By the destruction of Karmik-dust (कर्मावरण) he is called Arihanta. रहस्याभावाद्वा अरिहन्ता। Because of absence of any secret in him he is called अरिहन्ता। अतिशयपूजार्हत्वाद्वा अर्हन्तः। Being greatly worshipped and adorned he is called अर्हन्तः।

According to Buddhism:—

The following explanation is found in विसुद्धिमग्ग (Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan) P. 133 foll. तत्थ आरकत्ता, अरीनं अरानं च हतत्ता पच्चयादीनं अरहत्ता, पापकरणे रहाभावा ति इमे हि ताव कारणेहि सो भगवा अरहं ति अनुस्सरति। He remembers Bhagwan as Arham because of these reasons:—

आरकत्ता Being far away from the vices. आरका हि सो सब्बकिलेसेहि सुविदूविदूरेठितो।

He is far from all the vices and stands at great distance, so much for आरका Destroying the torments and all the states accompanying them by the path मग्गेन सवासनानं किलेसानं विद्धंसितत्ता ति आरकता अरहं—So much for the word आरकता—hence he ie called अरहं। अरीनं हतत्ता—He has killed the enemies, in vices राग, दोस, मोह etc.

अरानञ्च हतत्ता He has cut the अरा spokes of the circle of transmigration. पच्चयाहीनं अरहत्ता He is worshipped by offerings. पापकरणे रहाभावा–He abstains from committing sins or is devoid of secrets so he called अरहं।

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अरिहननात्, अतिशयपूजार्हत्वात्, रजोहनाजात् of Jainism are in agreement with अरीनं हतत्ता, पच्चमादीनं अरहत्ता, अरानञ्च हतता and आरकता of Buddhism रहस्य अभावात् of Jainism and पापकरणे रहाभावा of Buddhism have difference in expressions but the significance of both is the same.

The idea in both the religions about अर्हन्त is common. According to Jainism :—

णट्ठचदुधाइकम्मो दंसणसुहणाण—वीरियमइओ।
सुहदेहत्थो अप्पासुद्धो अरिहो विचिंतिज्जो ॥

(Dravya-Samgraha-verse 50)

The Arihanta should be contemplated whose soul is pure, whose body is a pleasure body, whose four Ghātiya Karmas have disappeared and possesses (Perfect केवल) दंसण conation, सुह Bliss णाण knowledge and वीरिय Power.

धणघाइकम्मरहिया केवलनाणाइपरमगुणसहिया।
चोत्तिस–अहिसअजुत्ता अरिहंता एरिसा होंति ॥

(Nigama-Sāra, Verse–17)

Arihantas are those who are entirely free from all the four destructive Karmas. (ज्ञानावरणीय, दर्शनावरणीय, मोहनीय and अन्तराय) and are possessed of the higher attributes Omniscience etc. and are crowned with twentyfour extraordinary qualities.

According to Buddhism :—

अरहासीति भूतोनिव्वुतो (Vinay-Vol-1, P. 8. P. T. S.)

Arha is calm and delivered. अरहा तथागतो सम्मासम्बुद्धो।

Arha is Tathāgala and well enlightened.

सुखिनो वत अरहन्तो, तण्हा तेसं न विज्जति।
अस्मिमानो समुच्छिनो, मोहजालं पदालितं ॥

Arhanta is happy, he has no desire. The idea of अस्मि—egoism is rooted out and the net of delusion is torn away. (Sam. Nikaya)

खीणा जाति वुसितं ब्रह्मचरियं कतं करणीयं ना परं इत्थत्ताय destroyed is rebirth, lived is chaste life, done is what had to be done, after this present life there is no beyond. (Digha-Nikaya)

अरहं खीणासवो वुसितवा कतकरणीयो ओहितभारो अनुपत्ता
सदत्थो परिकरवीण–भवसंयोजनो समद'ञ्ञा विमुत्तो।

(Majjhima Nikāya)

He is Araham who has destroyed defilments, has lived holy life, performed what was to be done, thrown off the burden, has obtained the weal, has liquidated the bonds of life and has been released by right knowledge.

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When the four Ghātiya Karmas have been destroyed he does not take rebirth and becomes वीतराग and वीतदोष। Ghātiya Karmas impair the freedom of a soul and the destruction of those causes emergence of अनन्तसुख, अनन्तदर्शन, अनन्तज्ञान, and अनन्तवीर्य in the soul. This is the explanation which is given by Jainism. According to Buddhism too अर्हन्त is सम्मासम्बुद्धो सुखिनो and ओहितभारो। He has no rebirth to take (खीणा जाति), he is released विमुत्तो। He has no craving तण्हा and his भवसंयोजन which is caused by राग, दोस, and मोह is destroyed. Thus we find that both the religions have the same explanation for अर्हन्त। He is free from any more births, he is blissful and he possesses perfect knowledge.

II आश्रव

Section A

According to Jainism:—

आश्रवन्ति प्रविशन्ति येन कर्माणि आत्मनि इति आश्रवः कर्मबन्धहेतुरिति भावः (Commentary on sthānānga by Abhayadeva) आश्रवन्ति is प्रविशन्ति–i. e. flow in.

By which the Karmas enter–into the soul is called Bhava Asrava and it is cause of bondage of Karmas to the soul.

According to Buddhism,—

आसवन्ती ति आसवा what flow are called Āsavā (Dhammasaugaṇi Aṭṭhakathā) आसवा ति आरम्मणवसेन आ गोत्रभूतो, आ भवग्गतो च सवना, असंवुतेहि वा द्वारेहि घटच्छिदेहि उदकंविय सवनतो, निच्चपग्घरणट्ठेन संसारदुक्खस्सवा सवनतो कामराग–भवराग–मिच्छादिट्ठि-अविज्जा नमेतं अधिवचनं। [Visuddhi Magga ch. 22]

By clinging to the activity of body and mind the flow of existence into a particular family, surrounding or birth is produced. And in the sense of trickling always, the flow of transmigratory evilness is caused by not controlling the senses just as the flow of water, through the uncontrolled holes of a pot, is kept unchecked.

Jainism describes आसव as inflow only while Buddhism describes it as outflow and inflow both.

Section B

According to Jainism:–

आसवदि जेण कम्मं परिणामेणप्पणो स विण्णेओ।
भावासवो जिणुत्तो कम्मासवणं परो होदि। 29

(Dravya Samgraha)

The modification of soul by which Karma gets into (the soul) is to be known as Bhāvāsvava, as told by Jina and the other (Kind of Āsvava) is influx of Karma.

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So to say Bhāvāsvava causes influx of Karmic matter. Bhāvāsvavās or the causes of Asvava are as follows:—

मिच्छत्ताविरदिपमादजोगकोहादओ थ विण्णेया ।
पणपण पणदह तिय चदु कमसो भेदा दु पुन्वस्स ॥ 30

(Drav. Sam.)

The divisions of भावाश्रव are मिथ्यात्व, अविरति, प्रमाद, योग and कषाय (क्रोच्च) which are again subdivided as follows:—

मिथ्यात्व—एकान्त, विपरीत, विनय, संशय and अज्ञान

अविरति—हिंसा, अनृत, स्तेय, अब्रह्मचर्य and परिग्रह

प्रमाद—four kinds of विकथा; four kinds of कषाय; five kinds of इन्द्रियां; and राग and निद्रा

योग—मन, वचन,—काय

कषाय—क्रोध, मान, माया, लोभ ।

These are the factors by which Asvava is caused.

णाणावरणादीणं जोग्गं जं पुग्गलं समासपदि ।
दव्वासवो सणेओ अणेयभेयो जिण कखा दो ॥ ३ ।

(Drav. Sam)

That influx of matter which causes ज्ञानावरण etc. is to be known as द्रव्याश्रव as called by the Jina and possesses mauy varieties. This matter which flows into the soul obscures the real nature of soul and causes राग, द्वेष, मोह, जाति, गति, वेद (sex) etc. etc. or to say that this Karmik–matter is the canse of bondage and grief and births.

According to Buddhism:—

There are four Āsavās कामराग, भवराग, मिच्छादिट्ठि and अविज्जा ।

कामराग is craving for sensuality. भवराग is desire for becoming मिच्छादिट्ठि is wrong view and अविज्जा is not knowing the four noble truths.

These are the causes which conduce to rebirth and grief.

Some formulas express the meaning thus:–

सो होति अरहं खीणासवो...परिकरनीष–भवसंयोजनो समद'ञ्ञा विमुत्तो। (Explained above in अर्हन्त) भिक्खुसङ्घस्स अनुपादाय आसवेहि चित्तानि विमुच्चिसु ।

(Vinaya Piṭaka Māhāvagga)

Thousands of Bhikkhus were freed from defilements (Āsvavās) and free from further existence.

Here Āsavās are referred to as Klesas or defilements or evil states. Rooting out of these defilements leads विमुक्ति liberation.

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The causes of Asvava when compared we find that आरम्मणवसेन of Buddhism is like योग of Jainism; मिथ्यात्व of Jainism is like मिथ्यादृष्टि of Buddhism and अविद्या of Buddhism comes under मिथ्यात्व in Jainism. कामराग of Buddhism is like the प्रमाद of five senses in Jainism. In this way we find that the causes which lead to rebirth-grief and bondage are similar in both the religions though they differ in expressions.

Now the conditions produced by or the fruits produced by Āsvavas are the obscuring of knowledge, the impairing of happiness, the rise of evil states and many births. To be more clear both the religions have the same view about the fruits of Āsava.

But what is to be marked is this that Jainism has explained the process of Āsvava as to how it takes place. The Karmik-matter adheres to soul and then gives rise to various fruits. But Buddhism has missed this point. It does not explain what is to flow and where it is to flow.

Hence we can say that the causes and fruits of Āsvava are similar according to both the systems but the point of the process of Āsvava or the systematic explanation of the flow of something has been missed by Buddhism while Jainism has recorded a methodical explanation of it.

III इरियापथ

Section A

According to Jainism :—

इरिया = ईरगतिप्रेरणयोरस्माद् भावे ऐयत् ।

(Abhidhāna Rajendrakosha)

ईर् stands for the prompting of गति movement and the idea of it is एयत् moving.

ईरणमीर्य्या तस्याः पन्था इर्य्यापथः (Abhi-Raj) इरणम् moving is ईर्य्या and the range of it is इर्य्यापथः । That is the path of one's movement called इरियापथ । Accordnig to Buddhism :—

इरिया = from इरियत; movement, posture and deportment (Pali-English Dict-T. W. Rhys Davids)

इरियापथ = Way of deportment and mode of movement.

इरियापथ in Jainism means the path of movement, while in Buddhism it means the way of movement as well as other activities. Such as, modes of deportment and behaviour.

Section B

According to Jainism :—

पासुगमग्गेण दिवा अवलोगंतो जुगप्पमाणं हि ।
गच्छइ पुरदो समणो इरियासमिदी हवे तस्स ॥

[Niyamasāra, G. 6]

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A saint who walks upon a path (free from living beings) ... carefully seeing it at a distance of arms-length a head is called इरियासमिदी observing carefulness in walking.

इरियावहपडिवण्णे णावलोगतेण होदि गंतव्वं ।
पुरदो जुगप्पमाणं सयाप्पमत्तेण सत्तेण ॥

[Mūtāchāra ch. V, G. 302].

One who has undertaken the activity of इरियापथ should move further looknig ahead carefully for a distance of four arms-length.

Thus इरियापथ means the range or the path of one's movement.

According to Buddhism :—

इरियापथेसु पि कस्सचि चङ्कमो सप्पायो होति, कस्सचि सयनठाननिसज्जानं अञ्ञतरो ।

Among observing Iriyāpathas, for one walking to and fro is suitable, for others either lying down, standing or sitting is suitable.

(Visuddhi Magga, P. 86.-Bhārtiya Vidyā Bhavan)

कथञ्च जानितब्बं, अयं पुग्गलो रागचरितो ति । इरियापथतो भाजना दस्सनादितो । इरियापथतो पि, रागचरितो हि पकति गमनेन गच्छन्तो चातुरियेन गच्छति... । ठानं पि रागचरितस्स पासादिकं होति मधुराकारं...। निसज्जाय पि एसेव नयो । रागचरितो च अतरमानो समं सेय्यं पञ्ञापेत्वा सणिकं निपज्जित्वा अङ्गपच्चङ्गानि समोधाय पासादिकेन आकारेन सयति ।

[Vis. Magga. P. 71—B. V. B.]

How it is to be known that this person possessses a lustful conduct ? His conduct is to be known by इरियापथ, किच्च, भाजन and दस्सन ।

Whosoever is lustful in his conduct is graceful in his natural gait etc. etc...In standing up he is comfortable and polite in manner. And the same in sitting down. He prepares his bed slowly and evenly, gradually lying gathers his limbs and parts and sleeps comfortably. This comparision leads us to the distinction that Jainism has taken only the movement of ground as the इरियापथ while Buddhism has given it a wider meaning by including four activities into it, which may be called as modes of deportment or postures. Those activities are walking, standing, sitting and lying down.

IV जम्बूद्वीप

Section A

According to Jainism :—

दीवाण पहाणहिं दीवदीवे जंबुदुमलंछिए जंबुदीवे ।

[Karakandachariu. I. 3].

In this Jambūdvīpa, the foremost of the continents, the lamp of the islands, marked by the Jambū tree.

According to Buddhism :—

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अनवतप्तसमीपे जम्बूवृक्षो येनाऽयं जम्बूद्वीपः ।

[Abhidharmakoshaḥ Saṭīkaḥ–P. 70. Rahula Śānkkrityāyāna]

There is a Jambū–tree near Anavatapta–sea, hence it is called Jambūdvīpa.

Both the religions have common ground for the explanation of the etymology of this word and जम्बूद्वीप is named after the tree of Jambu.

Section B

According to Jainism :—

There are three divisions of the Universe called as ऊर्ध्वलोक, मध्यलोक and अधोलोक । तहिं बहुदीवो वहि मंडियऊ मज्झिमु भुअणु परिट्ठियउ ।

[Nāyakumāra Chariu, I. 5]

The Middle division (मज्झिमु भुअणु or मध्यलोक) is made up of many islands and oceans.

..... पहिलारऊ पविउलु जंबुदीउ ।

[Nāya–ku–ch. I. 6]

The first of them is the great Jambūdvīpa.

जम्बूद्वीपलवणादयः शुभनामानो द्वीप–समुद्राः

[Tatvārtha Sūlva ch. III]

There are many islands and oceans of auspicious names such as Jambūdvīpa and Lavaṇa–Samudra etc...

वेदियलवणण्णववलयमाणे.....[Karakanda Chariu I. 3.]

Jambūdvīpa is girted round by Lavaṇa Samudra like a ring.

द्विर्द्विर्विष्कम्भाः पूर्वपूर्वपरिक्षेपिणो वलयाकृतयः । तन्मध्ये मेरुनाभिर्वृतो योजनशतसहस्र-विष्कम्भो जम्बूद्वीपः । [Tat. Su. ch. III]

These islands and oceans are double, in size, to each other respectively encircling one another, and their shape is like a ring. Jambūdvīpa is वृत्त round (wheel like) its diameter is one Lakh Yojans and in the middle of it there is the mountain Meru.

तस्सिं जम्बुदीवे सत्तविहा होंति जणपदा पवरा । ९०
दक्खिण–दिसाए भरहो हेमवदो हरिविदेह–रम्माणि ।
हेरण्णवदेरावद–वरिसा कुल–पव्वदंतरिदा । ९१

[Triloka Prajhapti. IV]

In that जम्बूद्वीप there are seven excellent countries. From the south of the Jambūdvīpa there are Bhārata, Hemavata, Hari, Videha, Ramyaka, Heranyavata and Airāvata which are separated by high Mountains.

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According to Buddhism :—

There is a काञ्चन–मण्डल which is called as भूमिमण्डल. It is made up of many oceans, mountains and islands.

तत्त काञ्चनभूमण्डले मेरुः युगन्धरः ईषाधरः, खदिरकः, सुदर्शनः, अश्वकर्णः, विनतकः, निमिंधरश्चेति अष्टौ पर्वताः । क्रमेणान्योन्ये परिक्षिप्य । निमिंधरं परिक्षिप्य द्वीपाः

(जम्बू–पूर्वविदेहाउ वरगोदानीयोत्तरकुरवः) ।
सर्वतो बहिः परिक्षिप्य चक्रवालपर्वताः सन्ति ।

[Adhidharmakoshaḥ Saṭīkaḥ. III 48–49]

On that Kāñchana Bhūmaṇḍala the first mountain is Meru-in this way there are eight mountains and the last is Nimindhara. They are encircling each other respectively. There are four islands encircling the Nimindhara, and the last of all are Chakravāla mountains which encircle these four islands.

एषां पर्वतानां अन्तराले सप्त सीताः जल–परिखावत् सन्ति । [Ibid III 51] In between these mountains there are seven oceans like water-ditches सर्वतो बहिः महोदधिः निमिंधरचक्रवालयोरन्तराले महासमुद्रः त्रिलंदाब्दा विंशतिसहस्रयोजनः [Ibid III 52–53]

The last of all is महोदधि which is between the Nimindhar and चक्रवाल, its size is 3,20,000 Yojanās.

In this महोदधि there are four islands, out of them one is Jambūdvīpa situated in the South of Meru.

जम्बूद्वीपो द्विसाहस्त्रः त्रिपार्श्वः शकटाकृतिः । III 53. सार्द्धत्रियोजनं त्वेकं; It is of the shape of a cart. Each of its three arms is of the length of 2000 Yojanas and one more is of three and a half Yojanās.

इहोत्तरेण कीटाद्रि–नवका हिमवान्, ततः ।
पंचाशद्–वि(पुलाऽगाध) सरोऽर्वाग् गन्धमादनात् । ५७

In the north of Jambūdvīpa there are nine Kīṭādrayah–mountains. Then there is Himālaya. In the north of Himālaya there is great and deep ocean अनवतप्त which is before गन्धमादन Mountain. अनवतप्तात् गंगा–सिन्धु–वक्षु–सीतेति चतस्रो नद्यो निर्गच्छन्ति । Four rivers Gangā, Sindhu, Vakshu and Sītā rise from Anavatapta-sea.

As regards the shape, size and the situation of जम्बूद्वीप both the religions put forward different accounts.

According to Jainism it is wheel-like round; Meru-Mountain is in the centre of it; there are seven countries in it, of which Bhārata is one, it is surrounded by Lavaṇa Samudra and the diameter of the जम्बूद्वीप is 1,00,000 Yojanas. On the other hand Buddhism describes it as having a shape of a cart; its three arms are 2,000 Yojaṇas each in length; it is situated

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in the south of the Meru-Mountain; it is situated in the Mahodadhi Ocean; it has Gangā, Sindhu, Vakshu and Sītā rivers. So it is clear that according to Buddhism जम्बूद्वीप is भारत while according to Jainism भारत is a country in जम्बूद्वीप ।

V पुद्गल

Section A

According to Jainism :—

पूरणगलनधर्माणः पुद्गलाः

That which has a nature of coming in and going out is pudgala.

The atoms gather into a molecule and disappear, so it is called पुद्गल ।

According to Buddhism :—

पुं ति वुच्चति निरयो, तस्मिं गलन्ति ति पुग्गला ।

[Visudnhi-Magga]

पुं means hell and those which गलन्ति fall into it are called पुग्गला. So those which fall into hell are called पुग्गला. Hence we find a different explanation from both the religions.

According to Jainism :—

The substance is divided into two catagories–Soul (Living-being), and matter (Non-living being). Then the matter अजीव is described as follows:—

अज्जीवो पुणणेओ पुग्गल धम्मो अधम्म आयासं ।
कालो पुग्गल मुत्तो रुवादिगुणो अमुत्ति सेसादु ॥

(Dravya Samgraha, 15)

Ajīva contains five principles–Pudgala, Dharma, Adharma, Ākāsa and Kāla. Pudgala has form and many other qualities such as shape etc., while the rest have no form.

रूपिण पुद्गलाः 14 [Tattvārtha Sutra, ch V] Pudgals have form. स्पर्शरसगन्धवर्णवन्तः पुद्गलाः 123 अणवः स्कन्धाश्च 25 [Tattvārtha Sūtra, ch. V]. Pudgal possesses the qualities of touch, taste, smell and colour.

Pudgala is found in the form of atoms and molecules.

According to Buddhism :—

...दसहि धम्मेहि समन्नागतं पुरिसपुग्गलं पञ्ञापेमि...समणं अयोज्झंति ।

[Majghima Nikāya, ch. 78]

The individual-man who is possessed of these ten qualities is called Śramaṇa, the unconquerable.

न मे आचरियो अत्थि, सदिसो मे न विज्जति सदेवकस्मिं लोकस्मिं नत्थि मे परिपुग्गलो ।

[Vinaya-Mahāvagga,–Verse 14]

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There is no teacher of mine, nobody is there like me and even in this world and the world of gods there is no rival person to me.

न भिक्खवे, जानं अनवीसति वस्सो पुग्गलो उप सम्वादे तब्बो। Oh Bhikkus, knowingly a person under the age of 19 years should not be granted ordination. (Vinaya–Mahāvagga).

The above discussion makes it clear that Jainism maintains पुद्गल as a non-living substance, that is, a mattər which has no life while Buddhism has used it as an individual having life, just as पुरिस–पुग्गलो। According to Jainism a man is made of two substances—living and non–living. The first is the soul or consciousness while the latter is the material body in which the soul resides for a particular period. On the other hand Buddhism takes पुग्दल as a living person or living organism.

This discussion makes it clear that Jainism and Buddhism differ very little in their philosophical background. The difference is visible in details and in the subsequent development of ideas and explanations. A comparative study of these two religions will prove of great importance in understading fully the historical development of philosophical and ethical conceptions.

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Section VIII: History

14. Eastern Ganga Inscriptions in The Tamil Country

By Dr. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D.

There is an inscription on the east wall of the second Prākāra of the Raṅganātha temple at Srirangam in the Trichinopoly District (No. 53 of 1892 *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 140, No. 500). It is dated in the ninth regnal year of the Pāṇḍya king Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya who ascended the throne in A.D. 1216. According to this record, the date of which falls in A.D. 1224-25, the managers of the temple of Raṅganātha colluded with the Oṭṭar to the detriment of the income of the temple. Of the same period there are two inscriptions on the west wall of the rock near the Aruḷāla Perumāḷ temple at Conjeeveram in the Chingleput District (Nos. 444-45 of 1915; *A.R.S.E.*, 1919-20, p. 22). The second of these two inscpiptions is dated in the twentieth year (Āḍi 12, Saptamī, Monday, Aśvatī) of the reign of Rājarājadeva (apparently the Chola king Rājarāja III, A.D. 1216-46) and records the gift of 128 cows and 4 bulls by Aniyaṅkabhīmadeva-rāhutta (no doubt Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma III Rāuta, *circa* A.D. 1211-38), the lord of Kaliṅga, for four perpetual lamps in the temple. The other inscription is dated in the nineteenth year (Mīna sudi pañchamī, Wednesday, Revatī) of an unspecified reign which can hardly be of any one other than the Chola king Rājarāja III and records the gift of the village of Uḍaiyakāmam in the Antarudra *vishaya* by Somalādevī-mahādevi, queen of Gaṅga Anantavarman-rāhuttarāya (i.e. Anaṅgabhīma III), for the daily worship and offerings to the god. The Gaṅga king, some of whose *birudas* are mentioned in the record, is stated to have camped at Abhinava-Vāraṇavāsi or Abhinava-Vārāṇasī which is often believed to be no other than Conjeeveram (Kāñchīpura), the findspot of the records.

On the strength of the above three inscriptions, Dr. T.V. Mahalingam, who substantially follows Dr. N. Venkataramanayya (*Bhārati*, Vol. XXII, 1945, Part I, pp. 161ff., 541ff.; Part II, pp. 57ff.) believes in "a Gaṅga invasion of the Tamil country as far as Srirangam near modern Trichinopoly by Anaṅgabhīma in the early years of the Chola king Rājarāja III" *(List of Papers and Summaries*, I.H.C., Gwalior Session, pp. 30-31). He further says, "This led to the prevalence of unsettled conditions in the area covered by the present Tanjore District and dislocated the temple worship at Srirangam." Both Dr. Venkataramanayya and Dr. Mahalingam take the word *oṭṭar* in the Srirangam inscription in the sense of Oḍḍiyas or Oriyas, but while

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the former scholar (who depends on No. 444 of 1919 and ignores No. 445) appears to think that Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma III was present at Kāñchī in the nineteenth year of his own reign, the latter suggests that the Conjeeveram inscriptions indicating his presence at that place are both dated in the regnal years of the Chola king Rājarāja III. Although the astronomical details of the dates do not tally with those of the expected dates in the reign of the Chola king, there is little doubt that the nineteenth year of an unspecified reign mentioned in No. 444 should be attributed to the reign of Rājarāja III, 'which is referred to in No. 445. There are apparently some mistakes in the astronomical details of both the dates.* It is impossible to ignore the fact that the style of dating noticed in the records is found in many other Chola inscriptions but in none of the records of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III of Orissa.

The conclusions reached by Drs. Venkataramanayya and Mahalingam in regard to the interpretation of the above three inscriptions are open to serious objections. In the first place there is absolutely no evidence in favour of the identification of Abhinava-Vārāṇasī with Conjeeveram while there is definite proof to show that it was the name of Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma's capital to be located at modern Cuttack, the chief city of Orissa. Secondly, it is impossible to believe that if the Gaṅga king conquered the Tamil country and was present at Conjeeveram in that region, he would date his Conjeeveram inscriptions not in his own reckoning but in the regnal years of the Chola king whom he had defeated. Thirdly, the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III was one of the most devout Vaishṇavas known from Indian history and it is impossible to think that, when he was himself present in the Tamil country, he would have caused dislocation in the worship at the Srirangam Temple of Raṅganātha who represents a form of Vishṇu and is venerated by the Vaishṇavas throughout the whole of India. Fourthly, the interpretation of the word *oṭṭar* as the people of Orissa is extremely doubtful. Let us take up these four points one by one.

We know that the Gaṅgas had originally their capital at Kaliṅganagara which has been identified with modern Mukhalingam near Chicacole or Srikakulam. But the Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga (A. D. 1078-1147) conquered the Puri-Cuttack region of Orissa from the Somavaṁśīs and his successors are known to have transferred the Gaṅga capital in the present Cuttack (Kaṭaka) area. This new Gaṅga capital is mentioned as Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka in both the Puri Copper-plate inscriptions of Narasiṁha IV

*Aḍi 12, Saptamī, Aśvatī (Aśvinī) in the twentieth year of Rājarāja III ttallies with the 8th July, A.D. 1235. But the week-day was Sunday and not Monday as given in the record.

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who ascended the throne about A.D. 1378 (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1122 and 1125; *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIV, Part I, pp. 136 ff., 151 ff.). The *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* of Shams-i-Sirāj Afif, while describing Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh's expedition against the kingdom of Jājnagar (i. e. the Gaṅga kingdom of Orissa) in A.D. 1360 during the reign of Bhānu III *(circa* A.D. 1352-78), mentions the same city on the river Mahānadī as Banārasī or Vārāṇasī (Ray, *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. I, p. 491). The Nagari copper-plate inscription of King Anaṅgabhīma III himself, which I have recently edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*, records several grants of the king when he was stationed at the same city mentioned there as Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka, Abhinava-Vārāṇasī and Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka. There is no doubt that this city is the same as the modern Cuttack or Kaṭaka, the chief city of Orissa. A tradition recorded in the *Mādalā Pāñjī* (ed. A.B. Mahanti, Cuttack, 1940, p. 27) seems to suggest that it was Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma III who built the city of Vārāṇasī (Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka) and made it his capital. According to this tradition, a Gaṅga king named Anaṅgabhīma was at first ruling from the city called Chaudvāra-kaṭaka on the northern bank of the Mahānadī. One day he crosssd the river and reached the village of Vāravāti in the Kudiṇḍā Daṇḍapāṭa on its southern bank where he noticed a *śyāmala* bird (possibly a female cuckoo) killed by a *vaka* (Indian crane) near the temple of the god Viśveśvara. Considering this to be a good omen, the king built a city there and gave it the name Vāṇarāśī-kaṭaka (Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka). Then he left Chaudvāra-kaṭaka and made the new city his residence. It will be seen that the Conjeeveram inscription of his queen Somalādevī records a grant made by the queen in favour of the Aruḷāla Perumāḷ temple when her husband was stationed at Abhinava-Vārāṇasī exactly as some of the king's own grants were made from his residence at the same city according to the Nagari plates. The Conjeeveram inscriptions therefore do not prove that the Gaṅga monarch ever encamped at Kāñchipura.

The Conjeeveram inscriptions are dated in the regnal reckoning of the Chola king Rājarāja III. This fact shows beyond doubt that the country around Conjeeveram was regarded as forming a part of the dominions of the Chola king. If Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma III succeded in conquering the above region, there would have been no question of referring to the years of the reign of a ruler who had been ousted. It appears that both Dr. Venkataramanayya and Dr. Mahalingam are conscious of this difficulty; but their attempts to explain it away are most unconvincing. The former scholar speaks in this connection only of No. 444 of 1919, in which the name of the Chola king finds no mention, and totally ignores No. 445 of 1919 which is clearly dated in the twentieth regnal year of Rājarāja III, although there cannot be any doubt that the two inscriptions are inseparably associated with each

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other. On the other hand Dr. Mahalingam says, "Probably this visit of the Gaṅga king with his wife to Kāñchī had no political significance. Obviously they undertook only a pilgrimage tour to the city." He apparently forgets that this conjecture does not at all reconcile the dating of one of the Conjeeveram records clearly in the Chola king's regnal reckoning with the Gaṅga conquest of the Tamil country.

There is evidence to show that Gaṅga Anangabhīma III was a saintly Vaishṇava. We have pointed out elsewhere *(Or. Hist. Res. Journ.*, Vol. I, pp. 48-49) that this king, according to a tradition of the *Mādalā Pāñjī (op. cit.*, pp. 26-27) became a ruler of the *Rāuta* or feudatory class after having dedicated all his possessions including the kingdom in favour of the god Purushottama–Jagannātha of Puri *(e nagara–Kaṭake thāi Śrī–Purushottama–Śrī–Jagannāthadevaṅku samasta Samarpi Rāuta–paṇe thāānti)*. The same work also says how from that time the Gaṅga kings did not enjoy formal coronation at the time of their accession as they considered the god the real ruler of their dominions *(Ôḍishā–rājya–rajāśrī–Jagannātha–mahāprabhu emanta kahi abhisheka nohile)*. We have also shown *(J·K.H.R.S.*, Vol. I, pp. 251-53) that Anaṅgabhīma III and his successors called themselves *Rāuta* (Sanskrait *Rājaputra)*, that the kingdom of Anangabhīma III is mentioned in one of his Bhubaneswar inscriptions as the *Purushottama–sāmrājya* (i.e. Purushottama–Jagannātha's empire) and that in some records of Bhānu II *(circa* A.D. 1305-27) who was the great–great–grandson of Anangabhīma III, the god Purushottama–Jagannātha (in one instance called *devādideva)* is mentioned as that king's overlord. The fact that the present Mahārājās of Puri, who are modern representatives of the medieval imperial rulers of Orissa, consider themselves servants of the god Purushottama–Jagannātha of Puri, no doubt shows the continuity of the fiction first introduced by Anangabhīma III by dedicating his kingdom to the god. An unpublished Bhuvaneswar inscription, recently examined by me, shows that the Vaishṇava king Anangabhīma III was known even to his Śaiva officers as a *Bhagavat*. This shows that he was regarded by his subjects as a saint. We therefore consider it impossible to believe that this Vaishṇava king was responsible for the dislocation of worship at the Vaishṇava shrine of Srirangam when he was himself present in the Tamil country.

As regards the *oṭṭar* with whom the priests of the Srirangam temple colluded to the detriment of the income of the temple about A.D. 1224–25, it may be pointed out that the expression has been differently interpreted. Mr. Venkatasubba Ayyar *(Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 193, note 4) takes it to mean "those who have undertaken to do a thing or given an agreement (to The temple)." We have no doubt that Mr. Ayyar's interpretation of the word is correct.

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The correct interpretation of the Conjeeveram inscriptions seems to be that Somalādevī, one of the queens of the Anaṅgabhīma III *alias* Anantavarman, was a Chola princess, possibly a daughter or sister of Rājarāja III, and that she was staying with her relatives in the Tamil country for some months in the nineteenth and twentieth years of the reign of the said Chola king. Duriug this stay she twice visited the Aruḷāla Perumāḷ temple at Conjeeveram. She granted in favour of the deity, on the first occasion, a village called Udayakāma in Aṇtarudra-vishaya, probably situated in her own jāgīr in fhe dominions of her husband, while on the second she made a grant in the god's favour in the name of her husband who was then residing at his capital at Abhinava-Vārāṇasī, i. e. Cuttack, in Orissa. The name of the queen may suggest that she was born of a princess of Kannaḍa origin. The grant of a village lying in one kingdom in favour of a deity in some other kingdom is known from other instances also. No. 154 of *S. I. I.* Vol. XI (Part II, pp. 192 ff.) registers the gift of the village of Kanakāpura in Kundūr 500 (Dharwar District) for burning incense in the temple of Somanāthadeva of the Saurāshṭra *vishaya* (Kathiawar) by the Kadamba Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Jayakeśideva at the time of his marriage under the direction of his father-in-law and overlord, Chālukya Vikramāditya VI (A. D. 1076-1126) of Kalyāṇa.

We do not believe that there is any evidence worth the name to think that Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma III conquered the Tamil country and visited Conjeeveram.

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15. Notes on the Eran Stone Inscription of Samudragupta

By Prof. Jagan Nath, M.A.

I. The Inscription is Posterior to the reign of Samudragupta

The Eran inscription of Samudragupta has been published by Dr. Fleet in CII, III, pp. 18-21. It is a fragmentary record. The first six lines containing the first verse and about three fourths of the second verse, are completely lost. From lind 8 to 24 a few syllables in the beginning of each line are gone. The stone is also broken away at the bottom and an indefinite portion of the text is lost and we can form no idea about the extent of the record. The extant portion in the opening lines runs as follows:

line 7 – –⏑ –⏑⏑ ⏑—⏑ सुवर्णदाने
8 [विस्मा*] रिता नृपतयः पृथुराघवाद्याः [॥] * २
9 [– –] बभूव धनदान्तकतुष्टिकोपतुल्यः
10 [⏑—⏑] मनयेन समुद्रगुप्तः [।] *
11 [– –] प्य पार्थिवगणस्सकलः पृथिव्यां
12 [– –] स्त(स्व?)राज्यविभवद् ध्रुतमास्थितोऽभूत् [॥] * ३

The second verse has ended in line 8.

The first half of verse 3 appears to contain a complete idea. It may be put in the prose order as follows: धनदान्तकतुष्टिकोपतुल्यः समुद्रगुप्तः बभूव। The use of the Perfect tense would mean that Samudragupta was not alive at the time the inscription was composed. Dr. Fleet, however, construed the verb बभूव as referring to some predecessor of Samudragupta. He says, "From the occurrence of the word *babhūva* in line 9, the first part of the inscription probably mentioned some of his ancestors. But, that the inscription did not extend to the time of any of his successors is shown by the fact that none of their names can be fitted into any of the places where letters are illegible in lines 11 to 24; consequently the prowess etc. described in these lines are those of Samudragupta".[1]

As regards the suggestion of Dr. Fleet that the first part of the inscription probably mentioned some of Samudragupta's ancestors, it has to be noted that there are only two verses preceding the mention of Samudra-

1. CII, III, 19

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gupta's name in the inscription of the first verse nothing has been preserved and so it is impossible to say what it actually contained. But whatever is left of the second verse, appears to pertain to Samudraguta. In line 8, the two missing syllables in the beginning were most probably *vismā* and this line may be read as विस्मारिता नृपतयः पृथुराघवाद्याः। The mention of gifts of gold–सुवर्णदान in line 7 may easily be referred to Samudragupta, who alone in the official Gupta genealogies is given the epithet न्यायागतानेकगोहिरण्यकोटिप्रदः bestowing many crores of lawfully acquired cows and gold. This verse, therefore, purports to say that by his munificient gifts of gold, Samudragupta caused the people to forget even great kings of the past like Pṛthu and Rāghava. The second verse, therfore, does not refer to Samudragupta's ancestors, but to Samudragupta himself.

The verb *babhūva* occurs in the first half of verse 3 and has, evidently, for its subject the only occurring noun in the nominative i. e. Samudragupta. The second half of this verse cannot be connected with any of his predecessors, for they are not known to have deprived all other kings of their royal fortunes. Samudragupta alone is known as the exterminator of all kings *Sarvarājocchettā*. By no stretch of imagination can we connect the verb *babhūva* with any of the preceding verses. As explained above the second verse mentions Samudragupta's charities. It is clear beyond doubt that the sense is complete within the verse itself and has not extended to the third verse. Verses 2 and 3 do not form what is technically called a *yugma*. With the second verse intervening between the first and the third, it is out of question that the verb *babhūva* in the third verse should have anything to do with the first verse the contents of which are uuknown to us.

As regards the second part of Dr. Fleet's statement, that the names of none of Samudragupta's successors can be fitted into the lacunae, up to line 24, it is of course evident that the entire description refers to to Samudragupta alone; but the stone is broken away at the bottom, and in the circumstances it cannot be ascertained how far it extended and what its concluding part contained. This portion might easily be supposed to have contained the name of a successor of Samudragupta. But even if it did not contain the name of a successor of Samudraguta, our conclusion is not invalidated. In view of the fact that the verb *babhūva* has been used, as shown above, for Samudragupta, the inscription has to be regarded as posterior.

II. Meaning of the compound 'Paurusaparakrama-datta-Sulka.'

The compound 'pauruṣaparākramadattaśulka' occurs in the following verse of this inscription:

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– –स्य पौरुषपराक्रमदत्तशुल्का
– – श्वरत्नधनधान्यसमृद्धियुक्ता।
– – गृहेषु मुदिता बहुपुत्रपौत्र–
– क्रामिणी कुलवधुः व्रतिनी निविष्टा॥

The word *Śulka* in the first line of this verse has been taken by Dr. Fleet in the sense of dower and he has translated the line thus: 'whose dower was provided by (his) manliness and prowess'. The late Dr.K.P. Jayaswal also understood the line as conveying a similar meaning as is clear from his following observation:

"Wife was never so honoured as Samudragupta honoured Dattadevi. In the greatest moment of his triumph at Eran the Emperor of All India proudly remembered his life-partner and the day of his marriage when the dowery consisted of only the manliness of her lord".[1]

The lexiconic meanings of *Śulka* are, 1. custom-duty, 2. money advanced to ratify a bargain, 3. Purchase price of a girl, 4. nuptial present; 5. dowry, 6. Present given by the bride-groom to his bride.[2] In order to determine the particular sense in which *Śulka* has been used in the Eran inscription, the best method is to study some parallel passages in which the word occurs, compounded with 'pauruṣa' and 'parākrama' or a synonym for the same. The following are a few important parallels:–

(a) In the Rāmàyaṇa the word occurs in the following verses uttered by Janaka, when Rāma had successfully bent and broken the bow:–

मम सत्या प्रतिज्ञा सा वीर्यशुल्केति कौशिक।
सीता प्राणैर्बहुमता देया रामाय मे सुता॥ १.६७.२३.
राजानं प्रश्रितैर्वाक्यैरातयन्तु पुरं मम।
प्रदातं वीर्यशुल्कायाः कथयन्तु च सर्वशः॥१.६७.२५.

In both these verses वीर्यशुल्का means 'she whose price is valour', i. e. who is to be won or obtained in marriage only by the merit of personal valour.

(b) The following verse occurs in the Bhagavata Purana:

या वीर्यशुल्केन हताः स्वयम्वरे प्रमथ्य चैद्यप्रमुखान् हि शुष्मिणः।
प्रद्युम्नसाम्बाम्बसुतादयोऽपरा याश्चाहृता भौमवधे सहस्रशः॥ १,१०,२८

Here there is a reference to brides who had been won in a *svayamvara* by the display of valour (lit. by the bride-price of valour) having overthrown the valient heroes headed by the King of Cedi.

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1. *History of India 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*, p. 208.
2. *Apte's Sanskrit English Dictionary.*

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(c) In the Raghuvamsa of Kalidasa, the word occurs in the following verses:–

तस्य वीक्ष्य ललितं वपुः शिशोः पार्थिवः प्रथितवंशजन्मनः।
स्वं विचिन्त्य च धनुर्दुरानमं पीडितो दुहितृशुल्कसंस्थया॥ XI, 38

Here we are told that Janaka 'felt oppressed on account of the condition of the 'bride-price' for his daughter–which consisted of the power to bend the bow–on seeing the tender body of the youth (Rama) and thinking of the bow whicoh was unbendable.'

Further,

दृष्टसारमथ रुद्रकार्मुके वीर्यशुल्कमभिनन्द्य मैथिलः।
राघवाय तनयामयोनिजां रूपिणीं श्रियमिव न्यवेदयत्॥ XI, 47

Here, Janaka, is said to have heartily approved of the 'purchase-price' which consisted of the valour (वीर्यमेव शुल्कम्)of Rāma and offered him Sita.

In the verses quoted above the word वीर्यशुल्का (lit. she whose price consisted of valour) has been used for a maiden, the condition for winning whose hand was the possession of manly prowess which was to be displayed by the suitor according to specific conditions. The compound पौरुषपराक्रमदत्तशुल्का in the Eran inscription is an exact parallel to the compound वीर्यशुल्का occurring in the quotations given above. It may therefore, be, inferred that the father of Dattadevi had laid down as a condition precedent to her marriage that the suitor seeking her hand must give proof of physical strength and courage in some way the exact nature of which is not known to us. This may, however, be regarded as certain that Samudragupta had won Dattadevi in an open contest like those known to us in the case of Rama and Arjuna, by the performance of some valiant and heroic deeds and thus fulfilling the conditions for the marriage laid down by Dattadevi's father.

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16. The Vedic Gana and the Origin of the Republics

By Shki Ram Sharan Sharma, M. A.

K. P. Jayaswal who did pioneer work in bringing the ancient Indian republics to prominent notice in the framework of Indian history writing observed the following about their origin :-'The hyms of the *Ṛik* and *Atharva*, the view of the *Mahābhārata* and the tradition which Magasthenes heard in India in the 4th century B. C., all point to the fact that republican form of government in India came *long after monarchy*, and *after the early Vedic age*.[1]' This view does not seem to accord with the evidence of the early and the later Vedic literature. *Gaṇa*, the technical word for the republic is found at fortysix places in the *Ṛigveda*, at nine places in the *Atharvavcda* and at several places in the *Brāhmaṇas*. In most cases it has been interpreted in the sense of 'assembly' or 'troops'. For a few years after 1910 there raged a controversy as to the meaning of the term. In explaining the word *Mālava gaṇa* Fleet translated it as tribe. Jayaswal translated it as an assembly or government by assembly, and was supported by Dr. F. W. Thomas. As a matter of fact, if taken in the chronological order both the interpretations may be correct. It may be noted that in the *RV.*, *AV.* and the *Brāhmaṇas* the Maruts are repeatedly described as a *gaṇa*[2]. Since they were the sons of Rudra, their *gaṇa* in this sense was a tibal unit. Later on this meaning tended to be obsolete. For instance in the *Mālava gaṇa* the term Mālava did not indicate all the people of their state. A non-Brahmaṇa and a non-Kṣatriya would be called *Mālavya*. The same was the case with the Kṣudrakas[3]. In other words the Vaisyas and Śudras living in that state would not be regatded as Mālava proper. At another place it is stated that the slaves and serfs of Mālava and the Kṣudraka would be known as *Mālavya* and *Kṣaudrakya* but this would not apply to their children.[4] This is a clear indication that the

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1. K. P. Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity* (2nd edn., Bangalore, 1943) p. 23.
2. *RV.*, I. 64. 12; V. 52. 13 & 14; 53. 10; 56. 1; 58. 1 & 2; VI. 16. 24; X. 36. 7; 77. 1; III. 32. 2; VII. 58. 1; IX. 96. 17; *AV.*, XIII. 48; IV. 13. 4; *Śatapathā Br.* V. 4. 3. 17.
3. *Kāśikā* on *Pāṇini* V. 3. 114.
4. *Patañjali* on *Pāṇini* IV. 1. 168. इदं तर्हि क्षौद्रकाणामपत्यं मालवानामपत्यमित्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति क्षौद्रक्येा मालव्य इति। नैतत् तेषां दासे वा भवति कर्मकरे वा।

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Mālava and the Kṣudraka republics were based on slavery and serfdom. Taking the two references together it implies that the slaves and serfs of these republics corresponded to the Vaisyas and Śudras. Such a kind of class-distinction between fellow members is not to be found in the tribal *gaṇa* of the Vedic age.

The tribal character of the Vedic *gaṇa* is evident from what we know about the Maruts. They have been described as sons of Rudra numbering forty-nine[5] or sixty-three and divided into seven groups, each consisting of nine.[6] There are several references to the *gaṇas* of Devas in the Vedic literature.[7] In the Puranic and epic literature which have recorded our earliest traditional history there are copious illusions to the *gaṇas* of gods and demons. It is needless to add that they were nothing but the reflections of the *gaṇa* organization existing among the people. In every case members of a *gaṇa* are represented as having the same ancestor. A striking thing is that several of the *gaṇas* mentioned in these traditions bear matronymics. For instance there existed the *gaṇa* of the Āditya derived from the name Aditi.[8] This may lead us to suppose that the female element was also associated with the *gaṇa* but actually speaking there is no direct proof of this. There are seven references in the *RV.* and *AV.* about the association of woman with the *Vidatha* but none in case of the *gaṇa*.[9]

There is no doubt that the tribal *gaṇa* acted also as an assembly. Griffith has translated this term at several places in the *RV.* as an assembly of gods or men. Thus Indra is invited to drink Soma in the assembly of the gods.[10]

In Roman assemblies fighting and voting went together. That may have been possible with the *gaṇa* to whose military character there are numerous references. There is repeated mention in the *RV.* and *AV.* of the strong and vigorous *gaṇas* of Maruts in the sense of army and troops,[11] at times under the command of the Sun or Indra.[12] Heroes are described as

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5. *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* XIX. 14. 2 एकोनपञ्चाशन्मरुतो विभक्ता अपि गणरूपेणैव वर्तन्ते।
6. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, II. 5. 1. 12; *RV.* VIII. 96. 8.; *Taittiriya Br.* 1. 6. 2. 3.
7. *RV.*, IV. 35. 3; *Taittiriya Br.* II. 8. 6. 4. *Śa. Br.*, XIII. 2. 8. 4.
8. *Ādiparva* ch. 60. 36-39 (Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, 1933).
9. R. S. Sharma: 'Vidatha: the earliest folk-assembly of the Indo-Aryans', *Journal of Bihar Research Society*, vol. I, Pts. 3-4 (1952), pp. 431-2.
10. *RV.* VI 41. 1.
11. *RV.*, V. 61. 13.
12. *AV.*, XIII. 4. 8; *RV.*, III. 35. 9.

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marching in *gaṇas* or companies. [13] The troops of Maruts are called to the rescue of man. [14] The *gaṇas* seem to have been well equipped with swift steeds and well provided with weapons. [15] It seems that their chief war equipments were bows, shafts and quivers. [16] In the light of what is known about the relations between the primitive tribes it may be presumed that these tribal republics were always hostile to one another and in a perpetual state of warfare. It is stated for example that Brihaspati destroyed the obstructive Vala with the loudshouting *gaṇa* and drove away the cattle. At another place Puṣaṇa is invoked to lead the *gaṇa* of men that longs for kine to win the spoil. [17] On the analogy of the gentile organization it can be said that the *gaṇa* was a self-acting armed organization, every member of which bore arms. It is the remnant of such a kind of organization that is found later on in the ten *āyudhajivi saṁghas* of Pāṇini and four *vārtā śastropajivi saṁghas* of Kauṭilya. The latter term probably indicated that these republics had not evolved permanent class divisions in which only the ruling class possessed the power of arms as against the disarmed mass of the ruled class. Hence it would appear that the Vedic *gaṇa* was an armed organization of the whole people.

The leader of the *gaṇa* was called *gaṇapati*. Indra,[18] Marut,[19] Bṛihaspati[20] and Brāhmaṇaspati[21], particularly the last three are repeatedly described as *gaṇapati*. There is at least one reference in the Ṛigveda in which he is given the title of *rājan*. Thus in connection with the Soma sacrifice the king is invoked as *gaṇānām pati*[22]. Brāhmaṇaspati who at several places is called *gaṇapati* is also called the supreme king of prayers.[23] The appelation of the title *rājan* to *gaṇapati* may suggest that gradually the latter transformed himself into the position of a king. It is known that the Vidatha elected its priest but there is no such reference in case of the *gaṇa*.[24] The tribal analogy

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13. *RV.*, I. 64. 9.
14. *AV.*, IV. 13. 4.
15. *RV.*, V. 64. 12; VI. 52. 14.
16. *RV.*, X. 103. 3; *AV.*, XIX. 13. 4.
17. *RV.*, VI. 56. 5. इमं च नो गवेषणं सातये सीषधो गणम्
18. *RV.*, X. 112. 9.
19. *T. Br.*, III. 11. 4. 2.
20. *RV.*, II. 23. 1
21. *Aitareya Br.*, I. 21; *Śa Br.*, VIII. 5.
22. *Śatapatha Br.*, IX. 6.
23. *RV.*, II. 23. 1.
24. R. S. Sharma: *op. cit.*, pp. 436–7.

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and the practices of the Greek tribes strengthen the hypothesis that the *gaṇapati* was elected. At least there is no reference to the hereditary nature of his office. Clearly his most important function was to lead his band for the capture of cattle which formed the chief spoils of war. It is stated that the *gaṇas* wers always anxious to win wealth for themselves.[25]

It seems that the spoils captured by the soldiers were not appropriated by them in their individual capacity. It was the duty of the members of the *gaṇa* to make a surrender of all such wealth. For instance a person speaks to the great captain of the mighty army who was the *gaṇa's* imperial leader in these words: 'To him I show my ten extended fingers. I speak the truth. No wealth am I withholding.'[26] It seems that the *gaṇapati* distributed equal shares among trem. This is suggested by the following passage of the *Atharvaveda* included according to Sāyaṇa in the *gaṇakarmani* (duties of the *gaṇa*):-'Having superiors *(jyāsvant)*, intentful, be ye not divided, accomplishing together, moving on with joint labour *(sâdhura)*; come hither speaking what is agreeable one another; I make you united (*sadhrīcīna)*, like-minded. Your drinking (*prapā*) (be) the same, in common your share of food; in the same harness (*yòktṛa)* do I join *(yuj)* you together; worship ye Agni united, like spokes about a nave'.[27]

If this is taken as an evidence of what happened in the *gaṇa* it means a sort of primitive communism found in tribal societies in which the tribals laboured together and shared the produces in common. We do not know if the *gaṇapati* received any special share in booty although there is evidence of giving special share called 'geras' to the leader of early Greek tribes.[28] It is likely that by means of special shares the *gaṇapati* went on accumulating spoils of war till there was a qualititive change in the character of his office making him into a hereditary *rājan* – ruling with the help of priests and nobles.

In the republics of the time of the Buddha there appears a well organized bureaucracy consisting of Rājan, uparājan, senāpati and bhāṇḍāgārika, etc. But in the Vedic *gaṇa* there is no public officer except the *gaṇapati*. Whether the *gaṇapati* got any other form of remuneration in addition to his share in the spoils of war is not clear. There is no mention of any form

25. *RV*., V. 79. 5.

27. *AV*., III. 30 5-6. Whitney's Translation. Bloomfield gives a little different translation.

28. George Thomson: *Studies in Ancient Greek Society*, (New York, 1949), pp. 329-33.

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of taxes paid by the members of the *gaṇa* to its leader. The Marutgaṇa is invoked to accept voluntary offerings made by the worshippers. [29] It is possible that voluntary offerings may have been made to the leader. In the *RV.* the king is described as *balihṛit* but no such epithet is applied to the *gaṇapati*.

References indicate that the *gaṇa* also served as a sort of religious assembly. At one place Agni is invoked not to fail the members of the *gaṇa* who pray and worship. He is further asked to bring all the gods so that they might give riches to the members of the *gaṇa*.[30]

There is also mention of drinking and singing in the *gaṇa*. The Marutgaṇa is invoked to come to the aid of the worshippers for taking juices.[31] As to singing Bṛihaspati is said to be accompanied by a singing host.[32] There are several references to the singing of Maruts. In one reference their gaṇas are asked to sing to Parjanya.[33] In another they are described as singing and drinking the soma juice in a rejoicing mood. [34] It is also stated that Soma enters the heart of all the company who sing. [35] Again, worshippers are asked to begin the song seated in the *gaṇa* and Indra is invoked to give strength for sacrifice to one who sings. [36] It is probably from the singing function of the *gaṇa* that the word *gaṇaka* is derived.[37] It means one who is expert in the knowledge of sound (swaramaṇḍala) etc. *Gaṇika* may have been derived from *gaṇaka*. Possibly in early times women also figured in the *gaṇa* and that is why they came to be known as *gaṇikas* in later times. It is, however, worthy of remark that there is no mention of dancing in the early *gaṇa* although it is associated with the *gaṇarājya* of the Lichchhavis during the sixth century B. C.

One distinguishing feature of the Vedic gaṇa is the absence of class distinctions. Maruts, the typical example of the *gaṇa* society are described as the *viśah* which means the people.[38] They are repeatedly described as peasants whose *gaṇas* consist of troops of seven each.[39] Even the earliest

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29.
30. *RV.*, VII. 9. 5.
31. *RV.*, I. 14. 3 & 4.
32. *RV.*, IV 50. 5
33. *AV.*, IV 15. 4.
34. *RV.*, V. 61. 8.
35. *RV.*, IV. 32. 3.
36. *RV.*, VI. 61. 8.
37. *Taittiriya Brāhmana* III. 4. 15. (Apte's edn. p. 970) वीणावादकं गणकं गीताय ।-
38. *Ś. Br.* II. 5.1.12.
39. *Ibid.*, V. 4.3.17.

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reference says that they are sixty-three in number divided into nine *gaṇas* of seven each.[40] These divisions give no indication of the class division based on labour. Therefore in all probability the Vedic *gaṇa* was not characterised by any *varṇa* distinction. If credence is given to the Puranic tradition the times of the Vedic *gaṇa* may be taken as corresponding to the Kṛita age when the *varṇa* system did not exist. In the *Śānti Parva* it is stated that the members of the *gaṇas* are equal in terms of birth and family and not in terms of bravery, wisdom and money.[41] One can guess that in the tribal stage there could have been little scope for the inequality particularly that of money and hence equality by birth would have been the most significant factor in the early *gaṇa*.

In conclusion it can be said that the Vedic *gaṇa* was probably in the nature of primitive tribal democracy centring in itself military, distributive, religious and social activities of the early man. Although there is no direct evidence of the election of the *gaṇapati*, it seems that there were no public officials, no taxes, no classes and no army apart from the *gaṇa* army. In other words the Vedic *gaṇa* was primarily a tribal republic. Accordingly Jayaswal's view that the republic came *after the early vedic age* and *after monarchy* can be of the post-Vedic territorial and class-divided republics but not of the early tribal republics. It seems that as the office of the *gaṇapati* became transformed into that of the Rājan the tribal republic passed into the monarchical state, a fact supported by anthropological evidence. Again, when monarchy was dissolved it made way for artificial republic. The record of this process seems to have been preserved in the tradition recorded by Magasthenes who states that republican form of government was thrice established.[42] All this would suggest that tribal republic was followed by monarchy and not *vice versa*.

The origin of the republics is discussed in a general way by D. R. Bhandarkar. On the basis of a passage of the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* along with the commentary of Sāyaṇāchārya, referred to him by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, he argues like this: Since "the crucial passage speaks of gaṇas only in the case of Vaiśyas and not of Brāhmaṇas, Kṣātriyas or Śūdra, it appears

40. *RV.*, VIII. 96.8.

41. *Śānti Parva* (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute) (Poona, 1950), Ch. 108. 30 जात्या च सदृशाः सर्वे कुलेन सदृशास्तथा। न तु शौर्येण बुद्धया वा रूपद्रव्येण वा पुनः॥– ३०. भेदाच्चैव प्रमादाच्च नाम्यन्ते रिपुभिर्गणाः।.....३१. It is difficult to accept the translation of Beng. edn. quoted by Jayaswal. The words *tu* and *punah* connect these two verses and do not separate them as has been done by P.C. Roy.

42. McCrindle: *Megasthenes* (London, 1877), p. 203.

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that we had commercial gaṇas (*i.e.* śreṇis) first among the Vaiśyas before there were political gaṇas among the Kṣatriyas."[43] He further states that just as the political *gaṇas* are divided into kulas or families, so also the commercial *gaṇas* are divided into gaṇas as is known from the seals discovered at Bhīta and Basarh.[44] As it has been shown earlier the *gaṇa* was well-known in its political and social aspects as early as the Vedic period when there was not even the faintest idea about its commercial character. Moreover, it is needless to add that in the beginning only the functions of *kṛiṣi* and *paśupālanea* were assigned to the Vaiśya; *vānijya* was a later development. Hence the hypothesis of Bhandarkar regarding the origin of the *gaṇa* has no basis in fact.

The real causes of the origin of the territorial, class-divided *gaṇas* of the post-vedic period have to be sought in the universal reaction against the pattern of life as evolved in the later Vedic period. While on the social plane the new movement sought to do away with the growing class and sex-distinctions, as well as expensive and superstitous religious practices, on the political plane it wanted to do away with the hereditary kingship based on Brāhmaṇical ideology and denying all rights to the masses of the people. For lack of a new programme, the leaders of the new movement modelled their ideals on the basis of the past when there were no *varṇa* distinctions, no domination of the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas over the masses and no coercive authority of the king depriving the overwhelming majority of the people of their rights. Jayaswal thinks that the religious *saṁghas* were created on the pattern of political *saṁghas*[45] while the truth seems to be that both of them were created on the model of the primitive *gaṇas* which hardly permitted distinctions of any kind. It was to recapture the past glory of equality in the simple tribal *gaṇas* that there arose the desire to overthrow the new forms of state and society. In doing so it was not possible to cancel the socio-political development of centuries at one stroke and hence success was only partial. Kingship was dissolved and republics were set up but the class-divided society, bureaucracy, taxation system and an army for the coercion of the people remained. The tribal state which guaranteed equal share in food and equal rights to all its members could not be resurrected in its pristine glory. Its new edition was the 'distorted' republics of the Lichchhavis, Kṣhudrakas and Mālavas etc. with all the paraphernalia of a monarchical state apparatus under the control of the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas.

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43. D. R. Bhandarkar: *Carmichael Lectures, 1918* (Calcutta, 1919), pp. 169-70.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
45. K. P. Jayaswal: *op. cit.*, p. 42.

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17. The Ancient Kings mentioned in the VIth Ucchvasa of the 'Harsacarita'

By Prof. H. G. Shastri, M.A., Ph. D.

In the VIth Ucchvāsa of the 'Harṣacarita', Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa cites a number of ancient anecdotes about the tragic consequences of *pramāda* (want of carefulness), in connection with the similar episode of Rājyavardhana's death. When the young Harṣadeva undertook to subjugate all kings including the king of Gauda, and enjoined Skandagupta, the commander-in-chief of his elephant corps, to get his corps ready for military expedition, the latter advised him to give up his nature of putting confidence in all and warned him against the treacherous character of the wicked. In corroboration of this advice he cites a number of ancient anecdotes of kings who fell prey to various stratagems played by their enemies. Some of these anecdotes have also been cited in Kauṭilya's "Arthaśāstra" and Varāhamihira's "Bṛhatsamhitā". But they form a very small number in comparison with those given in the 'Harṣacarita'. Some of the anecdotes added in this work have supplied new information about certain kings of Ancient India and have proved to be an important source of historical value. Hence all these anecdotes cited in the Harṣacarita deserve special consideration. Each anecdote contains reference to a certain King (or Kings) of the past and affords some information about the tragic end of his life. Some of these kings have been identified satisfactorily, but many others are still left unidentified. The names of all these kings are here enumerated one by one and an attempt is made to gather some more information about the individual kings as far as possible, with a view to suggest some clue for the indentification of certain kings that are not identified so far. The total number of these anecdotes cited in the Harṣacarita is 28. Of these 7 anecdotes have been given in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra[1] and repeated in the Kāmandakīya Nītisāra.[2] Two of them are also cited in the Bṛhatsamhitā.[3] Two other anecdotes viz. those of Vatsapati and Śakapati have been well-known from other sources which present detailed depiction of the life of their heroes.[4]

1. Nos. 16, 17, 22, 23, 25, 26 and 27 in Book 1, Chapter XX.
2. VII, 51–54
3. Nos. 22 and 26 in Ch. 77, vol. 1.
4. No. 6. (in the 'Kathāsaritsāgara', two plays of Bhāsa, two plays of Harṣa, and No. 21 (in 'Devīcandraguptam' & c).

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The anecdotes cited in the "Harṣacarita" contain references to 50 persons, 7 dynasties or tribes, 9 countries and 6 towns or cities. The details of the stratagems also give ample information about the social and cultural life of early times. The subject of this paper is, however, restricted to the names and identification of the Kings mentioned in these anecdotes:—

Let us now explore each anecdote one by one:-

(1) The first anecdote refers to King *Nāgasena* of the Nāga family, who died at Padmāvatī. This king is identified with King Nāgasena subdued by Samudragupta.

(2) The second anecdote relates to king *Śrutavarman* of Śrāvastī.

(3) The third anecdote is cited in reference to King *Suvarṇacūḍa* of Mṛttikāvati.

(4) The next anecdote contaians a very vague reference to a '*Yavaneśvara*', wherein the term 'Yavana' may be taken as standing for either (i) the race of the ruler, or (ii) the name of the country.

(5) The fifth anecdote refers to King *Bṛhadratha* of Mathurā as well as to this enemy *Vidūratha*.

(6) The sixth anecdote alludes to the well-known stratagem played by *Mahāsena* against '*the King of the Vatsa country*'. This Mahāṣena is evidently King Pradyota Mahāsena of Avanti, the father of Vāsavadattā, and the king of Vatsa is Udayana, better known as Vatsarāja. This anecdote is depicted in detail in 'Pratijña-yaugandharāyaṇa' of Bhāsa as well as in the 'Kathāsaritsāgara' of Somadeva.

(7) In the seventh anecdote mention is made of *Sumitra*, his father *Agnimitira* and his enemy *Mitradeva*. May this Agnimitra be identified with King Agnimitra of Śunga dynesty? The Purāṇas give his successor's name 'Vasujyeṣṭha' or 'Sujyeṣṭha' and his son's name 'Vasumitra'.

(8) The eighth anecdote is about *Śarabha*, the King of Aśmaka.

(9) The ninth anecdote refers to Maurya *Bṛhadratha* and his senāpati *Puṣyamitra*. These references evidently apply to the last King of the Mauryan dynasty and the first king of the Śunga dynasty respectively. This anecdote is well corroborated by its mention in the Purāṇas.

(10) The tenth anecdote is connected with *Caṇḍīpati*, which may be the proper name of the king or may denote 'the lord of Caṇḍi;' which in that case should be taken as the name of his capital (c f. चामुण्डीपति in No. 19). It contains an interesting reference to *Yavana* taken as captive and to his aerial car moving by machinery.

(11) The eleventh anecdote alludes to Kākavarṇa Śaiśunāgi, *i. e. Kākavarṇa*, son of *Śiśunāga*. Both these kings are also mentioned in the Purāṇas in connection with the dynasty that preceded the Nanda dynasty.

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(12) The twelfth anecdote is concerned with Śunga *Devabhūti* and his minister *Vasudeva* Devabhūti is evidently the last king of the Śunga dynasty, while Vasudeva is the founder of the Kāṇva dynasty. This anecdote also is corroborated by its reference in the Purāṇas.

(13) The thirteenth anecdote makes reference to a *king of Magadha* and ministers of Mekala. The word गोधनगिरि mentioned in this passage is generally compounded with a succeeding word सुरङ्ग and taken as denoting the name of the hill through which the subterranean passage was dug. I however, suggest the possibility of another alternative, and am rather inclined to put the word गोधनगिरि in the accusative and then construe it with मागधं as the proper name of the King of Magadha. The Udayagiri cave inscription of King Khāravala alludes to गोरथगिरि of Rājagṛha in a similar sense. A personal name ending in गिरि is also found in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta.

(14) In the fourteenth anecdote mention is made of Kumārasena Pauṅaki, the younger brother of *Pradyota* and Vetāla Tālajangha. This Pradyota seems to be the same as Pradyota Mahāsena of Avanti, especially as the anecdote is connected with the festival of Mahākāla, the well-known Jyotirlinga of Avanti. As the Purāṇas contain no reference to Kumarasena in its account of the Pradyota dynasty, the anecdote cited in this work deserves special consideration. The word पौणकि seems to be correctly read as पौलकि, which will then denote the son of पुलक which is mentioned to be the name of Pradyota's father. The Tālajanghas are, however, mentioned in the Purāṇas but it is doubtful whether वेताल represents the proper name of any individual.

(15) The fifteenth anecdote alludes to King *Gaṇapati* of Videha. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta mentions King Gaṇapatināga among the Kings of Āryāvarta, but I do not think this Gaṇapati is the same as that Gaṇapatināga, whose coins are found at Padmāvatī. I also looked for the name in the list of the pre-Bhārata Kings of Videha given in the Purāṇas, but it does not occur in that list.

(16) The sixteenth anecdote is connected with King *Bhadrasena* of Kalinga and his brother *Vīrasena*. This anecdote is also cited in Kautilya's "Arthaśāstra" and Kamandakiya Nītisāra. But neither of them specifies the name of Bhadrasena's brother nor do they mention the country over which Bhadrasena ruled. Thus the 'Harṣacarita' adds important details about this king.

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(17) The seventeenth anecdote refers to King *Daāhra* of Karūṣa and his *son*. This anecdote also is mentioned by Kauṭilya and Kamandaka, but the actual cause of the prince's stratagem is given only in the 'Harṣacarita'. The name of the prince is, however, mentioned nowhere.

(18) The eighteenth anecdote is related to King *Candraketu* of Cakora and his enemy *Śūdraka*.

(19) The nineteenth anecdote makes mention of King *Puṣkara* of Cāmuṇḍī and a *King of Campā*.

(20) The twentieth anecdote is concerned with King *Kṣatravarman* of the Maukhari dynasty. This name well agrees, with names of all other known Kings of this dynasty, which also end in 'varman.' It is, however, not found among the names of the Maukhari Kings known from coins and inscriptions.

(21) The twenty-first anecdote alludes to the *lord of the Śakas* and his enemy *Candragupta*. This Candragupta is identified with the Gupta sovereign Candragupta II, who is said to have killed the Śaka King that had asked his brother King Rāmagupta for his queen Dhruvadevī. This anecdote is depicted in detail in the fragmentary play 'Devīcandraguptam', and is well-known in our history. The 'Harṣacarita' has here not mentioned the names of the Śaka King and the queen wooed by him.

The last seven anecdotes are based upon stratagems played by women.

(22) The twenty-second anecdote refers to King Mahāsena of Kāśī and his queen *Suprabhā*. Kauṭilya and Kamandaka also make reference to this anecdote, but they do not specify the exact names of the King and the queen. The Harṣacarita also supplies the exact cause of the stratagem. The Bṛhatsaṃhitā alludes to a stratagem played against Kāśirāja, but the details of the stratagem do not agree with those mentioned in the 'Harṣacarita' which are, however, corroborated by Kauṭilaya's Arthaśāstra and Kāmandakiya Nītisāra.

(23) In the twenty-third anecdote mention is made of King *Jārūtha* of Ayodhyā and his queen *Ratnāvalī*. This anecdote is also cited in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and Kāmandakiya Nitisāra, but they do not specify the place of the King or even the name of the queen.

(24) The twenty-fourth anecdote makes reference to King *Devasena* of Suhma and his queen *Devakī*. This anecdote is not given in Kauṭilya's Artha-śāstra.

(25) The twenty-fifth anecdote is about king *Rantideva* Vairantya and his queen called Vallabhā. Kauṭilya and Kamandaka refer to this king simply as Vairantya, but from the passage in the Harṣacarita it appears to be an epithet of the king whose proper name was Ranti-

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deva. If this Rantideva be the same as Rantideva who is renowned for liberty and hospitality, the correct form of the epithet must be Sāṅkṛtya, the name of his gotra instead of Vairantya, which is inapplicable. In that case he ruled over the region on the Chambal (Carmaṇvati) river, with his capital at Daśapura. 'Vallabha' is generally used as a common noun, but in this context it appears to be a proper name.

(26) The twenty-sixth anecdote alludes to *Vidūratha* of the Vṛṣṇi family and his queen Bindumatī. This anecdote seems to be well-known in old tradition, as it is also cited in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and Kāmandakīya Nitisāra, as well as in Varāhamihira's Bṛhatsamhitā. But it is only the 'Harṣacarita' that supplies the names of the King's family and his queen.

(27) The twenty-seventh anecdote makes reference to King *Vīrasena* of Sauvīra and his queen *Hamsavatī*. This anecdote is cited in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and Kāmandakīva Nītisāra, but they do not specify the names of the king and his queen.

(28) The last anecdote makes mention of the Paurava king *Somaka* and his queen known as *Pauravī*. This anecdote is not cited by any other sources mentioned above. In the Paurānika list of the Paurava Kings Somaka appears as the name of the progenitor of the Somaka family to which Drupada belonged. If this Somaka is meant here, he was the grandson of illustrious Sudāsa and ruled over North Pancāla. 'Pauravi' is the family name while her personal name is unknown.

Thus the anecdotes cited in the 'Harṣacarita' contain reference to about 50 persons, many of whom represent historical Kings of several kingdoms. About ten kings among them are already identified, while an attempt is here made to suggest identification of some more kings in the list. I request scholars to examine these suggestions and hope that they will try to identify some more. I shall feel content even if this paper draws their special attention to the historical importance of the passage in the Harṣacarita.

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Section IX: Archaeology

18. Excavations at Maheshvar (Madhya Bharat)

By Dr. H. D. Sankalia and Dr. B. Subbarao

This expedition was organized by the Deccan College Research Institute with the help of the Universities of Baroda, Poona and Bombay. The actual field work was carried out by the Deccan College, M. S. University of Baroda and the Government of Madhya bharat.

India is a vast sub-continent with distinct geographic units, knit together by a pattern of communication system, based on the physical features of the country. This has resulted in, what we are all familiar with the concept of "unity in diversity". The recent work in Indian archaeology tends to confirm materially this observation based on historical and soeial studies. The Malwa basin in Central India, abutting on the Gangetic plain, the Desert of Rajaputana and the Aravalis and flanked in the south by the Vindhyas plays a vital role in the transmission of Peoples and Cultures. Even its drainage pattern, with the northern plains linking it with the Gangetic basin through Chambal and the southern linking it with Deccan and the Arabian Sea through Narmada enables, this region to play the role of a vital corridor in Ancient India. The work of Shri. A.V. Pandya and Shri. H.V. Wankankar has shown a wide distribution of a Culture characterized by a pottery showing black designs on red and Microliths. In 1950 one of the authors of this paper (B. Subbarao) and Dr. M.G. Dikshit examined the well known site of Maheshvar in the Nimar District of Madhyabharat. During that visit another new set of undisturbed mounds were discovered on the south bank of Narmada behind the village of Navdatoli, opposite Maheshvar. The discovery of the Northern Black polished ware and the familiar red and black "Megalithic ware" gave us the hope of fixing up the age of this protohistoric painted pottery culture. The subsequent work of Dr. Sankalia at Nasik and Jorve and that of Shri. M.N. Deshpande at Bahal in East Khandesh threw a fresh light in this problem on account of certain affinities in the pottery and the associated Microlithic Industry, it was decided to conduct large scale excavation at Maheshvar and Navdatoli.

The second object of this work may be stated to be the verification, and if possible reconstructing, the Cultural history of Epic India (to use a term made familiar by historians). This problem bristles with two difficulties. One is the primary problem of reconciling the inherent conflicts in the lite-

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ary data of the Puranas (a problem which has baffled the historians for over a century). The second is the correlation of the material culture revealed by Archaeology with their contemporary Epic heroes, if ever their historicity can be established by ns. The most natural solution of this problem is to try our luck at sites associated with epic tradition. Mahishmati of the Puranas is one such city associated with Muchukunda and Sahasrarjuna and the other Haiheyas. Hence the twin object of this excavation may be said to be the reconstruction of cultural sequence in the Narmada basin and incidental light on the traditional history of Maheshvar.

History of Maheshvar

The ancient Mahishmati was situated on the north bank of the river Narmada. Upto now three places were suggested: (1) Bedaghat near Jubbalpore (2) Onkar Mandhata and (3) Maheshvar. The first two places have been examined and the earliest relics can be attributed to the Kalachuris and Paramaras respectively. At Maheshvar on the other hand the site can be definitely dated to the 1st half of the 1st Millenium B.C and there are extensive mounds spreading over a mile long, on the right bank and about two square furlongs on the left bank. Besides from Suttanipata, we learn that Mahissati was located on the ancient caravan route from Paithon (Pratisthana to Raja-Griha) via Vaisali. The Buddhists always built their settlement along the old highways, but in close proximity to the main cities. A Buddhist stupa has been discovered during the present excavations on the south bank of Narmada at Navdatoli and only four miles south-east is located the well-known group of Buddhist stupas at Kasravad. From the information of Patanjali Mahishmati should be very close to Ujjain, since we are told that it should be a day's journey between sunrise and sunset. Since Maheshvar lay along the old route from Deccan to Ujjain there is no doubt about its identification with Mahishmati. Finally, we have three inscriptions of the period of Akbar in the temples of Maheshvar referring to that city as "Mahishmati". So it can only be inferred that the name was altred by Ahalyabhai Holkar after the construction of the ghats and śiva temples.

Maheshvar and Navdatoli

At Maheshvar, Narmada flows on an exposure of the Deccan Trap. But on either side there are huge pleistocene alluvial deposits about a hundred feet above the water level. Maheshvar is located in the bend of the river and all the habitation debris rests on the top of the vertical cliffs, which are being washed and cut. Navdatoli is situated in the slip-off-slope of the river Narmada. While the present village is situated on the lower terrace, the older habitation rests on the top terrrace of the river situated about 2

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furlongs away from the bed of the river. At both the sites the mounds are very deeply cut by gullies due to rapid erosion. Specially at Maheshvar, the erosion is very rapid on account of the vertical cliffs. This gives rise to the present position, where we find older habitation debris perching on the top of the remnants of the old terrace separated by deep gullies. The maximum thickness of the habitation at Mandalko is about 46 feet. At Navdatoli, on the other hand, where habitation stopped at about the beginning of the Christian era, the erosion has cut the old inhabited terrace into low looking mounds. Here the habitation debris varies from 8 to 18 feet.

Excavation and exploration

At Maheshvar there are five important areas or mounds and three of these mounds called Jaleshvara, Mandalkho and Dhanbaidi were excavated. At Navdatoli there are about 4 chief mounds and three of the mounds have been dug. In all about ten trenches with a total floor space of 4570 sq. feet were dug in both the areas. The river gravels at Narmada on either side of Maheshvar were found to be rich in palaeoliths. Hence a systematic survey of about 10 miles stretch of Narmada and its tributaries was carried out in addition to the exploration of Proto-Neolithic sites in the neighbourhood. As the main report has yet to be prepared and published, it is proposed to give the sequence of Cultures based on excavation and exploration.

Palaeolithic

The alluvium of the Narmada has been studied for well over a century on account of its rich pleistocene mammalian fauna. More recently The Yale Cambridge Expedition made an intensive study of the human remains at Hoshangabad and Narsinghpur about 150 miles upstream. Hence a careful search was made. Though no animal remains were found, it was possible to correlate the deposits, which show two cycles of aggradation with breaks following the Early Pleistocene. The lower basal gravels of Narmada have been ascribed to Mid-pleistocene on account of the association of fauna. Tools have been recovered from both the gravels and they belong typologically to the Abbevillo-Acheulean Complex with a few pebble chopers of the Sohan type.

Proto-Neolithic

This term has been applied by Dr. Paterson to a group of industries characterized by beautiful scrapers of jasper, chert and agate found on the surface Black-soil. He found a few at the junction of fhe Upper gravel and the alluvium. During our explorations a number of what may be called "Factory Sites" were found near the exposed veins of jasper on either side of Narmada below the foot hills of Vindhyas and the Satpuras. In two of our trenches at Maheshvar some were found in the black soil which constituted the Natural soil at the site, establishing their identical context with that of

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Narsingpur area. The most distinguishing feature is the absence of any pottery nor the well-known types of Geometric Microlithic Industry, except an occassional fluted core. From their stratigraphic position and typology we may correctly call them Proto-Microlithic and in age may be ascribed to the wet phase coinciding with the formation of the "Black soil", when Narmada started cutting through its own aggraded beds. The most important types are Side, and End scrapers and some of them show a definite "Levallois" influence with fine facetted platforms.

Proto-Historic

The next culture which follows it unconformably in the region is characterized by the association of a rich painted pottery, Microliths and copper. Though a very large area has been dug, no structure built of bricks or any finer material has been found, except a small fragment of a foundation wall built of river pebbles and mud.

The most interesting antiquities of this period are the fine types of painted pottery. The predominant type consists of designs in black on a red background, the other type having designs in black on a cream or buff background. The designs include a variety of geometric, naturalistic and stylized human and animal motifs. Some of them are: Hatched Triangles, Filled lozenges, Parallel bands, circles, Leaves and creepers, rising sun, dancing human figures and running antelopes.

In all the 5 trenches, there was absolutely no trace of iron but a few copper objects were found, among which might be mentioned, a copper hook, wire and a rod.

Associated with these was found a very advanced Microlithic industry characterized by the technique of taking "crested guding flakes" and careful treatment of the core before the flakes are removed. This enables easy removal of parallel flakes for making tools like, Serrated blades, Blunted-back-blades, Pen-knife blades or Obiquely blunted points, trapezes and lunates. The most characteristic feature of the waste flakes is the predominance of parallel sided flakes, suggesting an industry characterized by blades mainly. Sometimes, even the exhausted cores have been turned into tools by flattening and retouch.

Finally one more interesting type of pottery, which provides a link between this phase and the succeeding Early Historic, is a pottery showing evidence of inverted firing. It has a black interior with the top portion of the exterior also in black. In shapes as well as fabrics, it resembles the "megalithic pottery" of South India. Here this pottery is not associated with funerals and some of the typical funerary types are not present. The most interesting feature is the occurrence of bands and dots in creamy-white on

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the black portion of these pots. The types are mostly dishes and rimless bowls. This pottery begins to occur from the lowest levels of this Culture, but it becomes profuse in the succeeding phase.

Early Historic Period

The next phase in the Maheshvar area is well-known on account of the occurrence of the definitely datable, Northern Black Polished Ware, Early cast and punch marked coins and other known relics. This phase marks the end of the painted pottery, but there is no evidence of any sudden erruption of a new people, as the link is provided, as already said, by the Red-and-Black ware. In this period this pottery becomes predominant.

For the sake of convenience, this Period may be sub-divided into three sub-periods on the basis of pottery and other evidence. The earliest Sub-Period may be stated to begin about the 4th century B. C on the basis of the N. B. P. and the early cast and punch-marked coins. The most important structure of this period is an unfinished Buddhist stupa with a drum diameter of 86 feet with a low pavement or Pradakshinapatha with a capping of lime concrete. Some of the bricks have very early Brahmi letters on them suggesting 3rd century B. C. for the age of the stupa. Unfortunately, the stupa never seems to have been completed, as it was completely covered by a flood gravel, the marks of which flood, can be seen on all the mounds at Navdatoli. Sometime at the beginning of this century, the bricks from the drum of this stupa were removed to construct a well in the neighbourhood. Another small brick wall was found about 80 feet from the main stupa, but it was too fragmentary to give us any idea.

Among the finds of this period may be stated a glass cast or a square tablet with the figure of Elephant, and Taurine symbol. About 30 pieces of N. B. P. were found in all. The most characteristic feature of the 1st Sub-Period was the predominance of the Red-Black "megalithoc type" pottery, in association with plain red wares-slipped and burnished.

In the next sub-period, the Red and Black begins to decline and the Red ware become predominant.

In the next period, a number of characteristic pieces of Red Polished Ware were found in association with the plain red wares and very few red-and-black pieces. This Red Polished Ware is made of very well levigated clay, well fired into a uniform lacquer red core. The outer surface has a very bright polish varying from lacquer red to a dull brown. This pottery has been found at a number of sites all over India from Satavahana, Kshatrapa, Kushana and Early Gupta deposits. As the fabric of the Maheshvar specimens resembles the Gujarat group, which shows greater affinity to the Roman

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forms, from which it is copied, we may pace them to 3rd century A. D to allow a safe margin.

Thus the three periods may be dated as follows:—

Sub-period I	:	400 B. C. to 100 B. C.
Sub-period II	:	100 B. C. to 200 A. D.
Sub-period III	:	200 B. C. to 500 A. D.

The most interesting problem for the archaeologist is that of the chronological priority of the Red-and-Black megalithic type in the north. This requires further exploration and excavation.

At Navdatoli as well as at Maheshvar, we found a gap after the Early Historic Period. But since Maheshvar is mentioned in Jain literature, it might be possible that the city shrunk in importance, till the modern fort was built by the Sultans of Malwa gaurding the entrance from Deccan into Malwa.

Conclusion:

From the aims stated in the beginning, this excavation was a partial success. The first object viz. the reconstruction of the cultural sequence was achieved fully. The first two phases belong to the Stone Age; the lower palaeolithic tools can be dated to about 2,50000 or Mid-Pleiitocene to be more accurate. The next industry is still enigmatic and belongs to the later stone age, but prior to the development of pottery and other Neolithic traits.

The most significant contribution is the recognition of what may be called the "Malwa painted pottery culture" with affinities with Deccan and Western India, but with an individuality of its own. Now besides Maheshvar, similar evidence is provided from 32 sites in the Narmada and Chambal valleys. It has also brought to the forefront the problem of the so called megalithic pottery. The beginnings of this culture are not clear at the present, but if we take the evidence from Bikaner, where the red-and-black occurs with grey ware, we will not be wrong in making this contemporary to the Grey Ware Cultures of the Gangetic Valley. This may be safely dated at present to the 1st half of the first millenium B. C.

The Early historic period from about 400 B. C. 500 A. D. is quite well known elsewhere, but its stratigraphic position gives us strength to know the unknown with the known.

The Second objective may be stated to have failed as far as Puranic correlation goes. But this experience, as well as that of Hastinapur give enough food for thought. We have in India an incorraborated tradition associated with our ignorance about the beginning of writing. This complicates our problem more than anything. From the tradition, even accepting the

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the conservative estimate of Pargiter, we should place the beginning of Maheshvar to about the beginning of the second millenium. So if there is any culture which can be equated to the so-called Epic period, we have to ascribe the Proto-Historic Culture, because nothing has been missed at this site. If we ignore for the present the problem of correlation of literary and material data the following position emerges. Central India and Deccan were having a different cultural pattern from that of the Gangetic valley, till about the Buddhist period. It is quite likely that the Buddhist settlers at Navdatoli and Kasravad brought with them the Northern Black polished ware, the focus of which is Magadha.

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19. A Brief Account of Recent Archaeological Exploration in Maharashtra

By Shri M. N. Deshpande

In recent years much fruitful work has been done in Mahārāshṭra in unravelling the early history of this part of India. Paithan, the ancient canital of the Sātavāhanas was excavated in the year 1937 by the Department of Archaeology, Hyderabad. A brief report of the excavation was published in the Annual Report of Hyderabad Archaeological Department 1936-37, but the antiquity of the place and the potentialities of this important site were not fully determined. It was after almost a decade (1945-46) that the Bramhapuri Mound on the bank of Panchagangā river at Kolhāpur was excavated by the Deccan College, Post-Graduate & Reseach Institute. This excavation was very fruitful as it yielded pottery and finds of definite mediterranean influence in association with indigenous Sātavāhana culture. The cultural remains of the Sātavāhana period belonging to the 1st Cent. A. D. were thus dated on the evidence of Sātavāhana coins and foreign contacts. The small scale excavations at Karād, a Sātavāhana township on the bank of river Krishnā in Sātārā District was undertaken in the year 48–49 by the Bhārat Itihāsa Samshodhak Mandal. It confirmed the results obtained by the Deccan College at Kolhapur.

The next step in the direction of getting a more comprehensive idea of Sātavāhana life and culture was taken by the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, when they excavated the mound known as Mātichi Gadhi on the bank of Godāvari at Nasik in the year 1950-51. This excavation proved very interesting as besides giving remains of Sātavāhana culture it gave for the first time an idea of a new culture in Mahārāshtra characterised by painted pottery and microliths below the debris Sātavāhana culture. Before the excavation at Nasik was commenced, a casual letter in a daily paper of Poona, giving information about a site called Jorwe near Sangamner and reported to have yielded painted pottery had attracted the attention of the Archaeological Department and the Deccan College, Post-Graduate & Research Institute. The site was inspected by the officers of this Department and Dr. Sankalia of the Deccan College. The site gave us for the first time in Mahārāshṭra painted pottery with black lines on red background and blades of chalcedony. The characteristic pottery found at this place consists of carinated

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bowls and pots with flared out mouths and a few provided with long spouts. The painted decoration consisted of oblique lines, chevron designs and irregular loops. Four copper axes were also reported to have been found at this place in a painted vessel. It was not possible to date this culture or to place it in a chronological sequence on account of the total absence of any datable object on the site. The excavations at Nasik as pointed out above however took us a step further in solving the problem. The necessity of undertaking an excavation at Jorwe with a view to know more about this new culture became quite apparent and the Deccan College took up a small scale excavation at Jorwe after the completion of their work at Nasik. The excavation did not reveal any structural phase but gave two successive habitation periods characterised by painted pottery and microliths.

The discovery of this painted pottery culture associated with microliths gave a new incentive to the study of early historic and pre-historic cultures of Mahārāshṭra. The writer had visited in the year 1950 an ancient site called Bahāl on the bank of river Girṇā in East Khāndesh District. Surface exploration of this site which had in the year 1934 yielded a hoard of silver punch-marked coins, gave us Sātavāhana pottery, N. B. P. and painted pottery.

In the year 1951–52 the writer undertook excavation at this place which proved very successful. The new painted pottery culture associated with microliths was found in a chronolgical sequence below datable historical cultures.

In these excavations N. B. P. was found in a stratified deposit in association with an inscribed sherd which on palaeographic grounds can be assigned to 3rd Cent. B. C. A painted N. B. P. sherd datable to about 4th Cent. B. C. was also found in this deposit. The painted pottery and microliths were separated from the layer yielding N.B.P. by a cultural debris of 12' thickness and could safely be assigned to about 750 B.C....1000 B.C.

To add to the interest of the excavations a burial mound was located on the other side of the river Girnā opposite the habitation mound at Bahāl. A small scale excavation of this site (Tekwādā) in 1952–53 brought to light two types of burials viz. (i) Pit Burial (ii) Urn Burial. In the case of the Pit Burial, a pit measuring about 6'x3' was dug and then levelled. It was lined with small pebbles on the surface and fragments of a skull and ribs were then placed on this prepared surface, surrounded by about 20 pots. A few pots contained microliths and beads of carnelia & bone.

The Urn Burial consisted of a huge pottery Urn with a pointed base and contained a few human remains and pottery. The main bulk of the pottery found in these burials is black and red or buff and has unmistakable similarity with the megalithic and Urn-burial pottery found in Southern

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India. There are two painted pots with black lines on red surface, found each, in the urn-burial and pit-burial. The burials contain beautiful developed microliths-points, triangle etc. made of chalcedony and jasper. The discovery of these burials with pottery akin to megalithic pottery of Southern India and painted pottery probably a degenerate copy of the refined type of painted ware found in the lowest levels at Bahāl, has posed a new problem to the archaeologist. The tentative date that can be assigned to these burials is 600-750 B.C. and can be co-related with the phase II of Bahal overlying phase I represented by painted pottery and microliths.

Further exploration on the banks of Godāvari and Pravarā and their tributaries was carried out and following new sites were discovered.

(1) Bhojapur:—

This site lies on the right bank of Mahālungi river in Nasik District and is about 19 miles N.W. of Sangamner and 15 miles South of Sinnar. The habitation site is perched on a rocky mound about 50' form the river bed and is covered by traces of plinths and houses and parts of bastions of a very late period. Below these late occupation were found painted pottery and microliths usually in the black cotton (?) soil deposit. The pottery is exactly like that of Jorwe described above.

(2) Sinnar:-

This site is situated about 12 miles to the South of the town Sinnar (District Nasik) on the right bank of river Deva. The site has yielded painted pottery and microliths but is important on account of the black red pottery found at this place. This pottery also bears some graffiti and may yield burials like those at Takwadā near Bahāl.

(3) Kopergaon :-

The site is situated on the left bank of Godavari near the town and Satohai water tank. It also yielded a good deal of painted pottery and a number of microliths. It is however not a very promising excavation as it has been considerably disturbed and washed away by the floods of Godāvari.

(4) Newasa :-

This site lies on the bank of river Pravarā in Ahmednagar District. It lies on an ancient trade route connecting Barooch (Bhrigukaccha) with Paithan (Pratishtān). The site consists of a huge mound and a surface exploration was sufficient to prove that the upper part of the mound consists of Sātavāhana remains. On the periphery of the mound in the black soil, painted pottery and microliths are found. The site is important as it will again enable us to get the painted pottery culture in a proper chronological sequence. The painted pottery at this place contains a variety of designs though having essential similarity with Jorwe pottery.

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(5) Toka or Pravara Sangam :-

This site lies near the confluence of Pravarā and Godāvari rivers and behind the P.W.D. Rest House at that place. It is a low mound with an area of 1/4 sq. mile and is close to the Dawal Malik Mosque. The site has yielded very long blades and cores of chaladony and painted pottery. It is not very promising as it is dug up in later times for burial purposes.

(6) Paithan :-

This place, well-known as the capital of Sātavāhana Dynasty was excavated in the year 1937 by the Hyderabad Archaeological Department. The mound is situated on the left bank of Godavari and to the South-east of the Town. A fresh examination of this site in the year 1952 proved fruitful as it revealed the existence of N.B.P. which is found for the first time so far south as this place in Southern India. A close examination of the black cotton soil deposit in the river cutting gave microliths and sherds of pottery which can be compared in point of texture with the painted pottery found at the several places described above.

An account given so far of the exploration and excavation work undertakan in Mahārāshtra would show that a new painted pottery culture has been discovered in the Deccan with its main focus in the vallies of Girnā, Pravarā and Godāvari and their tributaries, It can be roughly dated to about the early part of the 1st millennium B. C. It will also be clear that this culture belongs to a late pre-historic phase of the archaeology of the Deccan. No copper has been found in any regular excavation either at Bahāl, Nasik or Jorwe, though it has been reported to have been found at Jorwe by the villagers in a painted pot. It is, therefore, necessary to establish this fact further by undertaking excavations at Paithan and Newāsā. These two sites would thus prove to be key sites for the solution of this problem. What is also necessary is to trace its northern and southern extensions and link it up if possible with chalcolithic culture represented by Harappā and Mohan-jo-daro.

The possiblity of our being able to link up these cultures is not remote, as much fruitful work has already been done by the Deccan College in the Narbada Valley and by the Baroda branch of the Archaeological Department at Amreli, Mota Machiala where painted pottery and microliths have been found, The day will not be far off when an excavation and exploration will give us the desired result when we can with a fair amount of certanity precisely date these cultures and trace the source & movement of this culture.

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The problem posed by the burials at Tekwādā (near Bahāl) would also require further examination. These burials have no surface indication like the megalithic burials of Southern India and do not contain any iron objects, though the pottery has unmistakable affinity with the megalithic pottery. It would, therefore, be necessary to find out the distribution of these burials in the Deccan by undertaking careful exploration in the river vallies of Godāvari, Pravarā, Girnā, Krishnā and their tributaries and obtain more corroboative evidence as to their age and their relationship with the iron-age megalithic monuments of Southern India. Perhaps the meeting ground would be found at some place in Hyderabad Deccan. It would, therefore, be worthwhile to undertake extensive exploration of Hyderabad State & carry out excavation at a few new sites like Paithan, Kondapur and Maski.

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20. Recent Exploration in Gujarat and Kathiawad

By Shri S. R. Rao, M. A.

The author undrstook exploration of some early mediaeval and ancient sites in Gujarat and Saurashtra in the year 1952–53. As a result of this preliminary survey, more light has been thrown on the early history of this part of India. An attempt is here made to state briefly the results of the exploration and the problems arising therefrom.

Our knowledge of the history of Western India particularly of Gujarat and Saurashtra is very meagre for the post–Gupta and pre–Gupta periods. The rock edicts of Asoka are the only reminiscences of the Mauryan hold over this part. Hardly any further information about the rule of the Mauryas, the Sungas, the Andhras and the foreign invaders like the 'Yavanas' is available. The Satavahanas of Paithan who are said to have attacked Broach which was under Nahapana must have ruled over this area as some Jain texts mention. Some of their coins are also found in Kathiawad and Gujarat. The Sakas conquered the Bactrain Provinces of Syrastrene and Kutch in the 1st. Cen. B. C. The Kshatrapas who came later ruled over Gujarat (including Kathiawad) up to the end of 4th Cen. A. D. and have left behind them a number of their coins and inscriptions. But the political, economic and cultural conditions of the pre–Gupta period are not known. Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya annexed the province of Gujarat from the Kshatrapas and the Guptas ruled upto the end of the 5th Cen.A.D. Here again we are not certain whether all the Gupta Kings ruled over Gujarat and whether the later Guptas had any control over the recalcitrant local chiefs who later established their own kingdoms.

The political history of the post–Gupta period becomes obscure owing to the rise of many kingdoms whose extant relationshop with one another is not properly known. After the fall of the Gupta Empire, the Maitrakas of Valabhi, the Saindhavas of Ghumli and the Gurulakas of Dwarka ruled over Kathiawad. The Gurjara Pratiharas of Bhinnamala ruled over N. Gujarat whereas the Gurjaras of Broach with Nandod as the Capital and Katachuris on the Tapi ruled over South Gujarat. In the 7th–8th Cen. A. D., the Chalukyas of Badami extended their sway over South Gujarat at a time when the Paramaras of Malwa, the Gurjara Pratiharas and the

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Chapotkatas of Patan had sway over the rest of Gujarat. It is only with the Solankis that the picture becomes clearer.

Exploration for this area has been planned with a two-fold objective. The gaps in the pre-Chalukyan history of Western India should be filled up. For this purpose two well-known Chalukyan sites were explored. The result of this preliminary survey will be stated at the end in the chronological order. The second object is to find out proto-and prehistoric sites. The main problem of bridging the gap in Indian History between the proto-historic culture of Harappa and the early historic cultures of the north is before the Archaeological Survey.

Rangpur

Rangpur in Saurashtra has been known as a site with a later phase of Harappa culture pointing to its eastward extension, but nobody has been able to date the Rangpur ware. It would go a long way in bridging the gulf if this were which has a wider distribution over Saurashtra can be dated. Some more sites like Vasai, Venivadar and Mota Machiala have yielded typical Rangpur painted pottery and by dating this ceramic industry and the associated culture, a definite stage would be arrived at wherefrom one can go backward and forward. Pottery is only one of the industies that make up a culture. The nature of the dwellings, the tools and weapons used by the people and the art and religion of the folk who made the painted pottery of Rangpur should also be ascertained. The author surveyed the site of Rangpur in August 1952 and while making surface collection came across remains of brick srtuctures belonging to the painted pottery period in the northern part of the mound. Formerly for want of any evidence of structural remains at Rangpur the site was not considered to be very important but now the habitation area is located. It is proposed to dig in this part of the mound to ascertain the nature of the dwellings and to get other evidences to date the culture. It may be noted here that the Rangpur painted pottery is associated with a microlithic industry. This aspect of Rangpur culture has not been sufficiently emphasized by the explorers. In fact this would be an important factor in deciding the date as also in tracing the evolution of the microlithic industry. A few blades have been found from this site by previous excavators and one scraper in Jasper has been recovered by the author from the section sealing the brick wall. More evidences are necessary to ascertain the nature and extent of this microlithic industry.

Venivadar

Venivadar and Mota Machiala are two more sites of Rangpur culture which have been explored, the latter one being discovered by the author. Trial excavation was conducted at Mota Machiala with the idea of understand-

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ing if possible the chronological position of the microlithic culture and the painted ware. What was once considered to be a small mound at Venivadar situated on the river Vadi (which joins the Thebi at Amreli 6 miles further south) extends eastward upto the modern village. There proto-neolithic scrapers in basalt and a few fluted cores and one discoid scraper of the microlithic industry have been collected in addition to a vast quantity of painted pottery

On a comparison of the Rangpur painted ware of the upper layers with the characteristic buff ware of Venivadar, one can notice certain differences. The painted ware of Venivadar is slightly thicker and better burnt and the fusion complete. Its colour is slightly buff and the painting is in chocolate or light black but not dark black. The treatment of the surface is also better and so far as the designs are concerned loops are more prominent than horizontal bands. The preference is for geometric designs rather than naturalistic ones. From the lower strata of Rangpur (Phase I) jars of the same fabric and type have been found. The buff ware of Venivadar appears to be earlier than the typical black–on–red ware of phase III of Rangpur. This may take us a stage nearer Harappa if the site is excavated. The proto–neolithic tools found on surface at Venivadar consists of side–end and side and end scrapers in basalt. The relation of these to the microlithic industry is yet to be ascertained.

Mota Machiala

The ancient mound at Mota Machiala, a village six miles to the North–East of Amreli, situated on the left bank of the river Thebi was discovered by the author. Two copper plate grants one of the Dhruvasena I and another of Dharasena II were brought to his notice along with Gupta coins by one Mr. Jani.

Trial excavations were conducted to assess its value as a proto–historic site. The Red Polished ware was found in the top three feet along with iron objects. After a gap painted pottery (Black on Red) closely resembling the Rangpur ware which has affinity with the late Harappan pottery was found besides Microliths. This pre–iron age microlithic industry consists of parallel–sided blades with and without retouch, micro–burii and retouched fluted cores in Chalcedony, Agate and Chert. The painted pottery has a gritty fabric and a light to dark red slip. The jars are thicker than the bowls and the dishes are shallow. They are all variously painted in the upper part in black over red background. Iron is conspicuously absent from the painted pottery layers. If the H. P. ware culture was gradually evolved from this chalcolithic culture there should have been an overlap which is not found at present.

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Further excavations are comtemplated at the site in order to have a complete picture of this phase of the painted pottery culture the dating of which is a desideratum in Indian Archaeology. It may forge one more link in the chain of successive cultures which are anterior to the Budhist period but later than the Indus Valley Civilisation.

A gap has appeared between the Red Polished ware of the iron age and the painted pottery of the Chalco-lithic phase. The N.B.P. and the Red and black ware of the Magalithic fabric seem to intrude between the two. A site like Karvan near Baroda may fill the gap. Having found out that there is a gap between the R. P. Ware culture and the painted ware culture it remains to be decided what length of period should be assigned to it and an attempt must also be made to fill the gap. Another partinent-question is: If the N.B.P. was in use in Central Gujarat as will be presently seen and as far South-West as Mahal in the Deccan was it not known in this part of the country? If it was known what is its date? Fortunately the recent trial digging at Timberva a site near Karvan has brought to light a culture with the typical N.B.P. and the Red and Black ware. This culture is said to be underlying the R.P. ware. It is most likely that this N.B.P. may fill the gap between the R.H. ware and the painted ware of Mota Machiala.

It is now necessary to refer to the excavation at Amreli. The Gohilwad Timbo, meaning the mound of the Guholits, at Amreli came to be known as an ancient site from the several coins of the Kshatrap and Gupta periods collected by local enthusiasts like Rajratna Prataprai Mehta. The site extends over more than a mile rising gradually from the south to the north in the form of a triangle with its apex at the confluence of the rivulets Thebi and Vadi. Along the base of this triangular mound, which is also its highest part, there is a sudden depression suggesting a moat and a remp.

Excavations conducted by the Archaeological Department of the former Baroda State before 1945 brought to light a number of interesting antiquities such as Gupta, Kahatrapa and Ujjain coins, a seal of Siladitya, terracotas like a bearded Greek and a Graeco-Roman Amorini suggesting foreign contact, and Buddhist and Hindu images.

After the merger of the State the Baroda Office of the Central Archaeological Department conducted excavations in 1952-53 at the same site on scientific lines keeping in view the importance of pottery and stratigraphy. The salient features are:-

The earliest settlement was in the Pre-historic period on the banks of the rivers Vadi and Thebi when people, ignorant of the use of iron used

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microliths for composite tools. They practised post-cremation burial by burying urns containing human ash and burnt bones, besides microliths, in simple pits. The site was abandoned for a pretty long time.

In the early historic period, with the beginning of the Christian era there was settlement again over the whole of the mound with a feverish building activity. It developed into a town and came under the rule of Kshatrap Kings whose capital Girinagara (Girnar) is mentioned in the inscribed pots from Amreli. A finely polished pottery known as the Red polished ware resembling the Samian ware imported into India by the Roman Traders, was in use for the first four centuries A. D. Some scholars think in terms of a borrowed technique. A by-product of this ceramic industry is the Black Polished ware of fine levigated clay. The Red Polished ware which has a wide distribution over the early historic sites of Western India and at other ancient sites like Kausambi, Junnar, Kolhapur atc. is assigned a definite date with the help of coins and other datable objects. This serves as a datum for further exploration. Amerli is the only site so far excavated which has produced the largest number of types and the largest quantity of Red Polished ware which was in continuous use for four centuries.

At the beginning of the Second Century A. D. Pit-circles of the type found in the Megalithic fields of South India came to be built for post crematory purposes. The Red polished ware was preferred to the deteriorated Red and Black ware for funerary purposes. These burials ware confined to the right bank of the river Thebi, while habitation extended over the rest of the mound. The discovery of these pit-circles puts Amreli on the Dolmenian map of Jndia. It is significant to note that the people who borrowed this architectural feature did not give up their social and religious customs such as cremation of the dead in preference to inhumation. Iron arrow heads, conch bangles, terracota and stone beads are other funerary objects.

Five building periods with two additional sub-phases were noticed. In the earliest period (period I) which is assigned to 1st Cent. A. D. rubble foundations were used whereas in the subsequent period (Period II) bricks were used for the same purpose. In both the cases the super-structure was made of perishable material. Rubble foundations of two structures (Pepiod I) one of which has three rooms can be seen in the photographs. Still later Rubble and bricks were used for foundations. The fourth period is the most important one when mud brick structures came to be built by the beginning of the third Cent. A. D. Five rooms each measuring 10' × 6 to 7' of a huge structure have been exposed. The Red and Black ware and varieties of painted pottery were used besides the Red Polished and the Black Polished wares. The pit-circles were in vogue. A number of coins of Kshatrap rulers,

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a terracotta-seal with an inscription reading "Ajitasya" assigned to the third Cent. A. D., a votive jar inscribed and dated (Sam 344 Magha-Yukta 2) 288 A. D. and a lead seal inscribed "Isvarasya" are the important datable finds of this and other periods.

A huge burnt brick structure measuring 72' × 25' with six rooms built in three phases after destruction by floods of the adjoining nala has also been exposed. The purpose of this structure is not yet known. One suggestion is that it might have been a gate-way in the fortifiction with guard rooms, on the fourth side of the town which had a natural defence on the other three sides in the form of the rivers.

A brief note on the exploration of the mediaeval sites of Vadnagar and Modhera in North Gujarat undertaken by the author is given below.

Vadnagar

Vednagar, is situated 19 miles S. E. E. from Sidhapur, a Railwa Station on the Ahmedabad-Ajmer line. It is said to be the original home of Nagar Brahmans who, the "Nagara Pravaradhyaya" states, had inhabited Anandapura as early as Sam. 283; Hieun Tsang also mentions Anandpura in his memoirs as a province the capital of which was 20 li (3½ miles) in circuit. The state was said to be a dependency of Malava and the capital a flourishing town with merchants. Kumarapala, the Solanki ruler built the famous fortwall of Vadnagar with its six gates. On the Arjanbari Gate there is an inscription dated Sam. 1208 (A. D. 1152) commemorating the building of the city fort-well. The "Ain-i-Akbari" of Abul Fazl (1590 A. D.) also describes Vadnagar (Badnagar). "Kiati Stambhas" or triumphal arches are a tribute to the late Chalukyan art.

The modern town stands on a 30' high mound under which lies the mediaeval town buried. Hardly any space is left for any large scale excavation on the mound. But this is not the ancient site of Anandapura. It lies to the south of the present town where there is a big mound forming a part of the embankment of the tank, extending in a horese-shoe for over an area of half a square mile. On a careful examination of the pits dug out by the local population for taking out "murrum" (earth) brick-structures, 4 ft. high, built of large size bricks 12"×9"×3" were noticed. From the contemporary layers Red Polished Pottery of the same fabric and polish as has been found at Amreli was recovered. The presence of R. P. ware suggests that the site was inhabited in the beginning of Christian era. There are several brick walls not only opposite the temple of Kanakesvar Mahadev but also behind it where the mound takes a turn towards, and extends up to, the hutments of Ghaskod. From this part of the mound a few painted sherds have been recovered and they resemble those found in the early historic sites like Amreli.

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Excavation here is likely to yield valuable archaeological material for the early historic as well as the mediaeval period, and to establish a continuous ceremic sequance from the late mediaeval to the early historic period.

Modhera

Modhera is at present a small village standing on an ancient mound 20 miles to the N. E. of Anahilwada Patan the mediaeval capital of Gujarat. It is known for the famous Sun-temple, a gem of Chalukyan architecture and is said to belong to the 10th-11th Cent. A. D. The 30 ft. high mound has yielded a number of coins among which the most important are mentioned below:-

(1) Punch-marked coins-

(2) A rectangular copper coin (MD 15) with the sun symbol on obv.-(much defaced)-

(3) A circular copper coin (MD 12) sun symbol on obv.-(much defacad)-

Kshatrap Coins-(Copper)-

(1) Without King's name (MD 8)

Obv.-Elephant with folded trunk standing right, circular border of dots.

Rev: much defaced-(Assigned to 225-236 A. D.).

Silver

(2) Coin of Mahakshatrapa Rudrasena II s/o Viradaman (265 A. D.).

(3) Coin of Mahakshatrapa Visvasimha s/o Rudrasena II (277-78 A. D.).

(4) Mahakshatrapa Viradaman s/o Damasena (156-160 A. D.)

There are two silver Gadhia coins of the 10th-11th Cent. A. D. An examination of the sections of the high mound has revealed three occupational levels in between which are seen layers of ash uniformly spread all over the mound. The ancient city appears to have been subjected to burning twice and rebuilt both the times. It must have been a well fortified city as even now huge brick fortifications with gate-ways are seen. In the low lying mound all round the Sun Temple and in the left bank of the Pushmavati river itself huge brick-walls built are exposed. The site is a promising one and will be explored further.

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Section X: Indian Linguistics

21. A Glimpse Into The Kasakrtsna School of Sanskrit Grammar

By Shri G. B. Palsule, M. A.

For some years past it has been the unique fortune of the South India to have discovered ancient Sanskrit texts which were hitherto known by names only. After the Arthaśāstra and the plays of Bhāsa now comes a work pertaining to grammar viz. the Dhātupāṭha belonging to the Kāśakṛtsna school of Sanskrit grammar. A work entitled *Kāśakṛtsna-Śabdakalāpa-Dhātu-pāṭha by Cannavirakavi* edited by Shri. A. N. Narsimhia is recently published in the *Sources* of Indo-Aryan Lexicography: 5 by the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona. It contains a Sanskrit Dhātupāṭha with roots and meanings together with a commentary, which gives a few verbal and nominal forms of every root and also a Kannad rendering of the meanings (of the roots) and of the derivatives.

The name Kāśakṛtsna is not new to the students of Sanskrit grammar. The word Kāśakṛtsna, as the name of the grammarian or of his work occurs in the Mahābhāṣya, Kāśikā, Kavi-Kalpadruma and other works. From the Kāśikā's statement *trikaṁ Kāśakṛtsnam*, occuring under *Pāṇini* 5. 1. 58 it was known that the work of Kāśakṛtsna was divided in three parts. A few quotations from this work are found scattered in different Sanskrit works. Kṣīrasvāmin[1] gives a view of Kāśakṛtsna as regards the form *āśvasta*. This is all that was so far known about Kāśakṛtsna. This is the first time that a whole work of his, even though it be a minor work and not a *sūtrapāṭha* proper as such, has been discovered.

Kāśakṛtsna is usually supposed to be anterior to Pāṇini, probably owing to the association of his name with that of Āpiśali in the grammatical literature. But unlike Āpiśali he is not mentioned by Pāṇini in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Kshitisha Chandra Chatterji (Technical terms and Technique of Sanskrit Grammar, P. 2) refuses to look upon Kāśakṛtsna as a predecessor of Pāṇini,

1. काशकृत्स्ना अस्य निष्ठायामनिट्त्वमाहुः

Under √śvas, P. 114 (Leibich'es edition). The different quotations from the Kāśakṛtsna grammar found in the various Sanskrit works have been collected by Shri. Yudhiṣṭhira Mimānsaka in his Sanskrit Vyākaraṇaśastra kā Itihās.

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though he does not give any reasons there for his view. A perusal of the Dhātupāṭha now discovered shows that Chatterji is right. Kāśakṛtsna has used all the twenty-one *Anubandhas* of Pāṇini's Dhātupāṭha exactly in the same senses. He does not reject any of the Pāniniya अनुबन्धs nor does he add any to them. This single fact is enough to show that Kāśakṛtsna has drawn on Pāṇini and consequently he must have come after Pāṇini. It cannot be argued the other way that it is Pāṇini who borrowed from Kāśakṛtsna, since Patañjali (under Pāṇini 7.1,18) expressly tells us that Pāṇini does not make use of the *anubandhas* used by his predecessors.[2]

There is one more point. The Kāśakṛtsna Dhātupāṭha reads not only almost all the roots which are found in Pāṇini's Dhātupāṭha but also reads about 500 roots more–rather a bewildering mass. Some of these additional roots are probably to be traced to South Indian or Dravidian influence, and a few to Persian. A few roots, again, are of a rather late origin. √ ḍhunḍh 'search', or, *yuṣ* 'injure', for instance, are recognised besides Kāśakṛtsna by Vopadeva only. All these things would tend to show that Kāśakṛtsna belonged to a rather later age.

Without going deeper into the subject of Kāśakṛtsna's probable date, let us turn to our matter in hand and see what glimpse into the Kāśakṛtsna school we can have through the Dhātupāṭha which is now available to us. This has become possible chiefly because the accompanying commentary often cites some *sūtras* or rules to explain certain formations. Now when a commentator comments upon a work belonging to a particular school of grammar, he is normally expected to stick to the terminology of the original author and to cite, whenever necessary, the rules of the original author himself, and not of some one belonging to a different school. We will, therefore, be justified in taking the sūtras, which are cited in the commentary, as emanating from Kāśakṛtsna himself. It is on the basis of these sūtras that I am going to attempt to sketch a few features of the Kāśakṛtsna system.

A word of caution is here necessary. Since the context in which these *sūtras* are quoted is a limited one, viz. the conjugation of verbs, sūtras concerning only that topic could appear here. Naturally there is no means to know what sort of rules there were on topics like the declension of nouns and pronouns, *sandhis*, formation of compounds and so on. Similarly we do not know whether he treated of Vedic grammar. There is another handicap. The commentary is very meagre. For every root it gives only the form of the 3rd sing. pre. (and a few primary derivatives). Throughout the work the commentary does not give a single form of any other tense or mood. The

2. अथवा पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशोऽयम्, पूर्वसूत्रेषु च येऽनुबन्धा न तैरिहेत्कार्याणि क्रियन्ते ।

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material at our disposal is therefore limited. Nevertheless it is sufficient to give at least a general idea of what Kāśakṛtsna grammar was like.

The most prominent feature of the Kāśakṛtsna grammar is his preference for simple terms. He avoids, as far as possible, artificial technical terms. To begin with, he does not make use of the pratyāhāras, which form an important feature of the Pāṇinīya grammar. For 'vowel' he uses the simple term *svara*. Correspondingly he must have used the term *vyañjana* for 'consonant', though it does not appear anywhere in the quoted *sūtras*. For the two kinds of vowels, simple and diphthongs he uses the terms *samāna* and *samdhyakṣara*. He also uses the term, *nāmin*, which is explained in the other systems as meaning a vowel other than *a* or *ā*.

Coming to consonants, the term for surds is *aghoṣa*. Naturally for sonants a term like *ghoṣavat* was expected but it does not occur. For the aspirate sonants, for which Pāṇini uses झष्, Kāśakṛtsna has चतुर्थ, which speaks for itself. For the consonants excepting the nasals and semi-vowels, for which Pāṇini uses झल्, Kāśakṛtsna employs the same term as the Kātantra has done, viz. घुट्. For the semi-vowels he could have used the term *antasthā* but he prefers using the combination *ya-va-ra*. Thus he says, यजां यवराणां यूवृतः संप्रसारणं कानुबंधे च (215)[3] corresponding to Pāṇini's rule वचिस्वपियजादीनां किति (6. 1. 15). No term for the sibilants actually occurs. It might have been *ūṣman*, following the prevalent usage, or it might have been *śiṭ*, as Kātantra has done. Or again he might as well have used the combination *śa–ṣa–sa–ha* itself.

Pāṇini uses a short *u* to denote a whole class of consonants. Thus the word *ku* in his terminology stands for the guttural class. Kāśakṛtsna does away with this device and simply uses the word *Varga*. Thus he says स–तवर्गयोः श–चवर्गयोगे श–चवर्गौ and ष–टवर्गयोगे ष–टवर्गौ (64) corresponding to Pāṇini's rules स्तोःश्चुना श्चुः and ष्टुना ष्टुः (8.4.40–41) respectively.

He has, however, retained Pāṇini's letter *t*, which restricts a particular operation to the particular quantity of a vowel as actually mentioned in the rule. Cf. the rules ऋत ओर् (245) and ऋत अुर् (245).

As regards other simple technical terms which do not occur in Pāṇini, Kāśakṛtsna always uses the term *anubandha* for *it* (Cf. the term *Kānubandha* above for *kit*). He retaines the term *sārvadhātuka* but for *ārdhadhātuka* his term is *asārvadhātuka*. *Anuṣaṅga* and *vikaraṇa* are two more terms which do not appear in the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

As against these there are a good number of simple terms which are common to Pāṇini and Kāśakṛtsna. They are: *abhyāsa, abhyasta, parasmaipada,*

3. Figures in brackets refer to the pages.

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ātmanepada, ubhayapada, aprktā, niṣṭhā; pratyaya, anunāsika, dhātu, lopa, hrasva, dīrgha (pluta does not occur), *guṇa–vṛddhī, saṃprasāraṇa* and *kṛt.*

As regards the artificial technical terms, *kvip* and *luk* occur in *Kāśa kṛtsna* also.

It must have been seen that excepting one or two solitary cases Kāśakṛtsna agrees entirely with the Kātantra in the matter of the technical terms.

We now pass on to another field. Coming to the *Vikaraṇas* of the present system we find them as given below:

bhu class	*an* (161)	
ad ,,)		(The two classes, even as in the Kātantra, are amalgamated into one).
)	*ano luk* (162)	
hu ,,)		
div ,,	*yan* (43)	
su ,,	*nu* (206)	
tud ,,	*ak* (212)	
rudh ,,	*nam* (233)	
tan ,,	*u* (174)	
krī ,,	*nā* (142)	
cur ,,	*in* (252)	

It will be seen that Kāśakṛtsna does away with the letter *ś* which Pāṇini affixes to these endings to denote their *sārvadhātuka* character. Though the term *Sārvadhātuka* occurs in Kāśakṛtsna's rule नामिनो गुणः सार्वधातुकासार्वधातुकयोः (64) the rule defining what a sārvadhātuka affix is, is never met with. As Kāśakṛtsna does not use the letter *ś* his rule must have been different from Pāṇini's which says तिङ्शित् सार्वधातुकम् (3.4.113).

Another point to be noted in this connection is the abolition of the *anubandha p* which in Pāṇini denotes a strong affix. Thus for *śap* he uses *an.* And most probably he read the primary singular endings of the three persons as *ti, si* and *mi, i. e.* without the letter *p* added, as we are probably to infer from the two rules द्यु-आदीनां वृद्धिस्तिसिमिषु (163) and ब्रूआदेरी तिसिमिषु (174).

In the Pāṇinīya system a *sārvadhātuka* affix without a *p* added to it means (1.2.4) that it is a weak ending barring the *Guṇa* of the stem-vowel. That is how the provision is made in the *Pāṇinīya* system to account for the absence of guṇa of *ṛ* in forms like *nṛtyati* or of the root-vowel *u* in forms like *sunoti,* though *ya* (śyan) and nu (śnu) are *sārvadhātuka* by virtue of the rule तिङ्शित् सार्वधातुकम् (3.4.113). In Kāśakṛtsna we do not know to what endings the term *sārvadhāṭuka* extended and what provision he made to prevent guṇa from taking place in forms like *nṛtyati* mentioned above.

Only in the case of the 6th or the *tud*-class we see how he provides to ensure the absence of guṇa. For the *vikaraṇa śa* of Pāṇini here he reads

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ak—the *k* being evidently meant, even like Pāṇini's *k* to prevent the *guṇa* from taking place.[4]

Kāśakṛtsna's *vikaraṇa* for the 10th or the *cur*-class is *in*. Now such of the roots of this class as have a short *a* in the penultimate lengthen it in the finite forms. Thus the form of the 3rd Sing. pr. ind. of √*taḍ*, for instance is *tāḍayati*. Pāṇini brings such cases under the purview of the rule अत उपधायाः (7.2.116) by framing his *vikaraṇa* as *ṇic i. e.* characterising it with the letter *ṇ*. Kāśakṛtsna has a special rule to cover such cases, *viz.* नथादेरिनि दीर्घः (254) where नथ (Kāśakṛtsna's Variant for √*naṭ* of others) is the first of the roots in the *cur*-class which have a short *a* as the penultimate.[5]

Let us now compare Kāśakṛtsna's technic with that of Kātantra. The vikaraṇas, in these two systems are almost the same except that the कातन्त्र reads the विकरण of the sixth class as अन् where Kāśakṛtsna has *ak* and that instead of नम् it says न-शब्दः dispensing with the use of the code letter *m*. Like Kāśakṛtsna, Kātantra also has abolished the use of the code letters *ś* and *ṣ*. Kātantra's general rules laying down the *guṇa* are नाम्यन्तयोर्धातुविकरणयोर्गुणः and नामिनश्चोपधायाः (3.5.1–2). It then frames the restrictive rule अनि च विकरणे (3.5.3) which restricts the *guṇa* caused by the vikaraṇas to the roots of the first class and bars the guṇa in cases like *nṛtyati*, *sunoti*, *Krīṇāti* etc. To bar the *guṇa* in case of the roots of the *tud*-class the Kātantra frames a special prohibitive rule तुदादेरनि (3.5.25). To account for the absence of गुण due to the personal endings in forms like *itaḥ*, *juhutaḥ* also the *Kātantra* has a special rule द्वित्वबहुत्वयोश्च परस्मै (3.5.19). Obviously there must have been some such rules in the Kāśakṛtsna system also, but unfortunately the commentator does not give any other forms than the 3 pers. sing. of the present indicative and so we have no means to know what sort of those rules were.

4. It is evident that for the word *Vṛddhi* in the commentator's explanation ककारं वृद्धिनिषेधार्थम् we have to read *guṇa–vṛddhi*.

5. Strictly speaking *nath* is not the first but the third root in the group of roots which have an *a* as the penultimate. Roots *laḍ* and *jal* which precede *naṭh* might be later insertions (unless, of course, Kāśakṛtsna himself erroneously wrote नथादेः instead of लडादेः which possibility, however, is rather remote) made by some one in order to bring the Kāśakṛtsna Dhātu-pāṭh in line with the others, since these latter read these two roots in the corresponding places. The insertions must have been made before the commentary was written, since they are commented upon by the commentator. He illustrates the forms as *laḍayati* and *jalayati*, as though the roots ended in *a*, which is, however not, the case, since the कथादि group of *adanta* roots is yet to follow.

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To explain the lengthening in forms like *tāḍayati* Kātantra has the rule अस्योपधाया दीर्घो वृद्धिर्नामिनाम् अिन्–अिच–अट्सु (3.6.5).

There is one more small point to be noted while we are considering the phenomenon of lengthening. There are some roots in the Pāṇinīya Dhātupāṭha, *cūṣa, tūṣa* (I 705. 705) etc., which are read with a long root-vowel. Kāśakṛtsna, however, reads them with a short vowel and enjoins the lengthening in the rule चुषादेर्दीर्घः (56), as Pāṇini does in the case of some of the forms of the roots √*guh* and *duṣ* (6.4.89–90). Here the Kātantra like most of the other schools follows Pāṇini and reads the roots like *cūṣ* with a long root-vowel.

We now come to an important feature of Kāśakṛtsna's technic. This concerns the roots ending in diphthongs, like *gai*. Though Kāśakṛtsna follows the prevalent practice of stating these roots as ending in diphthongs, his process of arriving at the concrete forms like *gāyati* is different. He first reduces as the first step all such roots to the forms ending in ā by laying down the rule संध्यक्षराणामाकारः (68). Thus *gai* first becomes *gā*. He then frames a rule आतो युरनि (142) by virtue of which a connecting semi-vowel v comes in when the *vikaraṇa an* is to follow. Finally we arrive at the form *gāyati*. To derive forms like *gīta*, with a weakened root-vowel, he frames the rule ओदातः कानुबन्धे which changes the root-vowel *ā* into *ī*.[6]

It must have been noticed that such a process comes very near to that of the modern European grammarians who refuse to recognise roots in diphthongs and instead state them in ā and refer them to the 4th or *div*-class.

There is one very curious feature of the Kāśakṛtsna grammer which personally I am at a loss to understand. To explain forms like *muñcati, Kṛntānti* etc. from roots *muc, kṛt* etc. belonging to the *tud* class. grammarians form a sub-class of such roots and lay down a rule that roots of the sub-class *muc* (or *lip*, and so on, according as the leading root of this sub-class in the individual systems may be) take the augment *n* to form the stem of the present system (शे मुचादीनाम्, Pāṇini, 7.1.59). Instead of this simple and universally accepted method, we find here *sūtras* लदनुबन्धान्नुः.....(213), अिरनुबन्धान्नुः, ओदनुबन्धान्नुः and lastly स्वरितानुबन्धान्नुः (214), cited to explain the nasal–increment. Why काशकृत्स्न does so, or how he prevents these rules from

6. It is not clear how he arrives at the forms like ह्वयते, दयते etc., *i. e.* in the case of the roots ending in *e*. Probably there was some rule which enjoined the shortening of the stems ह्वा, दा etc. into ह्व, द etc. To justify the form धयति the commentator cites a rule घेटेाः यः (71) but the exact significance of the rule is not clear.

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operating where it is not desired—for instance how he prevents the undesirable form पन्तति from the root *pat-l*, is difficult to say.

Besides the above, many other sūtras are cited to explain various forms but there is little typical in them. Only one or two cases might be noted. The definition of निष्ठा is given as क्त-क्तवन्तू निष्ठा which shows that like the Kātantra, Kāśkṛtsna also regards the strong form (with nasal) as the original one. His rule corresponding to Pāṇini's rule तद्धितेष्वचामादेः (7.2.117) is वृद्धिरादौ सणे which is identical with the Kātantra rule 2. 6. 49.

The close agreement between these two schools, which is seen in respect of the Sūtrapāṭhas holds good in respect of the Dhātupāṭhas also. Both combine the *ad* and *hu* class into one. Both assign only one sense, *viz.* रक्षण to $\sqrt{av}$ instead of the ninteen senses given by other Dhātupāṭhas. Both read two of the gaṇasūtras as ग्लास्नावनुवमश्च and न कम्यमिचमाम् instead of ग्लास्नावनुवमां च and न कम्यमिचमाम् as in other schools. These agreements extend even to insignificant details which I do not detail here for want of time. Suffice it to say that Kāśakṛtsna Dhātupāṭha is on the whole nothing but the Kātantra Dhātupathā, if we ignore the bulk of strange and curious roots which have no parallel anywhere.

In this connection the full name of the Dhātupāṭha, which is given as *Kāśakṛtsna-Śabda-kalāpa-Dhātupāṭha* also deserves attention, for it will be at once recalled that Kalāpa is also another name of Kātantra. But the exact relationship between Kāśakṛtsna and Kātantra must await until such time as the age of Kāśakṛtsna is fairly established.

The grammar of Kāśakṛtsna must have been a full-fledged one, seeing that it had its own *uṇādisūtras*, some six being quoted in the work.[7] There also appear three *paribhāṣās* one of which is identical with that of Pāṇini, one corresponds to a *gaṇasūtra* in the Pāṇinīya Dhātupāṭha and one to a *vārtika* of *Kātyāyana*.[8]

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7. कशेर्यप-इ (?) पुश्च; चरादन्तिन्; पुत्यगित्यामस्त्येऽस्तिश्च, वहेरुः; रो मनि; महोदरन्तः and लक्ष्मेर्मी-मन्-मनाः

8. इक्तिपौ धातुस्वरूपे corresponds to the Vārtika इक्श्रियौ धातुनिर्देशे (3.3,108.2) सकृद् बाधितो विधिर्बाधित एव (212) corresponds to सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्बाधितं तद्बाधितमेव Paribhāṣa 40 in the Paribhāṣendusekhara while सर्वे हिंसार्थाश्चुरादौ परस्मैपदिनो ज्ञेयाः (252; 276) corresponds to the gaṇasūtra हन्त्यर्थाश्च (Pāninīya Dhātupāṭha X 184) in one of its interpretations.

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22. Indo-Aryan Sibilants in Gujrati

By Dr. P. B. Pandit

Old Indo-Aryan sibilants ś ṣ s converge to one sibilant s in Middle Indo-Aryan dialects except Māgadhī where they converge to ś. This change takes place irrespective of the position of the sibilant, and its junction with other phonemes. Thus, all MIA dialects, except Māgadhī, have either s or ss for the sibilants.

In New Indo-Aryan languages this distribution is altered to a certain extent. In Western Hindi and Eastern Hindi we have only one sibilant *viz.* s. Same is true of Bihari dialects and Oriya. In Panjabi, Lahanda and Sindhi, very frequently, this s changes to h; and this h, in turn changes to x; the same change takes place in Assamese where s develops to x. In Bengali all sibilants have converged to the palatal sibilant ś. In the Dardic dialects Sk. ś, ṣ and Iranian s are generally represented by s, and s remains unchanged. In the Dard group, ś ṣ and s often become h. In the Pahari dialects both the sibilants, s and ś, exist. According to Grierson, "in Central Pahari and in Western Pahari both ś and s sound exist, and they appear to be used some what capriciously one for the other" (On the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars–an Unfinished Study, reprinted from the Indian Antiquary, Vols. LX, LXI and LXII 1931,'32,'33; @327–45). In Gujrati and Marathi, according to the same authority, only one sibilant s is the regular treatment, though 'somewhat capriciously'. In Gujrati and Marathi there is a secondary ś which is the result of a following palatal vowel i or e. Rajasthani dialects have two sibilants s and ś, former being the pronounciation of c and ch (a widely spread Indo-Aryan tendency), and the latter being the pronounciation of s and ś.

Dealing with the Gujrati sibilants, the following pattern of distribution demands an explanation:

s'ĩ/e–>s' : s'aṇgār m. (Sk. s'ṛṇgāraḥ, Pa. Pk. siṅgāra–m.)
s'īḷũ adj. (Sk. s'ītalam, Pa. sītalo)
s'eṛ f. (Sk. s'reṇiḥ Pa. Pk. seḍhi)

ss/ē–>s– : sidhāvvũ (Sk. sedhati, past part. *siddha–)
sīdhũ adj. (Sk. siddham Pa. Pk. siddha–)
sɐj f. (ṣ'ayyā f. Pk. sejja–).

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This pattern is preserved even when these s'ĩ/śe, sĩ/se are medial or final. Sk. s' in any other situation develops to s, but when followed by palatal vowels, it is conserved. Thus, we cannot label this process as a secondary restoration of s'. Numerous examples of sĩ/se>s indicate that palatal assimilation is not the operative cause here.

When OIA ś or ṣ are followed by y, we have the same conservation of ś; thus śy ṣy>ś, while sy>s. There are a few cases of śm, ṣm followed by -i>ś (compare the Dardic treatment śm, ṣm>ś,sm>sm.). In all other situations OIA ś ṣ>s in Gujrati.

Thus, we have in Gujrati, OIA ś ṣ followed by ĩ, e, y,>ś; in a few cases-śmi->ś. This is a conservation of original sibilants under certain conditions, comparable only with the Dardic dialects.

It may be interesting to note here that in the Gamblers' dialect in Mṛchhakaṭika we have the following treatment of the sibilants: ś ṣ>s', ś>s. The dialect is called Takki, which is located in North Panjab. Grierson compares it with 'Gaurjari' dialect thus: "In this Takki, as in the Gaurjari dialect of the Gurjaras, who once ruled the country where it was spoken (see JRAS 1913, pp. 876-882) original s' and s remain unchanged, but original ṣ becomes s, as is now the case in Western Pahāṛī" (ibid.).

Sibilants in initial position.

ś-,ṣ-,s->s-.

s'->s- : saṛvũ 'to rot, decay,' (Sk. śaṭati, Pk. saḍai), saḷvũ 'to rot' may also be derivedf rom Sk.*s'arati/*śalati (*sṛta>s'aṭ-, of. Pa. sarati 'crushes'), samṇī f. 'small wedge' (Sk. śamyā f. 'a wooden pin or peg, wedge', Pa. sammā 'pin of a yoke'), sarāṇ f. 'whetstone' (Sk. śāṇa- m. -ā-f., Pk. sāṇa-, note the intrusive -r- in Gujrati), sario m. 'iron bar' (Sk. s'araḥ m., 'reed', Pa. Pk. sara-m. 'reed, arrow'), salāṭ m. 'stonemason' (etymology doubtful, of. Sk. s'ilāpaṭṭaḥ m. Pa. silapaṭṭo Pk. sillāra-, see ND silauṭo, -l->-l-, śi->s-in Gujrati make this etymology very doubtful), saḷī f. 'thin reed, match-stick', (Sk. śalaḥ m. staff, of. Sk. śalākā f. 'twig', Pa. salākā f. Pk. salāyā f.), sākaḷ f. 'chain' (Sk. śṛmkhalā f. Pa. saṅkhalā f. Pk. saṅkhalā, siṅkhalā, saṅkala-m. n. saṅkalā f.), sām f. 'iron head of a pestle' pronounced as sāb also, cf. Guj. sābelũ 'pestle', (Sk. śamba-m. Pk. samba-m. n.) sāl n. 'obstacle' (Sk. śalya-, Pk. salla-), sāvo m. 'small insect, sometimes gets into the eyelashes' (Sk. s'āvakaḥ m. 'young of any animal' Pk. sāvaya- m. 'insect which gets into the eyes of children'), sũḍlo m. 'basket' -lī 'small basket' f. (Sk. śuṇḍā f. trunk of an elephant', note the change of meaning, of. W. Pah. śuṇḍ 'mouth', s. v. sũḍh), sũḍh f. 'trunk of an elephant' Sk. śuṇḍā f. Pa. soṇḍa f.)

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s–>s– samārvũ 'to repair' (Sk. sam–ā–racayati, Pk. *samārai, samāria, past part.), sameṭvũ 'to wind up, close down' (Sk. prob. saṁvartayati, Pa. samvaṭṭati, Pk. samvaṭṭāi, perh. contam. Sk. samveṣṭeayat, Pa. saṁveṭheti), sarsũ adj 'like, resembling to, close' (Sk. sadṛk–<*sadi, replaced by sari after the analogy of Pk. tārisa–beside tādisa–> Sk. tādṛśa–, cf. Pk. sarisa–), sāvarṇī f. 'broomstick' cf. Sk. saṁvarate, saṁvārayati, *saṁvaraṇikā, Pk. saṁvaraṇa– 'that which wards off, drives back'. sāṁj f. 'evening' (saṁdhyā,) Pk. saṁjhā. sācũ adj. n. (Sk. satyam, Pk. sacca–), etc.

The following lists of ś–or s–followed by ĩ e or y are almost exhaustive, which might give an idea of favourable examples and exceptions. Other lists, that is, those of initial ś or s, or non-initial ś or s are referred to only briefly. ś followed by–ĩ,–e, or–y :

śaṇgār m. 'decoration' (Sk. śṛṁgāṛaḥ, Pa. Pk. siṁgāra–m.), śiyāḷ. n. 'jackal' (Sk. śṛgālaḥ m. Pa. sigālo, siṁgālo m. Pk. siāla. śiyāḷo m. 'winter' (Sk. śītakālaḥ). śigṛũ n. 'horn' (Sk. śṛṇga–, Pa. Pk. siṁga n. śigoṭiyũ n. 'horn–shaped' (Sk. śṛṁga–) śigoṛũ n. 'water–chestnut' (Sk. śṛṁgāṭaḥ, śṛṁghāṭakaḥ, Pa. siṁghāṭako, Pk. siṁghāḍaga–m.n.), śikũ n. 'a kind of loop or swing made of rope or steel wires usually hung in kitchen, to keep foodstuff safe from ants' alternatively pronounced as 'chīkũ', (Sk. śikyam n.). śīkh f. 'advice' (Sk. s'ikṣā Pk. sikkhā).

s'īṭaḷā f. 'small–pox' (lw. Sk. śītalā). Though–t– indicates this as a lw., the conservation of śī–is noteworthy. Note–l–>–ḷ–is a regular Guj. treatment. In other NIA languages, where this word occurs as a lw., śī–>si– is in agreement with their sibilant treatment. see H. sitalā, N. sitalā.

śīḷũ adj. n. 'cool' (Sk. śītala–Pa. sītalo, Pk. sīala–). śīs' n. 'head' (Sk. śīrṣam n. Pa, sīsaṁ n. Pk. sissa–, sīsa–n.). śīsam 'a particular kind of tree', pronounced as sīsam, or śīśam.

also, (cf. Sk. śiṁśapā f., Pk. sīsavā f.). śeṭh m. a surname, merchant, (Sk. śreṣthī m. Pa. Pk. seṭṭhi m.)

śeṛ f. 'stream, gush' in compound śeṛ–kaḍhu dūdh–fresh milk lit. milk just poured in streams, (Sk. śreṇiḥ Pa. seḍhi, s. v. sīṛī), sīṛī f. 'ladder' (Sk. śreṇiḥ f. [√śri] śreḍhi, śreḍī, śreṭī 'progression of figures (in arith.), row, series, Pa. seṇi f. 'row', also of. Sk. śritiḥ f. 'approach' Pk sii f. 'ladder' see ND sīṛi). The treatment śre– s'ri–>sī– is exceptional, considering the present argument.

śeṛā m. 'mucus of nose' (cf. Sk. śleṣmā 'mucus', Pa. semhaṁ, silesumaṁ n, Pk. seppha–, sepha–m. (cf. Aśokan taphā<tasmāt), sembhā f. simbha–silimha –m. see ND sep, Bloch śembā. Guj. śeṛā may probably be : Pk. sepha–>*seha–> śeṛā with retention of ś– throught. śevāḷ f. 'water weeds, moss on damp walls'

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(Sk. śīpāla–m. n., śaiyāla–m. n. Pa. sevālo m. Pk. sevāḍa–, sevāla–m.). śelat 'a surname of half–caste Brahmins and Kṣatriyas, (Sk. s'alya—hasta—, Old Guj. sella—hatthu). Note the irregular retention of ś—;

sarasṛo m. 'name of a tree—Acacia Sirissa—' (Sk. śirīṣa—, Pa. Pk. sirīsa—n.). Note the exceptional treatment of śi—>s—. śāmḷo adj. m. 'black, dark' (Sk. śyāma—ḷaḥ Pk. sāmala—). sāḷo m. 'wife's brothers', –ḷī f. 'wife's sister' (Sk. śyālaḥ m., Pa sālako Pk. sāla—m. Note śy—>s—. This word is frequently used as a term of abuse.

s—followed by—i, —e or —y > s ;—sidhāvvū 'to depart, to go' sometimes as sidhārvũ also; Sk. sedhati 'goes, past part. *siddha—). sindur m. n. 'red lead powder, vermillion' (Sk. sinduram n. Pk. sindūra, sendura—n.).

sindhālūṇ n. 'rock–salt' (Sk. saindhava—coming from the sea or the Indus m. Pk. sendhava—, Pa. sindhavaṁ. Sk. lavaṇa—n. salt.). sĩcvũ 'to irrigate,water' (Sk. siñcati Pa. siñcati, Pk. siñcai). sīdrī f. 'rope made out of palm leaves' (cf. Sk. sindūvāra—Vitex Negundo, Pa. Pk. sindī name of a tree–Khajjurī, Deśī—sindu rope). śīd adv. 'where' (Sk. siddhiḥ f.). To ask some one 'where are you going' would in Gujrati be 'kyã jão cho?' To ask such a question while some one is about to go is considered inauspicious, it indicates doubt about the success of the person about to go. Such tabooes are prevalent in Marāṭhī, Koṅkaṇī etc. If at all one has to ask, he should avoid the word kyã, which is the most inauspicious part of the question, and should substitute it by the word śīd > Sk. siddhi—f. to make the question more tolerable. It is in this tabooed word that we have the treatment si—> śi—which is exceptional in Gujrati.

sījhvũ v. 'to roast, properly cooked, (Sk. sidhyate, Pk. sijjhai). sīdhũ[1] adj. n. 'straight, honest, (Sk. siddham—Pa. Pk. siddha—). sīdhu[2] n. 'cooked provisions' (Sk.siddha—completed, Pa. Pk. siddha–cooked, cf. Sk. sidhyate > sijhvū to cook.). sīm f. 'end, boundary' (Sk. sīmā, Pa. Pk. sīmā). sīrmũ adj. n. 'corn produced without the aid of water (?), e. g. sīrmā ghau–wheat–, (cf. Sk. śira—m. n. plough, Pa. sīro, Pk. sīra—n. m. Ku. sīr 'land cultivated by the owner, the same word and the same meaning in H. and P. see, ND sir. The change of meaning in Gujrati cannot be accounted for, nor could we explain śi—> s—; etymology doubtful.

sīvvũ vb. 'to sew' (Sk. sivyati Pa. sibbati, Pk. sivvai). sīsũ n. 'lead—metal—'(Sk. śīsam n. Pa. sīsaṁ n. Pk. sīsa—, sīsaya—n.).

sej f. 'bed' (Sk. śayyā f. Pk. sejjā f. probably contam sk. śete). sevvũ vb. 'to serve' (Sk. sevate, Pk. sevai.)

śāṇo adj. m. 'clever, wise' (Sk.*sa—jñāna—replaced by *sa–jāṇa—after jānāti 'knows', Pk, sayāṇa—; Guj. śā—cannot be explained. sekvũ

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vb. 'to roast', pronounced as śe—also; Bhili hekaṇ-roast meat; etymology doubtful, see ND seknu, śrapayati > se-extended with-akka.

Etymologies of the following words are doubtful :

śeḍho m. 'furrow—in the field—,end' (cf. Sk. śeṣaḥ),

śerṛā m. pl. 'furrows in the field'

śerṛī f. 'sugar—cane.'

śerī f. 'street.'

śelī/selī f. 'string', see ND seli.

śelũ n. garment of women—sāṛī—with decoration on the border.'

śelo m. 'rope used for tying the feet of the cow while milching'.

Initially śv—> s— :

sasro m. 'wife or husband's father' (Sk. śvaśūraḥ m. Pa. Pk. sasura-m).

sās m. 'breath ' (Sk. śvāsaḥ m. Pa. sāso, Pk. sāsa—m.)

sāsrũ n. 'father-in-law's house' (Sk. śvāsuraḥ pertaining to father-in-law, Pk. sāsura—m.)

sāsu f. 'wife or husband's mother' (Sk. śvaśrūh. f, Pa. Pk. sassū f.)

Initially sv—> s— :

sūr m. 'voice, pitch' (Sk. svaraḥ, in Epic Sk. sura—, Pk. sura—suranta 'whizzing').

Sibilants in non—final positions.

—ś— > —s— :

ārso m. 'mirror' (Sk. ādarśaḥ Pa. ādāso m. Pk. āarisa—m.)-sī f.

phaso m. 'snare, noose' [< * spāśa—, cf. Sk. pāśaḥ).

—ṣ— > —s— :

orasio m. 'stone on which sandal and other condiments are crushed' (Sk. ghṛṣ—to grind, to rub; gharṣakaḥ; *ava— gharṣakaḥ, Deśī. 1.169. oharisa—; H. horsā.)

māso m. 'name of a particular measure of weight' (Sk. māṣa—m.)

pāṇo m. 'stone' (Sk. pāṣāṇaḥ m. Pk. pāhāṇa—m.)

—s— > —s— :

dī m. 'day' (Sk. divasaḥ m. Pk. diasa—, diaha—, Old Guj. dīha).

kapās m. 'cotton' (Sk. karpāsa),

hasvũ vb. 'to laugh' (Sk. hasati).

Note the elision of MIA – h – in Modern colloquial Gujrati. Intervocalic – h – of OIA converges with MIA – h – developing from sibilants and aspirated stops. This – h – is preserved in Old Gujrati, but the dominant tendency of the Modern Colloquial is to drop intervocal and final aspiration. In certain cases intervocalic – h – is attched to previous voiced stop and the two vowels previously separated coalesce. This interesting topic, being irrelevant here, is not discussed.

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Intervocalic —ś— followed by —i—,—e— or —y—:

kaḷaśiyo m. 'a metal water-pot, pitcher', dialectally pronounced as kaḷśyo. (Sk. kalaśaḥ m. * kalaśikaḥ, Pa. Pk. kalasaṁ n.) māgśar m. 'name of the second month of the Hindu calendar. (Sk. mārgaśiraḥ m. Pa. maggasiro m.)

sū interro. pro. 'what' (Sk. kīdṛśam > * kidṛśikam > * kidiśiaṁ > Old Guj. * kiśiuṁ > * śyũ > śũ; cf. Pk. kīisa—, Old Guj. kisiũ,—syaũ, Middle Gujrati syū.)

—ṣ— followed by —ī—,—e—,—er—y— :

jośī m. 'a surname among the brahmins, astrologer' (Sk. jyotiṣam n. astrology, jyotiṣikaḥ m. astrologer, Pk. joisia-m. astrologer). dośī m. 'a surname among the Jain Banias' (Sk. duṣya-silk-cloth, dauṣyika—cloth merchant, Pk. dosia—m,). bheś f. 'buffalo', bheso m. (Sk. mahiṣī f., mahiṣaḥ m., Pa. mahiso, mahīso, mahiṁso m., Pk. mahisa—m.—sī f.). mEs f. 'lamp-black' (E-indicates open—e—), (Sk. maṣī f. Pa. Pk. masi f.) rusṇũ n. 'anger'- levũ to become angry, (Sk. ruṣyati, Pk. rusai, -u- in Modern Guj. presupposes MIA *russai). Note —ṣy— > —s— treatment, which is an exception. rīs f. 'anger' (Sk. riṣ f. injury, riṣyate,), note the Guj. verb rīsāvũ 'to be angry'. Note the exceptional treatment —ṣy— > —s—. —iś— < iṣy—in the future tense in Gujrati; thus Kariṣyati, Pk. karissadi, karissai, Old Guj. karisii, Modern Guj. karśe; all the three persons retain -ś- in modern Gujrati. dīse vb. 3rd pers. sg. present tense. 'it appears' (Sk. drṣyate, Pk. dīsai). Note the -ṣy- > -s- treatment, which is exceptional. This word is archaic, only used in poetry, usually dekhvũ is used. dekhvũ > drkṣyati, contam. prekṣate).

—s— followed by —i,—e—,—y—:

āḷas f. 'idleness' (Sk. ālasyam n. Pa. Pk. ālassaṁ n.). kāsũ n. 'bronze (Sk. kāṁsya-, Pa. kaṁso m., Pk. kaṁsa-,kāsa-n.). vāsī adj. 'stale, musty' esp. food. (Sk. vāsita-caused to stop or stay, esp. overnight. Pa. vāsiko dwelling, Pk. vāsiya-food etc. kept overnight.).

—śv— > —s—:

pāse adv. 'near' (Sk. pārśvaḥ Pa. passo, passaṁ Pk. pass—, Old Guj. pāsa-i. Note Guj. āspās 'near about' where ās-is an echo-word, also pāsū n. 'side', pāsḷī 'rib'. māśī f. 'mother's sister '-so m. her husband. Pronounced as māśī also. (<* mātṛśvasṛkā-, Sk. mātṛśvasā f. Pa. mātuchhā f. Pk. māussī, māussiā, māucchā, māuccā f.).

-sv- > -s-:

gosāi m. Name of a particular caste of Brahmin purohits (Sk. gosvāmī, used as a term of abuse in Pk. gosāviā-putta-. Loanword in Guj. with -m- >-~v->—~~—.).

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When sibilants are in combination with the nasals, three treatments are noticed in MIA. Gujrati has inherited words resulting from these different treatments.

(i) Nasal is assimilated: śm– > –ś–: rāś 'rope' (Sk. raśmiḥ, >* raśśi–; cf. Pa. raṁsi, rasmi, Pk. rassi–m. f.), pāṛośī 'neighbour' (Sk. prātiveśmikaḥ, Pk. paḍivesiya–,–vesia–,; cf. Sk. prativeśī m. prativeśaḥ n.)

In Gujrati, these words may have been conserved, through–śś–>–ś–. –sm–>–s–: vīsarvũ 'to forget' (Sk. vismarati)

(ii) Sibilant becomes an aspirate, and that aspirate is lost.

Initially: masāṇ 'cemetry' (Sk. smaśāna–Pk. masāṇ–), neh 'Love' (Sk. sneha–Pk. neha–), nāvũ 'to bathe' (Sk. snāti, Pa. nhāyati. Pk. ṇhāi),

Medially: The aspirate continued for a longer time, but is lost in modern Gujrati: ūnũ 'warm' (Sk. uṣṇa–, Pk. uṇha–) ame 'we' (Sk. asma–Pk. amha–).

(iii) –ṣm–>–pph–: This is attested in Aśokan. Guj. hūph (Sk. uṣmā–), 'heat'.

The first treatment indicates the conservation of the sibilant–ś–, through the process–śmi–*–śśi–>–ś–.

In Old Gujrati Literature, we find the late MIA tradition is preserved; thus, except in Sanskritic loanwords, in Old Guj. ś ṣ s > s. Specimen of 'secondary ś 'are written only after sixteenth century. Thus, in fourteenth century mss. we get the fut. 3rd pers. sg. of kar as karisii, while mss. written after sixteenth century would read kariś. It is interesting to note that words with original sī, si, se, have no 'secondary ś–' in the Old Gujrati mss. Apabhraṁśa tradition in Gujrati orthography is not at all rare to find, and we can safely believe that graphi s may have been many a time a substitute for spoken ś.

There are considerable regional variations in the distribution of the pronounciation of the sibilants.

First of all it should be made clear that in absence of any careful dialect work in Gujrati, it is not possible to say definitely whether particular dialect has two phonemes ś and s, or only one of them.

In many dialects s> h in non–initial positions, in others, in all positions. Many times, both s and ś > h. Whatever is said about these dialects is generally impressionistic, and hence not reliable. Unless careful dialect studies are pursued, we cannot give any definite opinion.

Generally, Northern Saurāṣṭra dialects – i.e. dialect of Hālār has only one sibilant phoneme <s>. In the southern Saurāṣṭra, probably both exist, but the palatal sibilant <ś> is more predominant and many instances of palatalization i. e. —of secondary ś – , may also be noted. In the dialects

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of North Gujrat, usually ś (also c, ch,) >s, and s>h, almost in all positions; at the same time, we may also find ś and s>h; but, I think careful dialect work in this dialect, as also in others, might act as a corrective to the above hypothesis, especially, if we notice a dialect where ś > s, and ś >h. In Bhili, all sibilants develop to h, in some Bhili dialects i. e. Central Bhili, Ahiri Bhili of Cutch, Bāori of Panjab, this h is pronounced as x: This phenomena is noted in other IA languages also.

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23. Some interesting features of the junctional prosodies relating to the nasals in Bhojpuri

By Dr. Bishwa Nath Prasad

The nasalized forms are here called anunāsika (accompanied by nasality) as distinguished from the anusvāra (nasal after-sound) which includes consonantal nasals. The anusvāra or the nasal after-sound is equivalent to a vowel plus one of the nasal alternances, ञ . न . ण . न् . न and म् necessitating a definite closure in the oral cavity. The anusvāra nasalizes the immediately preceding vowel. This nasalized vowel combined with the nasality accompanying the oral closure for the nasal after-sound makes the nasal component of the anusvāra much greater in extent than that of a nasalized vowel (anunāsika).

The prosody of mātrika equipollence is applicalbe in relation to the anusvāra and anunāsika in a similar way as between a long and short vowel. We are citing below some examples* to show how the auusvāra precedeó by a short vowel in one from is realized as an anunāsika preceded by a long vowel in the other. In fromulic terms it may be expressed as V s+⊙=V l+n where V stands for vowel, S stands for the prosody of shortness, I stands for the prosody of length, ⊙ stands for the anusvāra and n for the anunāsika. Note that both the forms are equippolent in mātrās.

Short vowel+anusvāra=long vowel+anunāsika *Ku⊙ji: (Kuɔ, ji:)= Ku: ji: (Ku: ji:)* 'Key'=4 mātrās *Chuchu⊙dar (Chuchundaɾ)=Chuchu: dar (chuchu: daɾ)* 'muskrat'=5 mātrās

Ka⊙dha: (Kudha:)=Kã:dha: Kã:dha:) 'shoulder'=4 mātrās

La◯ba: (laɱba:)=lã:ba: (lã:ba:) 'long'=4 mātrās

Kha◯bha: (Khaɱbha:)=Khã:bha:(Khã: bha:) 'pillar'=4 mātrās

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* Two level of votation have been employed in citing the examples here:-
(1) phonetic transcription, underlined in red representing the general phonetic categories and sound types resulting from the phonematic analysis. The symbols are inconformity with the phonetic alphabet of the IPA in what is sometimes termed as its broad form, except for y equivalent to IPA J and J equivalent to IPA J;
(2) the phonological transcription, underlined in blue, representing the phonological level of analysis.

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One of the most interesting features about these forms is that the instances in both these sets having anusvāra anunāsika before the dental or bi-labial plosives are capable of alternative ways of realization. In the case of the forms with anusvāra, the alternative way, of realization consistis in continuing both the voicing and the lowering of the soft palate till the oral release, so that the plosive components of the obstruants in these cases become ineffective and the time taken by them is occupied by the nasal components which are prolonged. This gives rise to the prosody of gemination of the nasal components *nn, nnh, mm, mmh.*

In the case of the phonetic forms with the anunāsika, the alternative way is to keep the valum lowered towards the base of the tongue for the escape of the air entering the nasal foss through the opening of the nose passage till the release of the oral closure. The plosive components thus cease to be effective and they are realized as the nasals *m, mh, n* and *nh.* Thus we get the following forms:–

I	II
Forms with anusvāra	*Forms with gemination*
Chuchundʌr (chuchu⊙dar)	*Chuchunnʌr (chuchunnar)*
Kandha: (Ka⊙dha:)	*Kʌnnha: (Kannha:)*
lʌmba: (la⊙by:)	*lʌmma: (lamma:)*
Khʌmbha: (Kha⊙bha:)	*Khʌmmha: (Khammha:)*
III	IV
Forms with anunāsika	*Forms with single nasals*
Chuchu:dʌr (Chuchu:dar)	*Chuchu:nʌr (Chuchu:nar)*
Kã: dha: (Kã: dha:)	*Kā: nha: (Ka: nha:)*
lã: ba: (lã: ba:)	*la: ma: (la: ma:)*
Khã: bha: (Khã: bha:)	*Kha: mha: (Kha: mha:)*

All these phonetic forms are used by the same speaker though he may have preference for one form rather than another. The forms under column IV are preferred in the rustic style of speech.

The relationship between these forms may be expressed in formulic terms as follows :–

I	II	III	IV
$V^{s}+\odot C_{d/b}$	$V^{s}+{:}C_{\ n/m}$	$V^{l}+C_{d/b}$	$V^{l}\ C_{n/m}$

Here V stands for vowel, C for consonant, ⊙ for anusvāra, N for anunāsika', : before C for the prosody of gemination, d/b for the dental and the bilabial plosives and n/m for the two nasals. Between I and III, the relationship may be expressed as follows :–

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$VP^{s}+\odot=VP^{l}+^{N}$ (V and C d/b being common to both the sets.)

Here P stands for prosody.

In other words the prosody of shortness+anusvāra in I is equal to the prosody of length+anunāsika in III.

Similarly the relationship between II and IV may be expressed as:-

$VP^{s}+:=VP^{l}$ V and C n/m being common to both the sets.

In these words, the prosody of shortness+the prosody of gemination in II is equal to the prosody of length in the vowel in IV.

The relationship between the froms in columns III and IV shows the interesting phenomenon of the representation of the syllabic feature (nasalization) in one by the nasal consonant in another. The prosodic unit in the one is realized as the phonematic unit in the other. Similarly regarding the relationship between the forms under columns I and II, we find that *n* being the dental articulation of ⊙ and *m* being the bi-labial articulation of ⊙ and thus carrying the prosodic marks of junction of nasal+dental and nosal+bilabial stops respectively in column I, are represented by the prosody of gemination of a nasalized dental stop *nn* and a nasalized bilabial stop *mm* in column II. The phonematic units are the dentals and bi-labials and the prosodics are gemination and nasalization. It may be noted that the mātrās in all these alternative forms are equipollent.

An instance of the regressive effect of nasality in junction may be seen in the Kymogram of *dub mara⁰:* 'drown yourself and die', in which the plosive immediately after the closure is followed by the nasal component in the sequence produced by the immediate lowering of the velum, so that the phonetic realization is *duᵇ mʌrɔ:* or *dummʌrɔ:* but the ᵇm or *mm* in this case of the junction sequence is 10 c/s, while the geminated *mm* in *lʌmma:* is 16 c/s. This difference is due to the greater intensity in the articulation of the *mm* of *lʌmma:*

There are several cases of compound formations in which the final phonematic *n* of the first member of the compound is replaced by the prosody of nasalization in the compound form, e.g. *jami: n+da:ri:=jamida:ri:* 'zamindari.' *ti:+talla:=titalla:* 'Three storied'.

The relationship between these two sets may be expressed in formulic forms as follows:-

$VP^{l}\ Cn=VP\ s+^{N}$

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the popular belief; but, in reality, these do not exist. किमर्थम्। प्रतिबिम्बनार्थम्। किं पुनरत्र प्रतिबिम्ब्यते। पृथिव्याद्यानि तत्त्वानि लोके प्रसिद्धानि। तान्यपि विचार्यमाणानि न व्यवतिष्ठन्ते। किं पुनरन्यानि।

That this work and this school of Cārvāka was not quite unknown to old writers, has been shown by us in our introduction to this work. The work has been referred to by several Jain Tārkikas such as Mallisena, Abhayadevasūri, Śāntisūri, Akalaṁkadeva, Ananatavīrya, Vidyānandin etc. The work seems to have been in vogue in Gujarat in the 11th Cent. A.D. In fact, the plam-leaf manuscript of the work was copied at Dholakā in V.S. 1349. i.e. 1292 A.D.

There is reason to believe that the work was known to Śri Harṣa, the author of Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya. While referring to those thinkers who do not accept the validity of any Pramāṇa, he refers to Cārvākas along with Mādhyamikas and Śankaracārya (KKK pp. 25-27, CSS). Śri Harṣa knew very well that the generally known Cārvākas accepted at least, the Pratyakṣa and so in the above statement he must not be referring to them. In fact, his commentator Śankara gives as an alternative explanation-'चार्वाकैकदेशो वा चार्वाकः'।

The method of discussion which Jayarāśi has used in critical method in the Kantian sense of the word because he starts by examining the capacity of the very means of valid knowledge. For this purpose, he examines the different theories of the Pramāṇas held by the different darśanas. He discusses the views regarding the Pratyakṣa-lakṣaṇa of Naiyāyikas and attempts to prove that it cannot stand.

Then he discusses Mīmāṁsaka and Buddhist views of Pramāṇa as such and follows it up with the criticism of their respective प्रत्यक्षलक्षण. Then comes the turn of the Sāṁkhya view of प्रत्यक्ष. Then again the Naiyāyikas have to withstand his attack on their theory of अनुमान. While discussing अनुमान, Jayarāśi finds it convenient to examine the various theories about आत्मन् or soul. In this connection he deals with the Naiyāyika Jain Mīmāṁsaka, Sāṁkhya and Vedānta theories of soul. Having finished this part of his argument he again turns to the theory of अनुमान, this time of the Buddhas including their स्वभावानुमान. Then the six types of अर्थापत्ति of Mīmāṁsakas are considered. Upamāna of the Naiyāyikas and Abhāva of the Mīmāṁsakas are briefly dealt with and a reference to Aitihya and Sambhava is also made by saying that they come under शब्द and अनुमान respectively.

The last section is directed to the examination of शब्दप्रामाण्य and in that connection the theory of the grammarians especially that of Bhartṛhari is also examined. After this detailed criticism, Jayarāśi comes to the conclusion: तदेवमुपप्लुतेष्वेव तत्त्वेषु अविचारितरमणीयाः सर्वे व्यवहारा घटन्ते।

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Thus the conclusion of this work results in a thorough-going scepticism. Gautama, the author of the Nyāya-sūtra says.....

'स प्रतिपदा स्थापनाहीनो वितण्डा।'

Some might put this work under the catagory of vitandā. But it is really not so. A careful reading of the text leaves the impression that Jayarāśi is a serious thinker who, after examining the human instruments of knowledge, shows their incapacity to know the truth.

This trait of thought is not new to Indian thinking. We have its earliest traces in such hymns as the Nāsadīya Sūkta (RU X). In fact, the Upaniṣads already try to show that the ultimate truth could not be grasped by Tarka. The sūtra of Bādarāyaṇa 'तर्काप्रतिष्ठानात्' is well-known. In a sense, the anirvacanīyatā of Brahman is nothing else but a confession of the inability of human reason to understand the ultimate truth. The real difference, however, between these schools of thought and Jayarāśi lies in this that the former accept a supra-normal and a supra-rational means of knowledge while the latter has no inclination to assume any such thing. In fact the followers of the Cārvāka schools were critical thikers, some of whom accepted the validity of Pratyakṣa and the existence of the four elements while the others rejected even these theories.

In a problem-history of Indian philosophy, this topic of the possibility of knowledge would provide an interesting chapter. Whenever that becomes possible, one may say that Jayarāśi has really added a new chapter to the understanding of Indian philosophy.

My object in presenting this short paper, is to draw the attention of the students of Indian philosophy to this important work which, unfortunately, appears to have escaped notice of scholars.

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26. The Concept of time according to Bhartṛhari

By Dr. J. M. Shukla, M.A., Ph. D.

The concept of time has been a subject of much discussion and diverse definitions with the ancient world. Among these accounts those of the Greek thinkers, especially of Aristotle and Plato are noteworthy because of their penetrating argument and clarity of exposition. According to Plato, God thought of making a moving image of eternity and in the very act of ordering the Universe. He made an image of eternity abiding in unity. The eternal image proceeded according to number. This image the Greeks called Time. When the Universe was fashioned days, months and years,non-existent previously came into being. These are parts and divisions of time. The notions of 'was' and 'will be' are creations of time. Time has come into being, is and will be continuously so throughout all time.[1] This account shows that the Universe and time are inseparable. It also shows that the coming into being of time was simultaneous with the coming of the Universe. Aristotle while criticising Plato's doctrine of Time, has admitted Time as the numeral aspect of motion, i.e., as the measure of motion.

In the Atharaveda[2] we meet with an eulogy on Time. Time is compared with a horse, driving forth, with seven reins and possessing all. He brings together and encompasses all beings which are his wheels. His brilliance is the highest. Time has generated the sky, the earth, the what is to be and what stands along. By time the Sun rises. In time he goes to rest again. This Sūkta has probably suggested the elaborate discussion on Time by Bhartṛhari.

Neither in Yāska nor in Pāṇini nor in Kātyāyana do we meet with a discussion on the philosophic nature of Time. The purely grammatical samjnās accepted by Pāṇini as regards Kāla are the three primary terms, viz., present, past and future, to which he has given names like Laṭ, Liṭ, Luṭ, and so on. The earlier names for the above terms were Kurvat, Kṛtam and Kariṣyat for present, past and future respectively.[3] The Kauśitaki Brāhmaṇa substitutes Chakravat for Kṛtam. The Śāṁkhāyana Āraṇyaka changed the

1. Four views on Time in ancient philosophy, Cambridge.
2. XIX. 53. 54.
3. Aḷta. Brāhm. xx. I. 3; xxi. I.

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names to Bhavat, Bhūtam and Bhaviṣyat.[1] Vyāḍi used the term Huṣas for the Lakāras.[2]

In five Vārtikas Kātyāyana introduced the discussion on the Present Tense.[3] The Present Tense is taught to indicate the continuity or the non-finish of an action already begun. But as the objector says, that is not so as there is no such thing as the present time. Patañjali explains the next Vārtika. Our position will not be strengthened even if we restrict the use of Present Tense to those cases of permanent action which are understood by such examples as 'Mountains exist' because Time will not admit of divisions. The objector says that the example mountains exist is not quite a proper illustration of our point for the mountains and the flow of the river existed from eternity and there is no particular action by which we might denote the Present time. Again the objector continues, the present tense is that which is of opposite nature to the past and the future tenses. The past and the future tenses do not exist. Thus the present tense is a relative term. It therefore does not exist.

Again there is no such thing as Present Time because the action that is finished is past and that not yet finished is future. But we cannot have an idea of anything that is neither finished nor unfinished. At the same time there is no intermediary stage. In explaining these objections Patañjali quotes a number of verses which bear a close resemblance to Mādhyamika doctrines. In fine, the objector says that the objects remain for one moment only and then die away. This moment cannot therefore be conceived of as giving rise to the notions of past, Present and Future.[4] It may be remembered here that a similar discussion is elaborated by Chandrakīrti[5]. It is therefore evident that both Patañjali and Chandrakirti quote from an earlier source.

Patañjali answers the objections as follows: The instances viz., ' the mountains exist' and 'the rivers flow' do really indicate present time, as they signify the beginning of action which is not completed. When the action has just begun but not completed by someone, we speak of the present. Again an action consists of many parts or in other words action is an ag-

1. XXii. 3.
2. Kāśikā on Pā. II. iv. 21 and vi. 2. 14 says:
'Vyāḍyupajñam huṣkaraṇam'. However on Pā. iv. I. 3. it says 'Āpiśalam huṣkaraṇam. This suggests that Vyāḍi followed the older terminology in some places.
3. Kātyāyana on 'Vartamāne laṭ' Pā. III. ii. 123.
4. cp. Bhāṣya on Pā. III. ii. 123 and Kaiyaṭa thereunder.
5. cp. Prasannapadā on Madhyamakavṛtti. P. 383–385. Śāntarakṣita (T. S. Vol.I.502–504) and Vasubandhu (Abhidharmakośa V.124) voice similar views.

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gregate of smaller movements. A man while eating is sometimes found to perform some other actions such as smiling, speaking, drinking and so on. In the instance 'Devadatta goes to town', his travel is not purposeless and therefore the action of going with the result of reaching the place is there. Thus the notion 'he goes' does exist and is not contradicted by any other one. In the absence of the Present, the Past and the Future will not exist. Thus when one uses the phrase he 'travels' it shows an action which is an aggregate of many movements of activity.

Discussing the nature of Time, Patañjali says that through Kāla the growth and decay of material objects is perceived. It is divided into days, nights, months, years, cycles of years and so on. But this is an artificlal process of calculation. It is by virtue of the conjunction of Time with some action as the movement of the Sun that we understand the divisions of Time viz., hours, days and so on.

Bhartṛhari begins his exposition of Time by describing it in the Vaiśeṣika manner as a substance which is one, eternal and all pervading. It is instrumental in bringing about the birth, existence and decay of objects which are capable of this phenomenal existence.[2] It is because of this divergence of conditions (upādhis) that Time although one is cognised as different. Time is the mechanic of this world machine. As a doll dances, raises hands, legs and other parts of its body because it is tied down to a string and as the movements of actors on the stage are directed by the stage director, all the actions are controlled by Time.[3] The disappearance (Sthagana or Pratibandha) and appearance (Unmajjana or abhyanujña) of bhāvas, in other words their development, existence and decay are brought about by Time which offers to them order, division and simultaneity. In the absence of the limiting or generating capacity of time there will be a great confusion in the stages of production and decay. There will be no determining factor in the orderly growth of a seed into a shoot, leaves and fruits. In short time is the instrumental cause of this existing reality.[4]

Bhartṛhari enters into the details of his exposition. The objects when conceived as either without phenomenal existence or without the limiting adjuncts are indivisible. Whenever they are inherred with the idea of number and colour, we speak of them as having singular number or having different colours such as white or yellow and so on. In the same way objects come into relation with time in the states of growth, existence and destruction.

1. Patañjali on Pā. II. ii. 5
2. Vākyapadīya III. 9. i.
3. Ibid III. 9. 4.
4. Ibid III. 9. 5.

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The movements of Sun, Moon and other planets which are conditioning elements of time, are responsible for the divisions of time. In this way we speak of days, nights, weeks, months, years and ages. Time is at the root of each activity of growth (Anugraha), limitation (Pratibandha) and destruction (Vinaśyattā) for, time is the Universal Activity. In other words time brings about the difference of the stages of growth, existence and destruction in objects and finally makes us realise that difference in them. The word Kāla is derived as that which regulates the activities of objects by the notions of Present, Past and Future. The same point is explained by Bhartṛhari by taking an example of a water-wheel. With the circular movements of the wheel the pots are filled. Those that are filled get emptied and those that are emptied are again filled up. In the same way time revolves in the shape of seasons like spring and so on. Thus Kāla is responsible for the diverse movements of the Universe which are as it were regulated by Time.

Bhartṛhari now proceeds to explain the creation of the Universe for which Kāla is responsible. When the destruction of the Universe ends, the atoms being impelled by destiny (Adṛṣṭa), vibrate. The potent activity which lay dormant becomes manifest and action is produced. With the manifestation of this action which is eternal and all embracing there arise the resultant effects which are controlled by the limiting conditions of time. The conditions are the powers of time. (Kālaśaktayaṣ). At this stage Inherence (Samavāya) which is taken by Bhartṛhari as a great power, acts to dismiss the difference between the causes and the effect and therefore the effect appears as a single unit. As the reflections of trees lie submerged in clear water, the limiting conditions concentrate in the resultant effect which now inheres qualities like, taste, smell, odour, touch and so on.[1]

It is now established that the causes being conceived as eternal, they generate the effects which are also eternal and abiding. This consitutes the next stage in creation which is called existence. This is dependent upon the causes that gave rise to it. In this state of existence also the conditioning factors (upadhis) of time act.

When the objects are thus functioning in their state of existence, there arise in them another power of Time which is termed by Bhartṛhari as deacy (Jarākhyā Kālaśakti). It acts as a corroding agency and therefore the objects both animate and inanimate are invested with the qualities of decay like weakness in intelligence (prajñāmāndya) wearing away (soṣa)

1. cp. Helārāja on Vākyapadīya III. 9. 20.
Iha adṛṣṭavaśāt Paramāṇuṣu Kriyotpannā pūrvadeśasaṁyoga–vināśapūrvakam parasparopa – śleṣeṇa dvyaṇukādiprakrameṇa bhogasādhanān padarthāṁutpādayatīti piṇḍitārthaḥ.

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and so on. The conditioning powers which accompanied the objects in their state of creation and persistence now disappear and the result is final decay.

Time therefore which permeates world activity is responsible for the creation, persistence and destruction of the objects in the Universe.[1]

Bhartṛhari now proceeds to establish that time is at the root of all conceptions of late and early. Action is an aggregate of widely spread moments of activity. It is therefore on account of Time that we say 'one thing is quickly done', 'one thing is done at leisure'. As metals are being measured with respect to their weight either in hands or through scales, the divisions of time viz., 'nimeṣa', 'kṣana', 'lava', Muhūrta' and so on are dependent upon time which acts in company of its conditioning powers to bring about the above notions of difference. The ideas of order and simultaneity with respect to time which is one and eternal are due to its two attributes viz., veiling (pratibhadha) and projectivity (abhyanujña). Let us emphasise this point by a popular instance. A person on account of his accepting different professions in his life time will be named as a carpenter, a goldsmith, a blacksmith and so on. Similarly time also being accompanied by different measures or limiting conditions gets the names of autumn, spring and so on.

Let us understand this view from a different stand-point. An object, before it is created has no attributes. After its creation it is cognised as a thing in itself. (Svalakṣaṇa). The existence of the object will be termed as beginning (Āraṃbha Kāla). When it is accompanied by the auxiliary conditions which bring about activity in it, it is said to be in active existence (Kriyākāla) and when it has completed its activity, it is styled as in the state of completion. These ideas of difference are superimposed upon Time which, as Bhartṛhari is never tired of emphasising, is eternal.

Let us now with Bhartṛhari enter into details regarding the divisions of time. Time is divided into the Past, the Present and the Future. When an action has ceased to function, we term the duration as Past; when it is in the state of continuity, we name it as Present and when the action has not yet begun we style it as Future. The past is again subdivided into (1) the ordinary Past which suggests actions already gone before, (2) the immediate past, (3) the remote past, (4) that which is neither immediate nor remote but which is between the two and (5) that which could be conveniently termed as future never the less is styled as past merely because it has gone before it. The future is of four kinds, viz., the simple future, the immediate future, the remote future and that which is neither the remote nor the immediate future but something between the two. The

1. cp. Helārāja on Vākyapadīya III. 9. 26.

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present is similarly subdivided into the simple present and the present which is nearer the past.[1]

Of the three notions of time the present unfolds and manifests objects while the past veils and destroys them. These three paths of Present, Past and Future although acting as conditioning powers of time and non-different among themselves, bring about the notions of order and difference by their actions of veiling and unfolding among objects. The two powers viz., atītatva and anāgatatva possess the property of 'tamas' because they conceal objects while 'vartamānatva' is of the nature of sattvaguṇa and therefore illumines the objects. Kāla itself is said to possess the property of rajas in view of the fact that it acts persistently with the two fold power. viz., veiling and unfolding.[2]

Like the above three notions of Past, Present and Future, the months days, the rising and the setting of the Sun, the Moon, the Planets and of the asterisms, are also divisions of time[3]. Just as the flow of a river heaps up leaves and uprooted trees of one place and scatters such other heaps into leaves and so on, similarly Time which is of the nature of never ceasing activity changes the states of objects. Just as the vital breath residing into thei nner recesses of the limits of the body, gives rise to going, running, standing and other acts of motion, similarly time gives order and simultaneity by veiling and unfolding of the objects.[4]

When we say 'the night has dawned', (Vyuṣṭā rajanī) or 'the autumn has passed', it is with respect to time that we cognise such notions. When we say the spring is over, we should not think of the cessation of time. It is the change of the state of an action because time is eternal.[5]

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1. Kriyopādhisch san bhūtabhaviṣyadvartamānatā I Ekādaśabhirākārair vibhaktā pratipadyate II Vākyapadīya III. 9. 37
2. Cp. Vākyapadīya III. 9. 53 and Helārāja thereunder.
3. Ādityagrahanakṣatra parispandamathāpare I. Bhinnamāvṛttibhedena Kālam Kālavido viduḥ II. Ibid III, 9. 76
4. Aviśyaivānusandhatte Yathāgatimatām gatiḥ I Vāyustathaiva Kālātmā Vidhatte Krāmarūpatām II Vākyapadīya III. 9. 42
5. Kriyā Vyuparamādeva Vasantādikālaḥ-Params vyavahriyate param I Na tu vastutaḥ kāloapaiti nityatvāt.
   Helārāja on Vākyapadīya III. 9. 74

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27. Some Lost Nyaya Works and Authors

By Shri Anantlal Thakur

The extant Nyāya Works form only a fraction of a rich literature. Some important works have, no doubt, come down to us but a greater number has been lost. We find mention of such works and authors here and there sometimes their views have been quoted and endorsed and sometimes they have been subjected to sharp criticism. Such quotations and references are highly important to a student of Indian Logic as they are the only remains of eminent authors who carried forward the tenets of the Śāstra and enriched it in many respects. They show that the views now attributed to some known philosopher sometimes date back to some other era. They help us to settle the problem of the continuity of the literature by filling up big gaps after the Bhāṣyakāra down to the fall of the Buddhist Logic.

Jayanta Bhatta believes that the Nyāya Śāstra[1] existed even before Akṣapāda who only elaborated and systematised the current views in his sūtras.[1] Alternative views referred to in the Nyāyabhāṣya show that the sūtras were differently expounded before Vātsyāyana. He refers to the *ānanda*-mokṣavādins (those who believed in the experience of pleasure in the state of salavation),[2] who survived up to the days of Mādhavācārya.[3] Bhāsarvajña of Kasmir subscribed to this view.[4] There were others who accepted ten membered syllogisms.[5] Latter scholars were as active as ever especially in refuting their opponents. Amongst them the excellence of the Nyāyavārtika, the Tātparyaṭīkā and the pariśuddhi eclipsed many important works.

A faint idea about their contribution can be made by a thorough examination of all the available reference to and quotation from these works. But there is a difficulty too. The opponents may generally quote and criticise only the weak points the contents remaining hardly clear. The criticisms are not always directed in a scientific spirit. Yet for want of better and perfect materials we cannot but attach great importance to these fragmentary quotations

1. Nyāyamanjari p. 5.
2. N. Bh. 1. i. 22
3. Sanksepa Sankarajaya XII. 68–69.
4. Nyāyasara (p. 40).
5. N. S. T. i. 32.

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mostly found in Jain and Buddhist works. Mm. Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj,[1] Dr. S. K. Mookerjee,[2] Dr. B. Bhattacharya,[3] and Dr. V. Raghavan[4] have drawn the attention of scholars to some such Naiyāyikas. More materials are now available in manuscripts as well as in print.

We propose to collect and arrange the views of some important authors found scattered in known sources.

Aviddhakarṇa was a Naiyāyika of great repute. He has been quoted by Śāntarakṣita, Abhayadeva and Karṇagomin. Śāntarakṣita attributes one Bhāṣyaṭikā[5] to him according to Kamadlaśīla he wrote one Tattvatīkā.[6] Both the works may be identical. The Bhāṣyaṭikā no doubt, was a commentary on the Nyāyabhāsya of Vātsyāyana. That Aviddhakarṇa has anonymously been quoted by Dharmakīrti in the Vādanyāya is supported by Śāntarakṣita.[7] It is to be noted that he finds no mention in the works of Jñānaśrimitra and Ratnakīrti which proves that his work or works were out of use in their days.

Aviddhakarṇa is said to define the congnitive instrument as *anadhigatārthaparicchittiḥ pramāṇam* which is not the accepted Nyāya view. According to the definition, Aviddhakarṇa says, inference cannot be a pramāṇa.[8] Inspite of this our author asserts, inference is accepted as such on the strength of human experience (lokapratīti).[9]

Aviddhakarṇa holds identical views with Adhyayana and Uddyotakara,[10] with regard to the refutation of the doctrine of momentariness. According to him invariable concomitance can be established when two phenomena occur in close succession. The perceiver then must perssit at least for the consecutive moments which the Buddhist do not admit.[11]

The Tattvasaṁgraha and the Pañjikā on it, quote Aviddhakarṇa's argument in favour of the existence of God,[12] which have a distant echo

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1. History and Bibliography of N. V. lit.
2. The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal flux
3. Intro. Tattvasamgraha
4. Works and Authors Cited in Syad. Ratna–JKHRS.
5. Vādanyāyaṭika p. 78.
6. T S P—p. 426, 432
7. Vadanyaya p. 78.
8. P. V. Kaṃagomitikā p. 25
9. Ibid. p. 19
10. Ibid p. 90.
11. Ibid. p. 98.
12. T S & TSP–Kā 47–8

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in Udayana's Nyāyakusumañjali. Prabhācandra in the Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa quotes the same arguments of Aviddhakarṇa.[1]

Again he argues, destruction is neither contemporaneous with nor antecedent to, an entity, but a subsequent event occurring in the next moment, as the Buddhist too would have it. And so being an event occurring at a determinate point of time it must have a cause and cannot be spontaneous.[2]

As regards permanence and ubiquity of the self, Aviddhakarṇa puts forward the following arguments:—

"All the different cognitions beginning with the first cognition of the new-born baby must be held to be cognised by a common subject, because they are regarded as cognition of a particular subject. This shows that the subject must be a permanent unitary principle, cognising as it does the different cognitions at various periods of time.

All objects existing far and near must be connected with my "self" because they are corporeal. This shows that the self must be ubiquitous.[3]

Aviddhakarṇa accepts number as a separate entity which the Buddhists deny.[4] According to him paramāṇus are eternal.[5]

In the syllogistic argument *nigamana* or conclusion is as much necessary as the other proposition for a single idea cannot be expressed by diverse isolated assertions. The conclusion establishes a connection among them.[6]

Again according to our author inference is not a cognitive instrument to the speaker.[7] He supports *upamāna* as a means of valid knowledge and shows the relative importance of Upamāna and āgama.[8] He refutes the Buddhist view that the cognitive instruments are only two in number.

Śāntarakṣita quotes some views of this author in his Vādanyāyavipañcitārthā also where Aviddhakarṇa is a said to hold that the substance is apprehended as apart from its qualities. In fact even when the colour and other qualities are not perceived the substance is perceived. For instance in a shady place colour etc. are not clearly perceived yet the object, a

1. Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa (NSP), p. 269-70.
2. Buddhist Doctrine of flux, p. 3.
3. Ibid. p. 144.
4. TSP, Kā 679
5. Ibid. Kā 553.
6. Ibid, Kā 1441
7. ", Kā 1435
8. TS, tha 1568-9

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cow or a horse is perceived all the same. It should not be argued that in such a case position alone is perceived. True it is that something is perceived apart from the colour. Again when a man is armoured from head to foot his colour etc. are not mainfest, but that does not obstruct the perception of the man. Similarly the colour of the row of cranes may not be perceived but we perceive the birds. When rock crystal is placed near something else, it is perceived as such though its colour is not. In the case of a piece of cloth coloured with saffron the same argument holds good. The cognition of the cloth is there though the colour is suppressed.[1]

Bhāvivikta and Uddyotakara hold idnentical opinion with regard to this problem.[2]

That Dharmakīrti refutes Aviddhakarṇa's definition of pratijñāntara– a point of defeat, is asserted by Śāntarakṣita.[3]

The latter again refers to this author while refuting 'nyūna' another point of defeat.[4]

Abhayadeva Surin in his Tattvabodhavidhāyinī quotes Aviddhakarṇa's arguments in favour of God,[5] in refutation of momentariness[6] and in support of the permanence of paramāṇus[7] & as well as number.[8] Adhyayana was another Nyāya–scholar of equal antiquity. He has been quoted and criticised in the above mentioned Sanmatitarkaṭīka of Abhayadeva and the Pramāṇavārtikatīkā of Karṇagomin.

That Adhyayana holds identical opinion with Aviddhakarṇa and Uddyotakara regarding the doctrine of momentrainess has been mentioned above.[9] Again he is one with Uddyotakara with regard to the explanation of *Sādhakatamatva* (cf. Nyāyavārtika p. 18) which occurs in the definition of Pramāṇa.[10]

Two Svalakṣaṇa objects may be causally related but that does not ensure a similar relatian between two Sāmānyalakṣaṇa objects also.[11]

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1. Vādanyāyaṭīka–p–35
2. TSP, Kā 557–8
3. Vādanyāya, p. 78.
4. Ibid. p. 109.
5. p. 41 cf. No. 17.
6. p. 332.
7. p. 658.
8. p. 674.
9. No. 15.
10. Sanmatitikā p. 471.
11. P. V. Tikā. p. 98.

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Again Adhyayana holds that impurity is inherent in dog-meat other objects become impure in connection with it. Similarly particularity itself is the cause of Vyāvṛttabuddhi-distinctive knowledge and the paramāṇus become distinct from one another in relation to it.[1]

Bhāvivikta is said to be another commentartor on the Nyāyabhāṣya.[2] He has been quoted and criticised by Śāntarakṣita in the Tattvasaṁgraha and the Vādanyāyavipañcitārthā as well as by Kamalaśila in the Tattvasamgrahapañjikā.

According to Bhāvivikta the 'I-consciousness' is self cognisable and hence the soul is proved by perception.[3] This is an echo of V. S. III ii 14, supported by Uddyotakara also (cf. N. Var. III. i. 1).

Against the theory of Universal flux Bhāvivikta holds that the subsequent cognition of the sun and other things must appertain to the same sun and other things that exist at the time of the cognition that appears in connection with the sun and the moon etc. because while it is not a cognition of anything related to the earth and other things it is spoken of as the cognition of those things (sun etc.) like the previous cognition of the sun at that time.[4]

Bhāvivikta has been quoted along with Uddyotakara in connection with the examination of substance. This is identical with Aviddhakarṇa's view quoted above. He says that the composite substance is never perceived as distinct from its qualities and components.[5] He supports 'Universal' as a distinct category. The peculiarities of name cow etc...and the idea must be due to a cause related to the form of each animal. And this is the Universal. Again he says that the universal cow is something distinct from the individual cow because it forms the object of a different idea like colour, touch and the like also because it is spoken as belonging to that just as the horse is spoken of as belonging to Caitra.[6]

That a comprehensive notion like that of the Universal is not at all impossible is shown by Bhāvivikta in the following :—

'It is not held that in every case the notion is exactly in keeping with its cause (or basis). For instance, the number plurality subsisting in elephants etc. or in the 'dhava' and 'Khadira' trees forms the basis of the notions of

1. Sanmatitīkā p. 699.
2. Vādanyāyatikā p. 87.
3. TSP, p. 155.
4. TS, Kā 462–463.
5. TS, Kā 557–558.
6. TS, Kā 716–20.

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the army and the forest. Similarly the mixture of several heterogeneous substances forms the basis of the notions of 'drinks' 'fermented gruel' and the like. Otherwise, the notions should have been of 'many' and 'mixture'.[1]

In the examination of the definition of the sense—perception Bhāvivikta's view has been referred to. He says that the non-conceptual cannot bring about the conceptual content because their objects are different as in the case of the cognition of colour etc...and also because it is non-conceptual like the eye and the other organs.[2]

While examining inference Kamalaśila says that Bhāvivikta defends Úpanaya as a necessary member of a syllogism.[3]

In the Vādanyāyavipañcitārthā Śāntarakṣita refers to Bhāvivikta again in relation to the point of defect *prakaraṇasama*.[4] While explaining the concluding śloka of the Vādanyāya Śāntarakṣita opines that Dharmakīrti had Uddyotakara, Prīticandra and Bhāvivikta for his rivals.[5]

Śaṅkara the Naiyāyika was another important Nyāya-author who according to Dr. B. Bhattacharya might be earlier than Uddyotakara.[6] He has been quoted by Karṇagomin in the Pramāṇavārtikatīkā, Vidyānanda-svāmin in the Āptaparikṣātīkā, Sri Deva Sūri in the Syādvādaratnākara, and by Jñāna Śrimitra and Ratnakīrti in their Nibandhas. That Śaṅkara's Work or Works were held in high esteem is proved by the fact that Jñānaśrimitra considers him one of the pillars of the orthodox Nyāya System.[7]

The name of his work is Sthirasiddhi.[8] It may be a section of some of his bigger work also.

This Śaṅkara, sometimes called Śaṅkarasvāmin must be distinguished from Śaṅkara-the Vaidāntika as well as from Śaṅkara Miśra of Mithilā.

He is said to hold that just as a human body presupposes the bodies of the parents and there is no regressum ad infinitum, so one body of the Lord presupposes another similar body belonging to him and no regressus ad infinitum should be supposed there.[9] That God possesses a body according to Śankara is supported by Śri Devasuri also.[10]

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1. TS, Kā 771-72.
2. TS, 1307.
3. TSP 1438.
4. Vadnyātikā, p. 140
5. Ibid 142
6. T. S. Intro.
7. Kṣaṇabhangadbujaya concluding Sloka. 54 p. 116
8. Ibid, f. 10a & Ratna Nil of 62a
9. Āptaparikṣa-Kā 22-23
10. Syādo Ratna, P. 439

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Śaṅkara and Bhāsarvajña say that the conditions necessary for the perception of an object are also sufficient for the perception of its non-existence. Darkness is perceived by the conditions which are sufficient for the perception of light and hence darkness is nothing but the non-existence of light.[1]

Vidyānanda refers to Śaṅkara's view in connection with the examination of Samavāya (inherence) and opines that both the definitions of Yutasiddhi-(a) *pṛthagāśrayāśrayitvam* and (b) *nityānām pṛthaggatimattvam* as accepted by Śaṅkara do not stand the test of criticism.[2]

The Universal according to him, are not amorphous entities but they have the same perceptible quantities, form, colour etc. as the individuals and the comprehensive idea of the cook is based upon the presence of the particular action which is related to universal action. Hence even after the actual act of cooking has ceased the permanent basis of it in the shape of the Uuiversal is always there and from that there arises the idea of the cook.[3]

'The notions of negation' says Śaṅkara, are never found to be free from adjuncts. For instance, in all such notions of negation as the previous negation of the jar, the destruction of the jar and so forth, they are found to rest upon negations associated with certain positive entities as adjuncts which shows that in all cases the notion of negation has its comprehensive character dependent upon the universal permeating the said adjuncts so that there is no fallibility in our premises.[4]

The argument of Śankara in support of the existence of soul as a distinct entity has been reproduced by Kamalaśīla; Desire etc...must subsist in something.

Because while being entities they are affects like colour etc.

Pleasure etc...belonging to the soul cannot be of the nature of cognition because they are never spoken of as such like the jar etc.[5]

The colour spoken of as belonging to the cloth is of the nature with such colouring substances as the red dye, saffron etc...and conjunction is a quantity that is not all-embracing. Thus when one part is coloured the whole does not become coloured. Similarly when one part of the body is covered by cloth, the whole body does not become covered.[6]

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1. Ibid p. 852
2. p. 116
3. TS, Kā 755
4. TS, Kā, 767 f
5. Ibid Kā 178 f.
6. Ibid. Kā 600.

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While considering the relation between the composite and the components Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla refer to Śaṅkara who says that "an assersion as that there is no subsistence at all would not be proper because the subsistence of the composite in the components is vouched for by direct perception. If the Buddhist ask "What is that perception" the answer would be; It is in the form—This subsists here' i. e. the perception is in the form. This cloth subsists in the yarns.'

It might be argued that this notion cannot be regarded as perception. In that case, it behoves you to put forward some reasoning in the annulment of the said notion; whereby its perceptional character could be rejected. If even in the absence of such annulling reason, the notion be not accepted as perception, then your congnition of even such things as colour and the like would not be perception as there can be no difference between the two cases.[1] Śaṅkara's opinion with regard to sense-perception runs as follows: 'the means of cognition must be one that brings about an effect different from itself, because it is an active agent, like the hatchet'.[2]

In the examination of the 'revealed word' Śantarakṣita again quotes Śaṅkara :—

'In the case of the magnet, the attraction of the iron is due to its being penetrated by the light rays emanating from the magnet, for if it were not so, then there would be attraction of all iron-pieces in the world.

Even though the light emanating from the magnet is not perceived in the manner of the light emanating from the lamp yet it can be inferred from the fact that there is attraction even where the iron is at some distance, if there is nothing between the iron and the magnet.[3]

While supporting the Buddhist doctrine of destruction without a cause Karṇagomin refutes Śaṅkara's opposite view which runs as follows :-

'The fix produces a totally different object is coal from the wood. It is the destruction of the wood as it is apprehended as such. This destruction is a negation of the wood. Here the produced coal is contradictory in character to the wood. It should not be held that the coal being a different object just like the jar cannot come out of the wood. Because smoke a different object is perceived to arise from the fire. Hence, like smoke other contradictory things are also produced from fire. If one of the contradictories is present, the other is not. Thus when coal is present wood is absent.[4]

1. TSP. Tr, p. 350f.
2. TS, Kā 1353.
3. Ibid. Kā 2520
4. p. 515.

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Jñānaśrimitra quotes Śaṅkara in the Kṣaṇabhangādhyāya no less than eighteen times. Some of these quotations are interesting.

According to Śaṅkara potency in an object is the totality of the co-operative conditions and non-potency arises from deficiency in that respects. But the arrival and disappearance of this potency do not hamper the existence of the object which is the substratum of both. Because the object is quite different from them.[1] This argument of Śaṅkara has been summarised by Ratnakirti in his Kṣaṇabhangasiddhi.[2]

As one born blind denies the existence of the blue colour similarly the Buddhists who cannot conceive of permanent objects deny their existence.[3]

Both Jnānaśri[4] and Ratnakirti[5] quote the following argument of Śaṅkara establishing permanent objects.

An object is not destroyed just after it comes into being since it is an object of valid knowledge.

If something is momentary, it cannot be an object of valid knowledge. A momentary object does not exist at the time of examination. And a past object is never apprehended.

The difference of the cause is not always established by the difference of the co-operative conditions. Thus the self-same lamp generates apprehension, modifies the wick and produces the burning sensation without differentiation in it and its unity is established by reasons.[6]

The variety in the effects is produced by a similar variety in the co-operative conditions of the lamp. The lamp itself remains the same. Similarly an object remains unaltered and the changes are due to the co-operative conditions. The particular characteristic of the lamp modifying the wick is not the cause of burning or the apprehension of fire.[7]

The conditions sufficient to produce the apprehension of an object produce the apprehension of its negation also. Hence the conditions of the perception of light produces the perception of darkness. This opinion of Śaṅkara has been supported by Nyāyabhūsaṇakāra also.[8]

1. Kṣaṇabhangādhyāya f. 8 a
2. Kṣaṇabhangasiddhi p.
3. Kṣaṇabhangādhyāya, f. 9 1
4. Ibid. f 10a.
5. Ratna Ni 60 f 62 a.
6. Kṣaṇabhangādhyāya. f. 13a
7. Ibid, f. 131
8. Syādo Ratna–p. 852. Kṣaṇa Adhyāya f. 602

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Ratnakirti quotes the argument of Śaṅkara in favour of the existence of Iśvara.[1]

That Śaṅkara did not show proper respects to Dharmakirti actuated Ratnakirti to reproach him sharply.[2]

The author of Nyāyabhūṣaṇa also was a great logician. He has been identified with Bhāsarvajña the author of the Nyāyasāra and the Gaṇkarikā. But the Nyāyabhūṣaṇa, his magnum opus has not yet seen the light of the day. Numerous quotations from this work are found in different works.

An account of his contributions based on published sources is to be found in the Vangiya Sahitya Parisat Patrika.[3]

The works of Jñānaśrimitra and Ratnakirti have presented us with fresh materials which show that his criticism of the doctrine of momentariness raised serious objections in the Buddhist quarters. Bhatta Vasudeva is said to have written a subcommentary on the Nyāyabhūṣaṇa.[4] which itself was a commentary on the Nyāyasāra.

Trilocana the preceptor of Vācaspati Misra was another pillar of the orthodox system according to Jñānaśrimitra. He wrote the *Nyayaprakirnaka.*[5]

That Vācaspati was much influenced by the views of Trilocana is proved by his own assersions.[6] The above mentioned works of Jñānśrimitra and Ratnakirti have quoted him frequently over and above other quotations from his work found in print.[7]

Viśvarūpa was another logician who has found mention in the Tārkikaraksātikā.[8]

Guṇaratna[9] in his Ṣaddarśanasamuccaya mentions Śikantha the author of Nyāyālaṁkāra and Abhayatilokopādhyāya the author of a Vrtti. But nothing more is known about them.

Our list of lost Naiyāyikas and Nyāya works are by no means exhaustive. Only a few works and authors have been mentioned just to point out to the fact that as works of these authors are lost, these quotations are the only source of information about their contributions as well as themselves.

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1. Nibandhas; f. 22a.
2. Ratna Nib f. 65.
3. Vol-53.
4. Nyāyasāra Trivendrum Ed. p. 81
5. Ratna Nib f. 276.
6. Tātparyatika p. 114.
7. Indian Culture XIV
8. pp 347, 355, 356.
9. Ṣaddarśansasamuccaya Vṛtti p. 94.

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Section XIII: Technical Sciences and Fine Arts

28. Farrukh Husain the royal artist at the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah II and his painting

By Nazir Ahmed

Amongst the sovereigns of Deccan Ibrahim Adil II who ruled over the dominion of Bijapur from 1580 to 1627, is a very interesting personality. Being a man of varied taste he was passionately devoted to various branches of fine arts including music, poetry, painting etc. Historians have spoken in a general way about his skill in painting from which we fail to form any definite opinion about his achievements in this branch. Zuhuri in the following remark[1] has gone a step further but even then we cannot conclude something substantial :

"In the art of painting he (the Sultan) excells the painters in that he is one of the fair. While placing the looking glass before him he paints his own picture, he prepares a rouge for his face by mixing the redness of the tulip with the whiteness of the narcissus. It is no wonder if the pious become image worshippers by the mandate of justice. If he paints the huge body of an elephant on the feather of a gnat or draws the picture of a tiger on the eye of an ant the one (the elephant) through the skill of painting makes his trunk a polo stick on the ball of the earth; and the other (the tiger) grapples with the bull of the sky... Thanks to God that Mani and Behzad have escaped scot free since they have not lived in his age to hear the shame and ignomy, else they would have felt ashamed of their art."

However scholars of art have recently succeeded in discovering various portraits, miniatures and other paintings of contemporanious nature and have therefore concluded that the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah may rightly be claimed[2] 'as the high water mark of the Dakhini school of painting.' This school received fresh impetus at the hands of Persian Indian and even European artists who are known to have been employed by the Prince of Bijapur.[3] But unfortunately we have no accurate knowledge of the contemporary

1. History of the Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, Vol. III, p. 439.
2. Karl Khandalawala: Marg, (Vol. 5-ii), pp. 28-29.
3. M. Taylor points out that the Sultan had employed Portugese painters to decorate his place.

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artists of the Adil Shahi court. Only the names of three have come down to us of whom Murtaza Khan Naqqash seems to be the earliest of them whose one painting, the bust of Ibrahim Adil Shah II is preserved in Sir Cowasji Jahangir's collections[1] in which the Sultan seems to be between 22 and 25 and accordingly it is assigned to 1593 or so. The other artist Mohammad Ali whose one miniature, a poet in a garden, has been atrributed to Ibrahim Adil by Mr. Khandalawala,[2] though Coomaraswamy styles it as Mughal. These two painters though claimed by scholars as contemporary with Ibrahim Adil would not stand the test of evidence.[3] The third is Maulana Farrukh Husain who is claimed to be the royal-painter of the court of Ibrahim. Zuhuri, the renowned scholar of the said court has given a brief account of this artist in his third essay in the *Seh Nasr* which indicates that the above Maulana Farrukh Husain was not merely an artist but one of the six most dominating personalities of the time. Though we are not substantially profited by Zuhuri from whom something better was expected, yet it is worthwhile to quote his view:[4]

"The fourth Maulana Farrukh Husain than whose painting nothing better can be imagined. The expert painters take pride in being his pupils and having adopted the outline of his plain sketch as their model, put their lives under obligation. From the sight of his black pen the green haired (beautiful) have learnt wiles. The freshness of his painting put the portrait of the beautiful to shame, and has thrown it into the whirlpool of the jealousy of his painting. He draws the musk navel and people smell its fragrance; he sows tulips and they reap its colour i. e. he turns effect into cause and allegory into reality.

Poem

With the portrait of the heart-bewitching beautices he washed off the impression of patience i. e. the sight of his painting makes men lose their patience.

He represents the thorn so exquisitively that the eyes of the critic are pricked.

If the water-fowl of his painting shakes its wings the face of those present become wet with the falling of drops.

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1. Marg. Vol. 5 (ii) p. 29; butDr. Moti Chand assigns it to 1586-ibid book i, p. 27.
2. Ibid. book ii p. 29. Martean and Vever, Miniatures Persanne, pl. 19.
3. There is no historical evidence to prove like that except the age of the Sultan in the former's and the similarity of the colour scheme etc. in the latter's painting.
4. Hist. of the Language and Literature at the Mughal Court Vol. 3, pp. 462-63.

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After finishing the decoration of the flower he busied himself in depicting the voice of the nightingale.

That magical painter has put in motion the breeze which throws aside the veil from the face of the beautiful.

Fortunately a portrait of Ibrahim Adil Shah II is preserved in the Salar-Jung Museum, Hyderabad, which being the work of the above Farrukh Husain is of specials significance. In this picture the sultan is riding an elephant named Nauras-Paikar (briefly Nauras) the name being artistically embroidered in the covering over the animal. Before the Sultan is sitting the keeper with a long hook in his hand. The elephant is in motion. The picture is in light colour, probably a pencil work and hence the intensity of the colour which was one of the special features of the paintings of this period does not arise. The inscription on the top reads as :

Hasbul Amr Ba Tarz-i-Hindi Kashida Shud

i. e. in compliance with the (royal) order this picture was drawn in Hindi, (Hindustani a mixed style-as distinguished from Persian and other style). Below the trunk of the elephant is a line in Persian having been composed by the Sultan on the occasion of riding the elephant. The line is headed by Farmuda-i-Jahanphnahi, i. e. composed by the refuge of the world (King) himself. The line reads :

*Fîl-i-Nauras kî Dar Sawâri Âmad * Ba Nutq-i-Sawari Shakarbârî Âmad.* The Persian inscription in the space in between two front legs reads as : *Amal-i-Farrukh Husain-i-Adilshahi,* i. e. the painting of Farrukh Husain of the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah.

Without entering into the discussion of the merits of the painting some points must be cleared at this stage. The painter Farrukh Husain seems to be a Persian who does not seem to be accustomed to Hindi style. Dr. Moti Chand styles him[1] as Farrukh Hasan Shirazi which implies that he was a native of Shiraz. But his calling the artist as Hasan instead of Husain and appending a appellative of his home or birth place to his name is certainly due to some misunderstanding. The learned scholar has borrowed his information from Zuhuri's *Sih Nasr*[2] in which the painter's name appears as Farrukh Husain (without any appellative) exactly as in the miniature itself. In short though the artist was in all its likelihood a native of Persia, he was not specifically a resident of Shiraz.

1. Ibid;
2. History of the Lang. and Lit. at the Mughal Court, Vol. III, pp. 462-63.

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Farrukh Husain's portrait is superior to all known paintings assigned to the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah in view of these :-

1. It is the only painting which may definitely be called contemporaneous. Mr. Khandalawala[1] has prepared a long list of 23 contemporaneous paintings excluding the Ragmala pictures which are claimed to be of the same nature. But no specific reasons have been given except that they[2] possess the particular traits of the period. But to a serious student of history this would appear ridiculous and so he would not agree to it. For example take the figure of the elephant appearing in Mr. Mehta's *Studies in Indian Painting* (No. 5 in Khandalawala's list). Mr. Mehta on the basis of a inscription, *Amal-i-Dakhan-niyan* claims[3] it as a probable painting of a Dakhani artist. In the meantime "Asad Beg's Mission to Bijapur"[4] reveals that Chanchal was the famous royal elephant which was subsequently presented by Ibrahim Adil to Akbar with gold ornaments weighing two maunds. Since in the above painting the animal is richly decorated, it was deemed identical with Chanchal.[5] Or take the case of Rag-mala paintings preserved in Bikaner and some other Museums. Dr. Goetz has traced their origin[6] to Ahmednagar between 1565 and 1569 without producing any specific evidence for doing so. Mr. Basil Gray while agreeing[7] with the above conclusion finds 'a circumstance[8] tipping the balance in favour of Bijapur.' But both Dr. Moti Chand and Mr. Khandalawala are of the opinion[9] that it is more appropriate to ascribe them to no one else other than Ibrahim Adil on the ground that the latter was the first Dakhani monarch to think of representing the pictorial motiffs associated with the certain Ragas and Raginis, in his *Kitab-i-Nauras*. His devotion to music and his choice to be portrayed[10] with clappers in his hands are suggestive of his keen interest to have a series of Rag-mala pictures.

In the series of these paintings only Vasanta, Kanhara, Hindola, Kâmod, Dhansri, Khan Ghodi and Nut Balharika are definitely known to have been

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1. Marg. Vol. V, Book II, p. 27.
2. By Dr. Moti Chand and Mr. Khandalawala.
3. Pl. No 4
4. Potdar Commemoration Vol. pp. 190–194.
5. vide Khandalawala's list Marg, Vol. V, Book ii p. 27.
6. Art and Architecture of Bikaner State p. 101.
7. Indian Miniatures pp. 8-10.
8. They were discovered at Adoni a place within the territory of Adil Shahi dominion.
9. Marg, Vol. 5 books i and ii, pp. 28 and 27 respectively.
10. vide the protrait appearing in Marg, Vol. 5 book ii p. 27.

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represented. But among these only one, namely Kanhara or Karnati has been visualised and only two namely Kanhara and Dhansri have been reproduced in the Sultan's book. If these representations were contemporaneous, it seems no reason why the painters did not keep in view the particular Ragas and Raginis which were of much interest to the prince of Bijapur. It is interesting to note that the idea in representing the Kanhara Ragini is different at two places. In the *Kitab-i-Nauras* it is visualised[1] as a charming lady whose hands and eyes are as tender and lovely as a lotus flower. She is dressed in blue *Sari* and yellow bodice. In the spring season when the lady separated from her lover hears the cuckoo repeat the name of his lover, her affliction grows intensely. This pen-picture is not only different from the representation of the melody in the above series but also from the idea associated with it in later paintings. In short Farrukh Husain's paintings being definitely contemporaneous is superior to all.

(2) It is the only picture drawn at the instance of the Sultan himself.

(3) The picture of the royal elephant and its keeper add immensely to the value of the painting.

(4) It is a unique painting found no where in the world.

The Sultan is stated to have developed his attachment to the word Nauras after 1599;[2] but we have definite reasons[3] that his own book the *Kitab-i-Nauras* was completed earlier than this date. But it seems a fact that the word became popular only after the above date. Hence the painting containing the picture of the elephant which bore the title of Nauras could only be prepared much after 1599. The artist has been mentioned in Zuhuri's third essay in the Sih Nasr which was completed after 1605.[4] The Sultan seems to be above forty hence the picture may safely be assigned[5] to 1613-14.

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1. Vide song no 36.
2. Vide *Tazkiratul Muluk*, pp. 352-54 where the circumstance in which the Sultan was enamoured of the word has been fully narrated. Vide also *Futuhat-i-Adil Shahi* p. 367 which confirms the above. Vide also Potdar Commemoration volume pp. 190-94 and *Khulasatushshuara*, folio 45-46.
3. Zuhuri's second treatise in the Sih Nasr which was a later composition, was completed in 1599. Hence the first essay that is the preface to the Kitab-i-Nauras and consequently the actual text were completed before this date.
4. Zuhuri's age at that time was 70. Since he was born about 1535 (vide *Zuhuri, Life and Works*, pp. 33-34). The essay has been assigned to 1605.
5. The Sultan is known to have been born in 1592.

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The inscriptions in Shikast hand appearing in the picture are good examples of Persian Calligraphy.

The portrait is suggestive of the peculiar trait of the Bijapur School of painting in which the Persian style was gracefully blended with the Hindi style. The mixed Persian and Hindi style was popular even after 1605-6, the probable date when, according to Dr. Moti Chand, the school began to borrow from the Mughal school.

1. Marg, Vol 5, book 1, pp. 25-26.

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29. Some Economic concepts In Kautilya's Arthas'astra

By Shri H. N. Pathak, M. A. (Bom.), M.SC. (Econ.) (London)

Kautilya's *Arthaśàstra*[1] is not a treatise on economics as one would expect from the title of the book. It deals primarily with many problems confronting a government functioning during the days of early Maurya period. Economic problems constitute only a small part of these and hence Kautilya's observations on these occupy a small portion of the *Arthaśàstra*. This is partly because of the fact that, the connotation of the term 'Arthaśástra in Kautilya is not what we understand to-day by the science of economics. At the very beginning of the text Kautilya discusses the problem of the 'End of Sciences.' It should be noted that he describes Anvikṣiki, the triple Vedas, Vārtā and Dandanīti (the science of punishment) as the four main sciences. Out of these four it is the last two, namely, Vārtā and Dandanīti which form the subject matter of this well-known work. Thus, the scope of the volume is determined by these two. Vārtā includes agriculture, cattle breeding and trade and these three types of activity is supposed to bring in grains, cattle, gold, forest produce and free labour. Kautilya however, does not state the inter relation between these, and the basic activity included in Vàrta. Vàrta is as much the result of these factors–grains cattle and labour–as is the cause of the same. But this becomes clear, the very moment we remember the point of view from which Kautilya views the whole economic activity. For, the continuation of agriculture and trade according to Kautilya is not so much dependent on the continuous employment of the above mentioned factors, rather such a utilisation is almost assumed. For Kautilya, it is the continuous implementation of Dandaniti, the science of government or government in its administrative aspect as continuously exercising the sovereign power, which guarantees unhindered growth of all the three sciences. "For punishment", says Kautilya, "when awarded with due consideration, makes the people devoted to righteousness and to work productive of wealth and enjoyment." Thus the progress of Vārta and other sciences is implied in the progress and continuation of the government. And any lapse from the implementation of Dandaniti will, "give rise to such disorder as is implied in the proverb of fishes."

1. All the references and quotations in this paper are from *Kautilya's Arthasastra.* translated by R. Shamasastry (Banglore 1915.) At the end references to important chapters are given.

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The above introductory paragraph conclusively shows Kautilya's point of view in referring to economic problem. It also shows that the position occupied by the government in his work is that of 'hinderer of hindrances' which is very similar to a modern concept of the state and the government. It is this concept of the government which pervades the entire analysis of Kautilya. It must also be stated here that Kautilya's references to various economic problems is primarily governed by his preoccupation with the problem of the government. A comparison with the modern economic analysis will make this point clear. Modern economic analysis aims at showing, among other things, how economic benefit accruing to an individual consumer and/or producer is maximised in an economic system based on private enterprise. Economic policy, it can be suggested, aims at implementing the findings of this analysis. Kautilya is not concerned with the problem of the individual consumer or producer. But the maximisation of individual's economic gain is in a sense implied in his analysis, because it follows from the stability of the government. Kautilya does not bother with any destabilising factors internal to the economic system, like failure of crops or epidemics. His main purpose appears to be that of showing how the revenue flowing to the government treasury is maximised under certain conditions. Some of these conditions are economic while others are purely administrative in character. On the analogy of the individual's economic behaviour it can be suggested that Kautilya wants to show how an individual state would maximise its revenues. Logically therefore, it would not be individual income and expenditure but government revenue and expenditure that would be discussed. In other words Kautilya's analysis resembles, in many respects, the modern analysis of aggregates than any attempt to disentangle the constituents of aggregates. In technical terms his analysis is nearer to the 'macro-economic analysis' than the 'micro-economic analysis.'

It can be suggested that macro-economic analysis aims at showing how the stability of the economic system as a whole is maintained by working on certain aggregates like total private and public investment, government revenues, total consumption expenditure etc. Stability of the system is sought to be maintained by stimulating or controlling any one of these as the case may be. In the light of these remarks it will be interesting to examine Kautilya's views on total government revenue and expenditure. In chapter six of Book Two he mentions the different sources from which revenue flows to the government treasury. These are :

"...forts (durga), country parts (ráshtra), mines (khani), buildings

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and gardens (setu), forests (vana), herds of cattle (vraja), and roads of traffic (vaṇikpatha).

Kautilya then proceeds to investingate the different forms of revenue. Thus :

" Capital (múla), share (bhàga), premia (vyàji), parigha, fixed taxes (Kḷripta), premia on coins (rúpika), and fixed fines (ataya) are the several forms of revenue (àyamukha, i. e. the mouth from which income is to issue)."

Likewise Kautilya also describes the constituents of government expenditure. Out of these only few are mentioned as others are not of any economic importance.

"...the store house, the armoury, the warehouse, the store-house of raw materials, manufacturies (karmánta), free labourers (vishti),...constitute the body of expenditure (vyayaśariram).

Government receipts are again divided into current, last balance and accidental (anyajátah i. e. received from external source). Earlier we mentioned the modern macro-economic analysis as operating on certain important aggregates. A similar approach is noted in Kautilya when he suggests:

"Investment of capital (vikshepa), the relics of a wrecked undertaking, and the savings from an estimated outlay are the means to check expenditure (vyayapratyayah).

This statement is enough to show that Kautilya was aware of the items of expenditure which can be curtailed. However, he does not offer any explanation why such a control of expenditure may have been required. It is possible to surmise here about some of the reasons. Kautilya, apart from mentioning control of expenditure also mentions some possible sources of profit which will be over and above the savings from expenditure as noted above. In the same chapter he suggests:

"The rise in price of merchandise due to the use of different weights and measures... the enhancement of price due to bidding among buyers is also another source of profit."

Thus a government which wants to maximise its revenues should cut at both the ends. It should save by economising on the expenditure side and should be ready to realise excess income in the form of primia. Realisation of profit however is a periodical affair since profit is defined as, "whatever is earned once in a paksha, a month, or a year..." Thus Kautilya's chapter on 'The Business of Collection of Revenue' closes with an advice to the collector to increase the income and decrease the expenditure. One is impressed how Kautilya travels from a small item to a broader concept and one always completes a chapter with a conviction about the inclusiveness of these concepts.

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In his chapter on 'Conducting Mining Operations and Manufacture' there is a very important reference to the concept of currency in circulation. Inflation as an evil was not unknown to ancient societies. Perhaps, there was some difference in the particular form that inflation took in those societies. It was not so much the problem of total money in circulation as that of debasement of currency. The result of both is of course fall in the value of the unit of currency. Kautilya warns his officials as follows:—

"The examiner of coins (rupadarsaka) shall regulate currency both as a medium of exchange (vyavahàrikim) and as legal tender admissible into the treasury (kosapravesyam)..."

We should recall here the rise in prices to which reference was made above. Thus a rise in prices could take place either as a result of currency inflation, or debasement of the currency unit, or depreciated weights and measures, or all the three, or a combination of any two. But these do not exhaust the forces working for a price rise or conversely a price fall. Apart from monetary factors Kautilya mentions rise and fall of demand for commodities as one of the major factors influencing prices. The following quotation from his chapter on 'The Superintendent of Commerce' would indicate this.

"The Superintendent of Commerce shall ascertain demand or absence of demand for and rise or fall in the price of various kinds of merchandise..."

This officer is also expected to "ascertain the time suitable for their distribution, centralisation, purchase and sale". Kautilya does not discuss the actual process of price determination but there is an element of monopoly price as fixed by one authority. This can be inferred from the fact that he contends about centralising the sale of some commodities. He also supports the deliberate raising of their prices, and occasional revision of such prices. While Kautilya supports deliberate monopolising–centralisation–of some commodities he is aware of the dangers of such a policy. In this connection he says:

"There shall be no restriction to the time of sale of those oommodities for which there is frequent demand; nor shall they be subject to the evils of centralisation (samkuladosha)."

From the point of view of trade policy this chapter has a very important contribution to make. Kautilya refers to the problem of gains from foreign trade. Thus he says:

"Having ascertained the value of local produce as compared with that of foreign produce that can be obtained in barter, the superintendent will find out (by calculation) whether there is any margin left for profit after meeting the payments (to the foreign king)... If no profit can be realised by selling the local produce in foreign countries he has to consider whether any local produce can be profitably bartered for any foreign produce....."

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The above quotation shows that foreign trade was chanalised and at times controlled by the government. The various calculations involved mainly refer to transport costs and customs and duties paid on the boundaries of states. At the bottom of gain from international trade-or foreign trade-is the problem of comparative cost advantages and disadvantages. Kautilya seems to have grasped this as is evidenced in the following quotation:

"He shall also gather information as to value of foreign merchandise that can be obtained in barter for local merchandise... and the history of commercial towns."

Kautilya here speaks about barter of commodities. But this does not obliterate the fundamental principle. For things that are exchanged should be equal in cost, whether these costs are calculated in money terms or real terms is just a matter of detail. The actual process in Kautilya's exposition seems to be as follows. Foreign goods are to be compared with local produce in terms of what each would cost in the home market. Equality in this cost would indicate that these commodities can be exchanged against each other. The cost of transporting these to other countries would be added to this and finally we strike a balance of gain and loss. The notion about the history of commercial town is perhaps intended to guide the officer as to the creditworthiness of merchants their practices and trade routes. Further, such information is useful in the direction of trade, for the superintendent "Shall transport his merchandise to profitable markets and avoid unprofitable ones."

The next chapter to which we should now turn is devoted to the problem of wages. This is on "Superintedent of Weaving." At the beginning of this chapter Kautilya discusses qualification of workers to be employed and then comes to the problem of determination of wages. Actually determination of wages is a problem in micro-economics rather than macro-economics. But here also Kautilya does not discuss the actual process of wage fixing but only refers to certain factors. He says:

"Wages shall be fixed according as the threads spun are fine coarse (sthúla) or of middle quality and in proportion to a greater or less quantity spun,... Wages shall be cut short, if making allowance for the quality of raw material, the quantity of the threads spun is found to fall short."

The wage that is under discussion is piece wage and not time wage i. e. wages are paid on the actual work done and not on the number of hours devoted to a particular work. Further, in the same trade wages show a gradation according to efficiency. The latter half of the statement has some theoratical implications. An employer pays a wage to labourer for what extra a labourer produces with the equipment and raw material. Thus he establishes a relation between the 'input' and the 'output'. This invokes the famous prob-

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lem of returns to the employment of an extra factor, whether these returns are increasing decreasing or constant. Kautilya does not go into these details but he seems to be aware of the fact that under certain conditions returns to labour are variable either increasing or decreasing. This is the principle which governs employment of labour whose wages are paid per piece of work done. But there are labourers who are specialised agents. How are these labourers paid?

"Weaving may also be done by those artisans who are qualified to turn out a given amount of work in a given time and for a fixed amount of wages."

Such wages are contractual in nature and hence their fixation involves an element of arbitrariness, but should be in the long run governed by tradition and convention. Even to-day many wage rates are conventionally fixed and hence are not directly related to the problem of wage determination. In this chapter the problem of supply of labour is not touched but in the following chapter (Superintendent of Agriculture), the superintendent is supposed to employ "slaves, labourers, and prisoners (dandapratikartri) to sow the seeds on crown-lands which have been often and satisfactorily ploughed". This also raises the problem of workers co-operative organisation or guilds. This chapter (Rules regarding Labourers; and Co-operative Undertaking), refers to several rules which bind the workers and the employers. The employer is supposed to provide work to the labourer once he employs him and so is the latter bound to work. In case of default a fine is to be paid.

"An employer not taking work from his labourer or an employee not doing his employer's work shall be fined 12 panas."

But the observation that follows is still more important. Kautilya says:

"... If an employer, having caused his labourer to do a part of work, will not cause him to do the rest for which the latter may certainly be ready, then also the unfinished portion of the work has to be regarded as finished..."

In the present day analysis such a condition is known as 'involuntary unemployment of labour'. In plain language when there is willingness to work accompanied by an absence of opportunity to work the labourer is involuntarily unemployed. There is however a slight difference in the above situation and this theoretical description. In the above example absence of opportunity to work is, as it were, deliberately caused by the employer while in the latter position it is not deliberate. But such statements do not establish the superiority of the wage earning classes over their paymasters. The wage earner has almost always been at the mercy of his master. At the most he recieves a fair deal when he combines with his fellow-worker. The guilds in Kautilya's times are noted to have such treatment at the hands of employers. Kautilya says:

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"Guilds of workmen shall have a grace of seven nights over and above the period agreed upon for fulfiling their engagment. Beyond that time they shall find substitutes and get the work completed..."

These workers are supposed to divide their earnings "either equally or as agreed upon among themselves." In the same chapter there is a profound statement on the wage problem. The employers are expected to pay to their labourers at the end or in the middle of their cultivation or manufacture "as much of the latter's share as is proportional to the work done." Thus wages are proportional to the product of labour. How such a proportionality is determined is again not discussed.

What is our final opinion on these economic concepts? It must be restated here that Kautilya does not set himself to write a treatise on pure economics. His approach should be understood in terms of a government facing certain economic problems. Hence the whole book reads like a series of prescriptions to counteract the forces of curruption and misgovernment. One must pause at this stage and reflect on the evolution of economic thought. Economic science as we know it to-day is a result of a process of rationalisation. Human behaviour through centuries has exhibited certain tendencies which admit of generalisation, the behaviour in the economic sphere giving rise to the science of economics. But the formulation of a body of principles known as a science is a product of slow development and intellectual effort. Does this mean that the true nature of various economic problems was not understood before the science came into existence? This is perhaps the most fruitless approach one can adopt in order to understand the evolution of any science. No doubt human problems have changed as to their complexity, the nature of the economic system in which we live is different from that which obtained in the ancient days. But certain basic tendencies persist. Moreover, and this is perhaps the most important point, in the absence of a science each problem was tackled individually. Thus the approach to such problems was essentially practical and the economic statesman of those days was supposed to provide ready-made solutions. These solutions were in the nature of expedients or reactions to a particular situation. The approach being essentially practical systematic theorisation had perhaps not much scope, nor was the experience from which generalisations could be offered so abundant. In short systematic analysis and theoretical abstractions come at a later stage. In the meantime the economic statesman is pre-occupied with concrete issues. Thus what we can term as economic science in those days consisted of a series of propositions immediately applicable to policy. This seems to be one of the reasons why economics was known as political economy. Kautilya lived many centuries before such an attempt to solve individual economic problems began

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elsewhere. Nevertheless, his approach to various economic problems shows that essentially practical leaning. In expressing this we must also realise a limitation that besets us. Any interpretation of Kautilya in terms of modern economic theory is likely to read more of theory than the author probably ever thought of implying. But this lacuna should not prevent us from appreciating the excellence of his work. The author of this small paper has at least felt that the time has come for a re-edition of Kautilya's *Arthasastra* at the hands of an orientalist knowing modern economic theory.

References to important chapters:

Book one, Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4.
Book two, Chapters 6, 8, 12, 15, 16, 23, 24.
Book three, Chapters 14, 15.

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हिन्दी, गुजराती और राजस्थानी के जैनेतर विवाहले काव्यों को मिलाकर इनकी संख्या १०० से भी अधिक है। यह लेखके अन्तमें दी गई सूची से स्पष्ट है। इन सब काव्यों पर विस्तार से प्रकाश डालने पर तो एक स्वतन्त्र ग्रन्थ ही तय्यार हो सकता है। यहाँ तो (बंगला के मंगल काव्यों को छोड़कर) हिन्दी और राजस्थानी के काव्योंकी उड़ती हुई सी नजर डाल रहा हूँ। आशा है वह अन्य विद्वानों को इस ओर विशेष कार्य करनेकी प्रेरणा देगी।

विवाहवर्णनप्रधान काव्यों की संज्ञा—

विवाह के प्रसंग को वर्णन करनेवाले काव्योंकी प्राचीन संज्ञा विवाह, विवाहलो, विवाहला यह सबसे प्राचीन है। दूसरी संज्ञा 'मंगल' है इनमेंसे जैन कवियों की एवं गुजराती जैनेतर कवियों की रचनाओंकी संज्ञा तो सबसे अधिक विवाहला, विवाहलो ही पाई जाती है। मंगलसंज्ञक काव्य वैसे तो बंगालमें बहुत अधिक मिलते हैं पर वे विवाहवर्णन न होकर चरितकाव्य है। हिन्दी और राजस्थानीमें जैनेतर कवियों के रचित विवाहवर्णनप्रधान 'मंगल' संज्ञक काव्य २० के क़रीब पाये जाते हैं। इनकी रचना १७वीं शताब्दीसे प्रारम्भ होती है।

जैन कवियों की निराली सूझ-उनके रूपक विवाहकाव्य—

जैन कवियों के विवाहले काव्योंमें एक बड़ी विशेषता उल्लेखनीय है कि इन काव्यों में बाह्य एवं आभ्यन्तरिक याने द्रव्य और भाव दोनों तरह के विवाहों का वर्णन मिलता है। वरवधू को पति पत्नी का सम्बन्ध जोड़नेवाले विवाह का वर्णन तो सर्वसामान्य है ही, पर जैन कवियोंने कुछ ऐसे विवाहले काव्य भी बनाये हैं जिनमें वधू का स्थान स्त्री नहीं पर धार्मिक व्रतों के ग्रहण को स्त्री का रूपक देकर व्रतों का विवाह सम्बन्ध संयमीव्यक्तिसे (संयम श्री दीक्षाकुमारी से) कराया गया है। इसे जैन परिभाषा में भाव विवाह की संज्ञा दे सकते हैं। जब की वरवधू के विवाह को द्रव्यविवाह कहा जाता है। यह आभ्यन्तरिक गुणोंसे आत्मा का सम्बन्धरूप विवाह जैन कवियों की एक अनोखी सूझ है जो दूसरे किसी कवि ने भी कमही अपनायी है।

इस रूपकविवाह की परम्परा कहीं कहीं हिन्दी के संतकवियों की रचनाओंमें पाई जाती है, उदाहरणार्थ कबीरका निम्नोक्त पद लीजिये।

दुलहिनी गावहु मंगलाचार।
हम घरि आये हो राजाराम भरतारा, ।टेक.।
तनरत करि कै मनरत करिहूँ, पंचतत बराती।
रामदेव मौरै पाहुनैं आये मैं जोबन मैमाती।
शरीर सरोवर वेदी करि हूँ ब्रह्म वेदे उचार।

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रामदेव होगि भाँवरि लेहूं, धनि धनि भाग हमार।
सुरत तमूं कौतिग आये मुनिवर सहस्र अठ्यासी।
कहें कबीर हम नाहि चले हैं पुरिष एक अविनासी।

अर्थात्—रामरूप आत्मा मेरे घर पाहुने आये हैं अतः दुलहिन और भरतार के मंगलाचार-मंगल गीत गाओ। मेरा तन-मन उसी को अर्पित है। पंचतत्व बराती के रूप में आये हैं। रामदेव मेरे पाहुने आ गये है। मैं यौवन से मदमस्त हूँ। शरीर सरोवर रूप वेदी करूँगी। ब्रह्मज्ञान की जागृतिरूप वेदोच्चार मंत्रपाठ के साथ आत्माराम के हाथ मैं भांवरे लूंगी। जैसे भाग्य धन्य हो जायेगा ३३ कोटि देवता ८८००० मुनि साक्षीरूप होंगे। अविनाशी पुरुष मुझे काहसे चले है। गुरु नानक भी कहते हैं–

गावहु गावहु वाणी विवेक विचार।
हमारे घर आइया जगजीवन भरतारु।
गुरु दुआरै हमारा वीआहु जि होआ जासहु मिलिआ तांजानिआ।
तिहुं लोका माहि सबदु रमिआ है, आयु गइआमनु मानिआ।

विवाहलो काव्यको प्राचीन परम्परा—

अपभ्रंश भाषा भारतीय अनेक उत्तर प्रान्तीय भाषाओं की जननी है। वह कई शताब्दियों तक स्वयं लोकभाषा रही है। पर ११वीं १२वीं शताब्दी से प्रान्तीय लोकभाषाओं में बहुत अधिक परिवर्तन आ जाने से अपभ्रंश का स्थान साहित्यिक भाषा के रूप में सीमित हो गया। तेरहवीं शताब्दी से प्रान्तीय भाषाओं की स्वतन्त्र रचनायें मिलने लगती हैं पर वै से १४वीं शताब्दी तक की रचनाओं में अपभ्रंश का प्रभाव स्पष्ट है। विवाहलउ-शब्द–बारहमासादि संज्ञक परवर्ती विविध प्रकार के काव्यों की परम्परा अपभ्रंश साहित्य से जुड़ी हुई है। विवाहले काव्यों की उपलब्धि १४वीं शताब्दी से होती है। उपलब्ध काव्यों में सब से प्राचीन विवाह वर्णन काव्य आगमिक गच्छीय जिनप्रभसूरि का 'अन्तरंग विवाह' है। यह छोटा सा आध्यात्मिक रूपक विवाह-काव्य अपभ्रंश भाषा में रचा गया है। आदि अंत के दो पद्य यहाँ उद्धृत किये जाते हैं :–

प्रारम्भ—पमाय गुण ठाणु पाटणु तहिं, अहे भवि योजिउ निरुवमु वसए।
चउविह संघु जात उत्रकीय, अहे, वाहण सहस सीलग ॥१५॥
अंत—इणि परि परि णए जो अजगि, अहे, लहइ सो सिद्धि-पुरि वासु।
मंगलिकु वीरजिणप्रभह अहे मंगलिकु चउवीह संघ ए।
(अन्तरंग विवाह धवल, वसंत रागेण भणनीय)

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इस काव्य के वसन्त राग में गाये जाने का निर्देश है। इस की पुष्पिका में विवाह और धवल दोनों संज्ञायें साथ ही दी हैं। विवाहप्रसंग में धवल और मंगल गीत गाये जाते हैं। इस लिये विवाहला और धवल दोनों संज्ञाओं को एकसदृश मानते हुए परवर्ती रचनाओं में एक ही काव्य के लिये कहीं धवल और कहीं विवाहला संज्ञा लिखी मिलती है। परवर्ती रूपक विवाहलों के निर्माण का प्रेरणास्रोत भी ऐसे ही काव्य रहे हैं।

इसकी रचना सम्वत् १३०० के आसपास में हुई है और इसकी ताडपत्रीय प्रति पाटण के जैन भंडार में सुरक्षित है। इस अंतरंग विवाह में प्रमाद गुणस्थान को पत्तन याने नगर, भविक जीव को निरुपम वर, चतुर्विध संज्ञा को जानउत्र और शालांगों को वाहण का रूपक दिया गया है। अन्त के फल में मुक्ति से विवाह कराकर सिद्धपुरि में भविक जीव रूपी वर को पहुँचा दिया गया है. परवर्ती सहजसुंदर-रचित जम्बू अंतरंग विवाहला इसी की परम्परा का काव्य है। इसका परवर्ती रूपक काव्य सम्वत् १३३१ में सोममूर्तिरचित जिनेश्वरसूरि संयम श्री विवाह वर्णन रास है। इसमें उपरोक्त काव्य से भिन्न प्रकार का रूपक है। जिनेश्वरसूरि नामक खरतरगच्छ के आचार्य ने जैन मुनि की दीक्षा ग्रहण की उसका वर्णन करते हुए कविने दीक्षाकुमारी या संयमश्री को कन्या का रूपक देकर उसके साथ जिनेश्वरसूरि का विवाह याने मिलाप–सम्बन्ध जोडा है। वैसे जैनमुनि प्रायः लघुवय में ही दीक्षित हो जाते हैं इस लिये उनके द्रव्य विवाह के प्रसंग का वर्णन करने का अवसर कवियोंको नहीं मिलता क्योंकि वे ब्रह्मचारी ही रहते हैं। इस लिये कवियों ने संयमश्री को कन्या का रूपक देकर भावविवाह के वर्णनप्रसंगकी सृष्टि की है। बालकअवस्था में जिनेश्वरसूरि मरुकोट के भंडारी नेमिचन्द्र के पुत्र थे। उनका नाम अवडकुमार था। वह अपनी मातासे जैन मुनिकी दीक्षा ग्रहण करने का अपना विचार प्रगट करते हुए कहते हैं:–

परणिसु संयमसिरि वरनारि भाइ, मा इए मज्झु भणह पियारी। अर्थात् मैं संयमश्री के साथ विवाह करना चाहता हूँ, मुझे वही प्यारी है। तदनन्तर उन की माता उन्हे संन्यास स्वीकार करने पर होनेवाली कठिनाइयों का अनुभव कहती है पर वे तो अपना निश्चय अटल रखते हुए करते हैं :–

"किंपि न भावए विणु संयमसिरि," 'अर्थात् मुझे संयमश्री (दीक्षा) ग्रहण के अतिरिक्त कुछ भी नहीं सुहाता।

"परणे विणु दिक्खसिरि विविह भंगिह सुक्ख माणिसु।" अर्थात् मैं दीक्षाश्री से विवाह कर विविध प्रकार के सुखों का अनुभव करूंगा। अन्त में अंबड़कुमार को बर बनाकर खेडनगर में जिनपतिसूरि के पास दीक्षा दिलाई जाती है, जिसका वर्णन कविने बडा ही सुन्दर किया है। यथा—

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अभिनव ए चालिय जानउत्र, अंबड तणइ वीवाहि।
आपुणु ए धम्मह चक्कवइ, हूयउ जानह माहि॥ १६॥
आवहि आवहि रंगभरी, पंच महव्वयराय।
गायहि गायहि महुर सरि, अट्ठय पवयणमाय॥ १७॥
अढार सह सह रह वरह, जोत्रिम तहि सीलंग।
चालहिं चालहिं खंति मुह, वेगिहि चंग तुरंग॥ १८॥
कारइ कारइ नेमिचंदु, भंडारिउ उच्छाहु।
बाधइ बाधइ जान देषि, लषमिणि हरपु अवाहु॥ १९॥
कुसलिहि खेमिहि जानउत्र, पहुतिय खेड मज्झारि।
उछवु हूयउ अइ पवरो, नाचहि फरफर नारि॥ २०॥
जिणवइसूरिण मुणिपवरो, देसण अमिय रसेण।
कारिय जीमणवार तहि, जानह हरिस भरेण॥ २१॥
संति जिणेसरवरभुयणि, मंडिय नंदिसुवेहि।
वर सहि भविया दाण जलि, जिम गयणंगणि मेह॥ २२॥
तहि अगियारीय निपजए, झाणानल पजलंति।
तउ संवेगिहि निम्मियउ हथ लेवउ सुमुहुत्ति॥ २३॥
इणि परि अंबडु वर कुमरो, परिणइ संजमनारि।
वाजइ नंदीय तूर घणा, गूडिय घर घर बारि॥ २४॥

अर्थात्—अंबड़कुमार की अभिनव जान चली। जिस को मुखिया धर्मरूपी चक्रवर्ती था, पंच महाव्रत रूपी राजा बड़े हर्ष से उसमें सम्मीलित हुए थे। अष्ट प्रवचन माता रूपी सधवा स्त्रियों ने मधुर स्वर से गीत गाये। १८००० शीलांग रूपी रथ जोते गये। शान्ति रूपी तेज घोडे रथों में जोड़े गये, जो बड़े वेग से चले। नेमिचन्द्र भंडारी और उनकी पत्नी लक्ष्मणी को इस जान को देख के बड़ा हर्ष हुआ। कुसलक्षेम के साथ जान खेड़नगर में पहुँची। वहाँ बहुत बड़ा उत्सव हुआ, स्त्रियां फरफर नृत्य कर रही थीं। जिनपतिसूरिजी के उपदेशरूपी अमृत भोजन से जान को जीमणवार दिया गया। शान्तिनाथ के जिनालय में दीक्षा-विवाह की वेदिका बनाई गई। खूब दान दिया गया। ध्यानरूपी अग्नि प्रज्वलित की गई। शुभ मुहूर्त में संवेगरूपी हथलेवा जोड़ा गया। इस प्रकार अंबडकुमार ने संयमरूपी नारि के साथ विवाह किया। खूब वाजित्र बजे व ध्वजा पताकायें फहराईं।

जैनाचार्यों के दीक्षाप्रसंग के वर्णनात्मक आठ विवाहले काव्य मिले हैं। उन सब में इसी प्रकार संयमश्री को कन्या का रूपक दे कर उससे विवाह संपन्न कराया

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गया है। उपर्युक्त विवाहले अनन्तर मेरुसुन्दर ने 'जिनोदय सूरि विवाहला' बनाया जो एक सुन्दर काव्य है। इसमें विवाह करानेवाले जोशी का स्थान गुरुश्री को दिया गया है। ये दोनों काव्य 'जैन ऐतिहासिक गुर्जर काव्य संचय' और हमारे सम्पादित 'ऐतिहासिक जैन काव्य संग्रह' में प्रकाशित हो चुके हैं। इन दोनों का मध्यवर्ती ऐसा ही एक छोटा विवाहला मुनि सहजज्ञान-रचित 'युग प्रवर जिनचन्द्र सूरि विवाहला' है। जिसे मैंने जैन सत्यप्रकाश के वर्ष १७ अंक १२ में प्रकाशित किया है। ऐसे अन्य काव्यों में उदयनन्दिसूरि विवाहला, कीर्तिरत्नसूरि, गुणरत्नसूरि, सुमतिसाधु सूरि और हेमविमल सूरि विवाहले हैं। ये सभी जैनाचार्यों के सम्बन्ध में हैं और इनका रचनासमय १४वीं से १६वीं शताब्दी है। इनमें से उदयनन्दि-सूरि विवाहले से तत्कालीन वैवाहिक रीतिरिवाज पद्धति की अच्छी जानकारी मिलती है। उदयनन्दिसूरि का बाल्यावस्था का नाम राउल था। उन्हें विवाह करने का कहने पर वे कहते हैं :– 'संयमसिरि स्वयंवरि वहिये। बीज सवि कन्या परिहरिये' अर्थात् अन्य कन्याओं को छोड़ मैं संयमश्री से ही विवाह करूँगा। फिर जोशी को बुलाया जाता है, वह विवाह का लग्न-मुहूर्त देखता है। पिता के घर में उत्सव मनाना प्रारम्भ होता है। चारों ओर कुंकुमपत्रिकायें भेजी जाती है। परिवार के लोग इकट्ठे होते हैं। धवल मंगल और बधावणे गाने प्रारम्भ होते हैं। मंडप रचा जाता है। बाजे बजते हैं। बन्दीजन बिरुदावली बोलते हैं। लग्न आने पर वर को पाट पर बैठाकर स्नान कराया जाता है। क्षीरोदक पहनाया जाता है, स्त्रियें कटोरी में चन्दन भरकर उबटन करती हैं। बहिन आखों को आंजती है, वर को मुकुट आदि अलंकार पहनाये जाते है। बहिन आशीष देती है। वर घोडे पर सवार होता है, बहुत से लोग उसके साथ में चलते हैं। वैश्यायें नृत्य करती हैं, वर के मस्तक पर छत्र और दोनों ओर चंबर ढुलाये जाते हैं। पौषधशाला में पहुँचने पर लग्न का समय आते ही गुरु भी उन्हें आधा मुहपत्ति आदि साधु का वेष देते हैं और संयमश्री के साथ विवाह हो जाता है। जैन दीक्षा ग्रहण से पूर्व आज भी संयम लेनेवाले स्त्री, पुरुष को वैसे ही तैयार किया जाता हैं मानो, वह विवाहले ही चला है।

रूपक विवाहले काव्यों के अतिरिक्त जैन कवियों ने तीर्थंकरों व पुराने जैन महा-पुरुषों आदि के भी बहुत से विवाहले काव्य बनाये हैं, जैसे—आदिनाथ, अजितनाथ, शान्तिनाथ, सुपार्श्वनाथ, चन्द्रप्रभ, नेमिनाथ, पार्श्वनाथ व महावीर इन तीर्थंकरों के करीब ३० विवाहले काव्य मिलते हैं, जिनमें सबसे अधिक नेमिनाथ के विवाहले हैं। अन्य जैन महापुरुषों में आर्द्रकुमार, मंगलकलश, शालिभद्र, कयवन्ना व जम्बुकुमार के विवाहले उल्लेखनीय हैं। ये सभी पन्द्रवीं शताब्दी से २०वीं शताब्दी के पूर्वार्द्धतकमें

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रचे गये हैं। सम्वत् १४१२ से प्रारम्भ होकर सं. १९२९ तक इनका रचनाकाल है, इनमें सबसे अधिक विवाहले १७ वीं शताब्दी में रचे गये हैं।

'धवल' नामान्तवाली पाँच बड़ी व छोटी छोटी अनेक जन रचनायें ज्ञात हुई हैं। जिनमें दो जिनपतिसूरि धवलगीत १३वीं शताब्दी के अन्त की है, अवशेष १५वीं व. १७वीं के हैं। जैनेतर वैष्णव समाज में धवल–धोल का प्रचार हिन्दी में है। वास्तव में गुजरात से ही इसको अपनाया गया है।

"मंगल" काव्यों का प्रारम्भ बंगाल में १६वीं से शुरू हो के १९वीं तक बहुत अधिक रहा। हिन्दी में मंगल काव्यों का प्रारम्भ १७ शताब्दी से होता है। नरहरि और नन्ददास के रुक्मणीमंगल हिन्दी के सर्व प्रथम मंगलकाव्य है, फिर तुलसीदास के पार्वतीमंगल (सं. १६४३ में) और जानकीमंगल रचे गये। १८वीं १९वीं में यह परम्परा ठीकसे चालू रही, जो २०वीं तक भी चली आई है। अन्तिम मंगलकाव्य 'भवानीमंगल' सं. १९६४ में रचित प्राप्त हुआ हैं।

भाषा के प्रसिद्ध काव्य 'कृष्ण रुक्मणी वेलि' के अन्तके पत्रों में 'रुक्मणीमंगल' शब्द भी आता है पर वेलिओ छन्दमें रचे जाने के कारण यह वेलि संज्ञा से ही प्रसिद्ध हुआ। इसी समय के लोककवि पद्मा तैली का रुक्मणीविवाहलो काव्य मिलता हैं जिसकी सबसे प्राचीन प्रति सं. १६६९ की लिखित हमारे संग्रह में है, मूलतः यह काव्य २५०,३०० श्लोकों के प्रमाण का था पर लोकप्रिय होने से १९वीं शताब्दी में इसमें स्थान स्थान पर बहुत से नये पद्य जोड़कर सम्मलित कर दिये और तभी इसकी संज्ञा मंगल रखी गई। इसका अंतिम रूप सं. १९६१ में मूंडने के शिवकरण रामरतन दरक ने सम्पादन किया। उन्होंने ११ प्रतियों को एकत्र कर उनके पाठ में अपनी ओरसे कुछ बढ़ाकर इसे तय्यार किया यह स्वयंसिद्ध हैं, अतः मूल काव्य से बढ़ते २ इसका परिमाण करीब १० गुना हो गया है। राजस्थान की जनता में इसका बहुत प्रचार रहा है। गावों में व नगर की साधारण जनता आज भी इसे बड़ी भक्तिभाव से सुनती है। गायक मंडलियां रात के समय वाद्यों के साथ इसे गाकर सुनाती हैं। भोजन और गृहकार्य से निवृत्त होकर नरनारी इसे बड़े चाव से सुनते हैं व इसकी समाधि पर भेंट पूजा चढ़ाई जाती है, गायकों को भोजनादि से सात्कृत्य किया जाता है।

गुजराती जैनेतर कवियों के 'विवाह' संज्ञक काव्य ही ज्ञाति हुए है। मंगलसंज्ञक काव्य वहाँ नहीं रचे गये। जिनमें विवाह प्राचीन काव्य नरसीका सामलसाह विवाह एवं डामर कविका वेणी वत्सराज विवाहलो है, जो १६ वीं शताब्दी के हैं। इसके बाद तो विवाह संज्ञक काव्य गुजराती में ६० से भी अधिक मिलते हैं, जिनकी सूची आगे दी गई है।

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उपर्युक्त विवेचन एवं परवर्ती दी जाने वाली सूचि से निम्नोक्त सूचनाएं मिलती हैं।

(१) विवाहवर्णनप्रधान काव्य की संज्ञा १३वीं के प्रारंभ से विवाहधवल व विवाहलु मिलती है। मंगल संज्ञा हिंदी प्रधान क्षेत्रमें १७वीं से मिलती है। उपलब्ध विवाहकाव्य में जिनप्रभसूरि का अंतरंगविवाह (अपभ्रंश) सबसे प्राचीन है।

(२) जैन कवियोंने दो प्रकार के रूपकविवाहकाव्य भी बनाये हैं, जिन में आचार्यों की दीक्षावर्णनवाले विवाहलो ऐतिहासिक हैं। अन्य रूपक भिन्न काव्य में सर्वाधिक नेमिनाथ संबंधित है। तदनन्तर पार्श्व, ऋषभ, शान्ति, महावीर आदि जैन तीर्थंकरों व महापुरुषों के मिलते हैं।

(३) गुजरात एवं राजस्थान में विवाहकाव्य अधिक रच गये। जैन कवियों की रचना दोनों प्रान्तों में हुई। अतः उनकी भाषा दोनों है। जैनेतर गुजराती काव्य भी सोलहवीं शती से अनेक विवाहसंज्ञक काव्य रचे गये, जिन में सर्वाधिक कृष्ण-रुक्मिणी के, फिर शिव-पार्वती के, नरसिंहपुत्र शामल के तत्पश्चात् राम आदि के विवाहों का स्थान है।

(४) बंगला में मंगलसंज्ञक काव्य सोलहवीं से अनेकों रचे गये। पर वे विवाहवर्णनप्रधान न हो कर आख्यानक काव्य हैं। हिंदी के कवियों ने सत्रहवीं से इस संज्ञा को अपनाया। मंगलकाव्यो में रुक्मिणी-मंगल सर्वाधिक रचे गये, फिर शिव-पार्वती तथा जानकी-मंगल का स्थान होता है। गोकुलेशविवाह एवं पृथ्वीराज-विवाह दो ऐतिहासिक व्यक्तियों के हैं।

(५) ज्ञात काव्यों में भवानीमंगल, स्वामी नरोत्तमदासजी के चचा चतुर्भुजजी (नागौर के महंत) रचित सबसे अंत का है। वह विक्रम संवत् १९५८ में रचे गये। संवत् १९८३ में प्रकाशित हुआ।

मुझे ज्ञात विवाहला, धवल और मंगलकाव्यों की सूची देने से पूर्व एक बात का स्पष्टीकरण कर देना आवश्यक समझता हूँ कि आगे की सूची में दिये जानेवाले जैन कवियों के सभी विवाहले काव्यों में विवाह का वर्णन ही प्रधान नहीं हैं। कई काव्य तो बहुत बड़े हैं और वे चरितकाव्य है। सबसे बड़ी रचना में ब्रह्म-विनयदेव सूरि का पार्श्वनाथ व सुपार्श्वनाथ के विवाहला हैं। इन्हें मैंने पढ़ा नहीं पर इन में उन तीर्थंकरों का सम्पूर्ण चरित ही प्रधानतया वर्णित प्रतीत होता है। वास्तव में १५वीं शती से जब कि विवाहले काव्य बहुत प्रसिद्ध हो गये उनकी देशी—ढाल, तर्ज 'विवाहलानी देशी, ढाल विवाहलानी' इस प्रकार प्रसिद्ध हो गई कि दूसरे रास आदि काव्यों में भी इस तर्ज पर ढाले बनाई गई। इस ढाल में बनाई

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जानेवाली कई लघु रचनाओं का नामान्त पद या संज्ञा 'विवाहलो' दे दी गई हैं, वास्तव में उन में विवाह का वर्णन विशेष नहीं है वे विवाहवर्णनवाले काव्यों की तर्ज में–देशी में रचे गये हैं यहीं उनके विवाहलो संज्ञा पाने का कारण है। सभी विवाहलों में एक ही देशी नहीं है। पहले के कुछ काव्यों में कई प्रकार के देशियें हैं।

जैन कवियों के रचित विवाहलो काव्य सूची

अजितशांति विवाहलउ	गा. ३२	मेरुनन्दन	१५ वीं शती
अढारह नाता विवाहलो		हीरानन्दसूरि	१५ वीं ,,
आदिनाथ विवाहलो	गा. २४५	नींबो	१६७५ पूर्व
,, ,, ,,	१५	क्षेमराज	१६ वीं शती
,, ,, ,,		ऋषभ	१७ वीं ,,
,, ,, ,,	२५	रतनचन्द्र	१६ वीं ,,
आर्द्रकुमार विवाहउ	गा. ४६	सेवक	१६ वीं ,,
,, ,, ,, ,,	२५	देपाल	१६ वीं। संभव है
,, ,, ,, ,,	२४	अज्ञात	दोनों एक ही हों।
उदयनन्दिसूरि विवाहलउ	गा. २७	अज्ञात	१६ वीं शताब्दी
ऋषभदेव विवाहधवल		सेवक	१६ वीं ,,
,, ,, ,,	गा. २७६	श्रीदेव	,, ,,
अंतरंग विवाह		जिनप्रभसूरि	१४ वीं प्रारंभ
कयवन्ना विवाहलो	गा. १५	देपाल	,,
कीर्तिरत्नसरि ,,	,, ५४	कल्याणचन्द्र	,,
कृष्णविवाहलउ		हरदास	१८ वीं शती
गुणरत्नसूरि विवाहलो	गा. ५०	पद्ममन्दिर	१६ वीं ,,
चन्द्रभ्रम विवाहलउ	गा. ४१	उदयवर्धन	१६८४
जंबू अंतरंग विवाहलो	,, ६३	सहजसुन्दर	१५७२
जंबूस्वामी विवाहलो	,, ३५	हीरानंदसूरि	सं. १४८५
,, ,, ,,	,, १५	अज्ञात	
जिनचन्द्रसूरि विवाहलो	गा. ३५	सहजज्ञान	१४०६
जिनेश्वरसूरि विवाहलो	,, ३३	सोममूर्ति	१३३१
जिनोदयसूरि विवाहलो	,, ४४	मेरुनन्दन	१४३२
नेमिनाथ विवाहलो	,, २२	जयसागर	१५०५
,, ,,	,, २२	देपाल	१६ वीं शती

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,,	,,	,, ७	धनप्रभ	१७ वीं
,,	,,		अज्ञात	
,,	,,	धवल ढाल ४४	ब्रह्मविनयदेवसूरि	सं. १६१५
,,	,,		महिमसुन्दर	सं. १६६५
,,	,,	गरबा ढाल २२	वीरविजय	१८६०
,,	,,		ऋषभविजय	१८८६
,,	विवाह		केवलचन्द्र	१९२९
पार्श्वनाथ विवाहलो		गा. ६१	अज्ञात	१४१२ वै सु.११
,,	,,		पेथो	१६ वीं
,,	,,	गा. ८	क्षेमराज	१६ वीं शताब्दी
,,	,,	ढाल ४६	ब्रह्मविनयदेवसूरि	सं. १६१७ सावण
,,	,,		रंगविजय	सं. १८६०
,,	,,	गा. ६१	विजयरत्नसूरि	१८ वीं शताब्दी
पिथलगच्छ गुरु विवाहलो		गा. ५	अज्ञात	१६ वीं
मंगलकलश विवाहलउ		गा. १७०	धनराज	सं. १४९०
महावीर विवाहलउ			कीर्तिराज	१५ वीं शताब्दी
,,	,,	गा. ३२२	अज्ञात	१७ वीं
वीरचरित्र विवाहलो		ढाल ३७	ब्रह्मविनयदेवसूरि	१७ वीं शताब्दी
शत्रुञ्जय चैत्यपरिपाटी विवाहलउ		गाथा २५	अज्ञात	१५ वीं शताब्दी
शालिभद्र विवाहलो		गा. ४४	लक्ष्मण	१५६८ लिखित
शान्तिनाथ विवाहलउ		धवल	आनन्दप्रमोद	१५९१
शान्तिनाथ विवाहलउ			हर्षधर्म	१६ वीं शताब्दी
,,	,,		ब्रह्मविनयदेवसूरि	१७ वीं
,,	,,		सहजकीर्ति	१६७८
सुपार्श्व जिन विवाहलउ		धवल ३४	ब्रह्मविनयदेवसूरि	सं. १६३२
सुमति साधु सूरि विवाहलउ		गा. ८२	लावण्यसमय	१६ वीं शताब्दी
हेम विमल सूरि विवाहलउ		गा. ७१		,,

विशेष इन में से जिनचन्द्रसूरि, जिनेश्वरसूरि, जिनोदयसूरि, सुमतिसाधु-सूरि, विवाहलौ व नेमिविवाह छप चुके हैं। जैन सत्यप्रकाश वर्ष ११, अंक १०,११; वर्ष १२, अंक १; वर्ष १४, अंक ( ), प्रकाशित मेरे एवं हीरालाल कापड़िये के लेख द्रष्टव्य हैं।

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जैनेतर गुजराती कवियों के रचित विवाहकाव्य

अष्ट पटराणीनो विवाह	दयाराम	
ईश्वरविवाह	गोपीभान	
,, ,,	देवीदास छोटा	
,, ,,	मुरारि	
कानुडानो विवाह	अज्ञात	
कृष्णविवाह	राधाबाई	
गोकुलनाथजीनो विवाह	महावदास	
गोपीकृष्ण विवाह	जीवनदास	
जानकीविवाह	तुलसीदास	१८५७
तापीनो विवाह	अज्ञात	
तुलसीनो विवाह	,,	
तुलसीविवाह	गिरधर	१८७१
,, ,,	प्रभाशंकर	
,, ,,	प्रीतम	
नरसिंहना पुत्रनो विवाह	हरिदास	१७२६
,, ,,	मोतीराम	
,, ,,	प्रेमानन्द (बड़ा)	
,, ,,	,, (छोटा)	
नागरविवाह	रणछोड़	
नाग्नजितीविवाह	दयाराम	
महादेवविवाह	गोपाल भट्ट	
,, ,,	वल्लभ	
,, ,,	फूढ़	
रघुनाथजीनो विवाह	गोविन्द	
राधाविवाह	रणछोड़	
राधिकाविवाह	राजेकवि	
राधिका का विवाह	द्वारको	
रामविवाह	इच्छाराम	
,,	दिवालीबाई	
,,	प्रभुराम.	

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रुक्मणीविवाह	त्रिकमदास	
,,	कृष्णदास	
,,	गोविन्ददास	
,,	दयाराम	
,,	धनजी	
,,	मुक्तानन्द	
,,	रघुनाथ	
विट्ठलनाथजीनो विवाह	माधवदास	
विवाह खेल	वल्लभ	
,,	नारायण	
,,	उत्तमराम	
वेणी वत्सराज विवाहलउ	डामर	१६०७ लिखित प्रति
सामलसाहनो विवाह	नरसिंह	
,,	वल्लभ	
,,	आधारभट्ट	
शिवविवाह	नाकर	
,,	छोटम	
,,	रणछोड़	
,,	जगजीवन	
,,	मयाराम	
सत्यभामा विवाह	दयाराम	
सीताविवाह	भालण	
सूरतिविवाह	दयाराम	
सूरतिबाईनो विवाह	घेलाभाई	
,,	धीरो	
,,	निर्भयराम	

विशेष: उपर्युक्त सूचि बनाने में 'गुजराती हाथप्रतोनी संकलित यादी' एवं फार्बससभा–हस्तग्रंथ लिखित सूचि का उपयोग किया गया है।

हिन्दी के विवाह और मंगलकाव्य

कृष्ण रुक्मणी विवाह	चतुरदास	
,, व्यावलो	कृष्णदास	
जानकी मंगल	तुलसीदास	१६४३

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,,	बालकृष्ण	
पार्वतीमंगल	तुलसीदास	१६४३
पृथ्वीराज विवाह पद्य ५२	लक्ष्मीकुशळ	सं. १८५१
भवानीमंगल	चतुर्भुज स्वामी	सं. १९५६-६४
राधामंगल	अज्ञात	
रुक्मणीमंगल	नरहरि	१७वीं शताब्दी
,, ,,	नन्ददास	,,
,, ,,	केशोराम	१७५०
,, ,,	हीरालाल	१८३९
,, ,,	ठाकुरसीदास	
,, ,,	रामकृष्ण चोबे	
,, ,,	विष्णुदत्त	
,, ,,	नवलसिंह कायस्थ	
,, ,,	रूपदेवी	
,, ,,	विष्णुदास	
व्यावलो	हरिदास निरञ्जनी (पद्म तेलीके रुक्मणी विवाहले के भी इस में कुछ पद्य हैं।)	
विवाह लीला (गोकुलेश विवाह)	जगनन्दन	१८वीं शती
विवाह मंगल	गुनराय	
शिव व्याह पद्य ३७३	महाराउल लखपत	सं. १८०७
स्वामी हरिदास मंगल	नागरीदास	

उपर्युक्त सूचि हस्तलिखित ग्रंथों की खोज, रिपोर्टों, अनुप संस्कृत लाइब्रेरी के हिंदी ग्रंथों की सूचि आदि पर आधारित है।

राजस्थानी के जैनेतर विवाहमंगल काव्य

कृष्ण रुक्मिणी केलि	राठौड पृथ्वीराज	१६३७
रुक्मिणी विवाहलौ मंगल	पद्मातेली	१६६४ से पूर्व
महादेव पार्वती केलि	किरातउ	
रुक्मिणी मंगल	उदो	

विवाहलौ मंगलसंज्ञक काव्यों की परंपरा बहुत ही व्यापक–विस्तृत रही है। नित्य अज्ञात ग्रंथों की उपलब्धि होती रहती हैं। विजयधर्मसूरि ज्ञानमंदिर आग्रे—आदि में कुछ इस सूचि के अतिरिक्त प्राचीन विवाहलौ मिले हैं। प्राप्त व ज्ञात काव्यों का सम्यक् परिशीलन आवश्यक है।

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Section XV: Gujarat History and Culture

32. The Problem of the Chronology of the Chavada Kings

By Dr. H. G. Shastri, M. A., Ph. D.

The tradition gives certain specific years for the Chronology of the Chāvaḍā kings of Aṇahillapattana (in North Gujarat), but their reliability has been doubted since long. The date of the coronation of Vanarāja, the founder the Chavāḍā dynasty at Aṇahillapattana, is particularly supplied by a number of sources, such as Prabandha-Cintāmaṇi, Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa, Vicāra-śreṇi, Kumārpāla-Prabandha, Dharmāraṇya-Māhātmya, Mirate Ahmedi etc. All these works, with the single exception of Vicāra-śreṇī, assign the event to V. S. 802 (746 A. D.), and Vicāraśreṇī assigns it to V. S. 821 (765 A. D.). Some of these works (such as the Prabandha-Cintāmaṇi and Kumārapāla-Prabandha) also note that Vanarāja was of 50 at the time of his coronation. Accordingly his birth is to be dated V. S. 752 (696 A. D.). This date is actually mentioned in the Hindi poem 'Ratnamāla'. Even the specific day (Vaiśākha śukla 15) given in this work tallies with the day calculated from the data supplied by the Prabandha-Cintāmani. The Ratnamāla also records that the death of Jayaśikharī, the father of Vanarāja took place shortly in the same year (V.S. 752). Thus the reign of Jayaśikharī is said to have ended in V.S. 752 (696 A.D.). It is, however, not known when his reign had commenced. Nor is it known how much earlier the Chāvaḍā rule was established at Pancāsara, where Jayaśikharī reigned. But the reign of Jayaśikharī can be accordingly dated *circa* 676 to 696 A.D.

All the sources that supply figures for the reign of Vanarāja and his successors (Prabandha-Cintāmani, Vicāraśreṇī, Kumārapāla-Prabandha, Dharmāraṇya-Māhātmya, Ratnamāla and Mirate-Ahmedi) agree that Vanarāja reigned for about 60 years, or more precisely for 59 years, 2 months and 1 day. His reign may, therefore, be dated V.S. 802 (746 A.D.) to 861 (805 A.D.) according to all the sources except the Vicāraśreṇī or V.S. 821 (765 A.D.) to 861 (805 A.D.) according to the different tradition given in the Vicāraśreṇi. Vanarāja is in all these works said to have been succeeded by Yogarāja, but there is a wide gulf of difference with regard to the reign of the latter, for some sources (PC (a), KP, RM, MA) assign 35 years to his reign whereas some other sources (PC (b), VS, DM) assign 9 or 10 years to the same. The gulf of difference between these two traditions not only continues with respect

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to the periods of the reign of his successors but also extends over their number as well as the sequence of their succession. However, the total period of the reign of Vanarāja and his successors is given to be 196 years in almost all these works (at least in PC, VS, KP, RM, MA). The end of the Chāvaḍā rule may, therefore, be dated V.S. 998 or 1017 according to the two different traditions. Of these two dates the former just coincides with the date usually assigned to the coronation of Mūlarāja Solanki who succeeded the last king of the Chāvaḍā dynasty, and is corrobrated by epigraphic evidence.

The Chāvaḍā rule at Aṇahillapattana may accordingly be dated V.S. 802 (746 A.D.) to 998 (942 A.D.). It is, however, a problem whether we can thoroughly rely upon these dates drawn from the tradition preserved in the above mentioned works. Firstly the data supplied by these works differ widely in their details. The day of Vanarāja's coronation, for instance, is given differently in different sources as follows:

(i) Prabandha Cintāmaṇi–V.S. 802 Vaiśakha Śukla 2 Soma
(ii) Dharmāraṇya Māhātmya–V.S. 802 Āṣāḍha Śukla 3 Śani
(iii) Gaṇapati Image Inscription–V.S. 802 Caitra Śukla 2 Śukra
(iv) An old kavit–V.S. 802 Māgha bahula 7 Śani
(v) Rājāvalī–V.S. 802 Śrāvaṇa Śukla 2 Soma

As regards the number, names, sequence, and reigns of Vanarāja's successors there are two distinct traditions which differ widely from each other. One is given in PC, KP, RM, MA etc, while the other is given in SS, SK, PC, VS, DM etc. The two traditions are as follows:

1. Vanarāja.....60 years.	1. Vanarāja.....59 years.
2. Yogarāja.....35 years.	2. Yogarāja.....10 years.
3. Kṣemarāja.....25 years.	3. Ratnāditya.....3 years.
4. Bhūyaḍa.....29 years.	4. Vairasiṁha.....18 years.
5. Vairasimha.....25 years.	5. Kṣemarāja.....38 years.
6. Ratnāditya.....15 years.	6. Cāmuṇḍarāja.....13 years.
7. Sāmantasimha.....7 years.	7. Āhaḍa or Ughaḍa.....27 years.
	8. Bhuvaḍa or Bhūbhaṭa..27 years.

It is very difficult to ascertain the validity of either against the other. The works cited above generally give figures for the reigns of Vanarāja's successors. Two manuscripts of the PC, however, specify the exact day of each king's coronation. As for these days it may be noted that on verification the tithis scarcely tally with the week-days and Nakṣatras mentioned along with them. Hence the details are not reliable. Even for the dates of the two limits of the total duration of the dynasty, it may be noted that the Vicāraśreṇī gives altogether different figures for these dates, viz. V.S. 821 for V.S. 802 and V.S. 1017 for V.S. 998. The variants of tradition are not restricted to

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the Chāvaḍā dynasty of Aṇahillapattana; they are suspicious even in the case of its predecessor at Pancāsara. The Jain Prabandhas are generally silent about the name and deeds of Vanarāja's father, which form the main topic of the Brahmanical tradition.* The name of his mother is also given differently in different sources. The R M gives it as Rūpasundarī while the D M & VŚ as Chattā or 'Akṣata' intead. The Jain and Brahmanical traditions also differ widely with respect to Vanarāja's childhood. The Prabandhas claim that the young boy was brought up under the care of Śīlaguṇasūri or Devacandra, while the DM claims that he was looked after by the Brāhmaṇas in the Dharmāraṇya. The PC notes this difference in tradition in तद्द्वेषी नैव मन्यते। These inconsistencies have been perplexing the historians of the Cāvaḍā dynasty since long.

The perplexity of the problem is considerably intenified when we attempt to correlate the events relating to Jayaśekhara's death (V.S. 752) and Vanarāja's coronation (V.S. 802) with the well-established political conditions of those times.

The Ratnamāla attributes the fall of Pancāsara to the Culukya King Bhuvara of Kalyāṇakaṭaka in Kānyakubja, while Dharmāraṇya Māhātmya connects the event with the Buddhist King Āma of Kānyakubja. The event is dated roughly V.S. 700 in the DM; while the RM assigns the specific year V.S. 752 to it. But history knows of no king named Bhuvaḍa or Āma reigning at Kānyakubja in *circa* 700 A.D. By that time the whole of North Gujarat was under the sway of the Maitrakas of Valabhī. How could, then, King Āma of Kanauj give Gurjaratrā (North Gujarat) to his daughter in dowry? The Prabhāvaka-carita identifies King Āma of Kananj with king Nāgabhaṭa II of the Pratihāra dynasty. It was he who extended his sway over Kānyakubja and shifted his capital there. He also extended his supremacy over Ānarta, Kheṭaka and Surāṣṭra. Hence the fall of Pancāsara must be ascribed to this King of Kānyakubja, who, however, reigned in cir. 792-834 A.D. i.e. more than a hundred years later than the traditional date given above.

In 'the Glory that was Gurjardeśa, Part III', Shree Munshi examined this problem in detail and established that King Āma who destroyed Pancāsara is to be identified with King Nāgabhaṭa II and King Bhuyaḍa who is connected with Vanarāja, is to be identified with his grandson Mihira Bhoja who reigned in about 836-888 A.D. The traditional dates of V.S. 752 and V.S. 802 will then be of no avail. These dates can, however, be reconciled

*The Purātana-Prabandha-Sangraha exceptionally alludes to his parentage. But its account quite differs from that given in the RM and D M, for according to PPS Vanaraja was the son of Cāmuṇḍa who had abandoned his wife when she was carrying.

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with the reigns of these sovereigns by abscribing their years to the Śaka era instead of the Vikrama era. The error of ascribing known years to a wrong era is not uncommon in the history of Gujarat. The date of the fall of Valabhī, for instance, which was in fact V.S. 845 as given in the VTK, was wrongly ascribed to the Vīra Samvat and equated to V.S. 375 in many Prabandha works. The years 752 and 802, when ascribed to the Śaka era, will correspond to 830 and 880 A.D. respectively and accordingly the date of the fall of Pancāsara and the coronation of Vanarāja will then fall within the reigns of Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 792-834 A.D.) and Mihira Bhoja (c. 836-888 A.D.) respectively. Thus the early events of the Chāvaḍā dynasty will have to be shifted 134 years later, if they are to be in accordance with the well-established conditions of those times.

The main objection against this suggestion may be that the total period of the Chāvadā rule at Aṇahillapura, which is usually said to be of 196 years, will then be reduced to only 62 years, for the lower limit of this period is definitely fixed to be V.S. 998, the year of Mūlarāja's coronation. It would be too short for a dynasty of seven or eight kings, as it would give an average of only 8 or 9 years for the reign of a king. But we should also take into consideration the long interregnum that followed the death of Jayaśekharī as well as the probable period of his own reign. According to the tradition related to the Vikrama era, the total period of the whole lineage will then be of 266 years (c. 676 to 942 A.D.). It will give an average of about 30 years for a reign, which is evidently longer than expected. If the early years be, however, ascribed to the Śaka era, the total period will be of 132years (c. 810 to 942 A.D.) and the average of a reign will be of about 15 to 17 years. This is much more probable than the long average arrived at according to the tradition. It is, therefore, very necessary to reconsider the problem of the chronology of the Chāvaḍās in light of these suggestions for chronological concordance.

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33. The Sun-Cult in Gujarat and Saurashtra

By P. N. Bhatt, B. A., Sahitya Ratna

The Sun has been addressed as Sūrya, Mitra, Savitṛ, Pūṣan etc. in the Vedic period. He was considered to be one of the most powerful gods. In course of time many other Vedic gods went into obscurity, but the Sun has ever remained to be a favourite object of worship. The great Gāyatrī (or Sāvitrī) Mantra of the Ṛgveda Samhitā is recited even to-day. The survival of this Mantra along with the rite of Arghya shows the long continuation of the ancient cult of Sun-worship.

The Sun-cult was in vogue in the Upanishad period. Chhāndogya Upanishad refers to Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra as a desciple of Ghora Āngirasa, a priest of the Sun.[1] In the Epic Age Karṇa in the Mahābhārata and Sugrīva in the Rāmāyaṇa were regarded to be Sūrya-putras. The Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata quotes some 108 names of the Sun. The Sun was worshipped by various names in the Vedic period, but it is not certain whether he was also worshippedi n the form of an icon and was enshrined in a temple. It is believed that the Sun-worship in iconographical form has been imported in India from Persia, through the Magas, when North-West India formed a part of the empire of Darius as early as the 5th century B.C.[2] The Bhaviṣya Purāṇa gives the earliest reference to the worship of the Sun-icon. Matsya Purāṇa, Bṛhatsamhitā, Amdumadbhedāgama, Viśvakarmaśāstra, Suprabhedāgama refer to the making of Sun-icon. The credi tof introducing the new custom of the worship of the sun through icon is attributed to Sāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa, of Dwārka in Saurāṣṭra. It is believed that Sāmba adopted the sun-worship and spread it among others. He was suffering from leprosy and was cured by the favour of Sūrya. It is also believed that the Magas, who worked as priests of the Sun-temple were also imported from Multan. The Purāṇas relating to Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra supply us with ample material pertaining the spread of Sun-cult. viz. Skanda Purāṇa, Vishnu Purāṇa and minor Purāṇas like Than Purāṇa and Saraswatī Purāṇa, in Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra. The Dharmāraṇya region was created by Dharmarāja, with the temples of God Dharmeśvara in the east, Gaṇapati in the south, Sūrya in the west and Brahma in the north.[3] The story runs

1. Life in the Gupta age. p. 509.
2. Sankalia, Archaeology of Gujarat p. 212.
3. Skanda-Br. 6-8-44.

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thus:– Sanjñā ( ) who was penancing Sūrya, and Sūrya became horsse. The Aśvinīkumāras were born of them. The place, being near Bakula tree, Sūrya who was installed there was named Bakulārka. The Kuṇḍa which was created by the strokes of their hoofs was named Ravikuṇḍa and the whole region was afterwards called Bakulavana.[4] In the same Purāṇa there is another reference to the Sun-cult in Dharmāraṇya. It is said that Rāma erected a Sapta-bhūmi Prasāda for his Kulaswāmi Sūrya.[5] This Dharmāraṇya is the same region around Moḍhera which also has been clearly referred to in this Purāṇa[6], as the region around Moheraka, the earlier name of Moḍherā. Even to-day the temples of Dharmeśvara Mahādeva and the Sun-god exist in east and west respectively in Moḍherā.

The Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa of the Skaṇḍa Purāṇa also mentions several places dedicated to Arka (Sun). They are Arkabhāskara, Arkasthala, Uttarārka, Karkoṭakārka, Kśemāditya, Mitrāditya, Durvāsāditya, Nandāditya, Pingalāditya, Bakulaswāmī, Bālārka, Mandāditya, Śakrāditya, Sāgarāditya and Sāmbāditya around Somnath and surrounding places.[7] The Daśama Skandha of the Bhāgavata contains a reference to Sun-cult in the story of Satrājit of Dvārakā, who invited God Sūrya and acquired the jewel Syamantaka.[8] The Thān Purana, which, while describing Triratneśvara Māhātmya, gives an account of surrounding temples and tīrthas, mentions that there was a Sun-temple at Kandola Hill which Lakha Phulani made repaired.[9] The recently discovered Sarasvatī Purāṇa makes a cursory reference to the temple of the Sun. as Bhāyalasvāmī, who was said to be worshipped by Jayasimha when his shrine stood on the Ghat of the famous Sahasralinga lake at Patan. These Purānic references give ample evidence for the wide spread of the Sun-cult in Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra.[10]

Epigraphic evidence

The Sun-cult seems to have survived in Western India along with Śaivism and Bhagavatism during the early centuries of the Christian era. We have the first epigraphic evidence of Sun-cult from the Mandasor incription (dated 473-74 A.D.) of the reign of Bandhuvarman, referring to a temple of Diptaraśmi (Sūrya) built by a guild of silk-weavers who migrated from Lāṭa

4. Joshi, Purāṇoman Gujarat p. 108.
5. Skanda. Br. 3 Adhyaya 32 Sl. 13, 29, 42.
6. धर्मारण्य कृतयुगे त्रेतायां सत्यमंदिरम्। द्वापरे वेदभवनं कलौ मोहेरकं स्मृतम्॥
7. Skanda. Bra. Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa 3,13,18; Akhand Anand-K.B. Dave. Oct. 1952
8. Akhand Anand: K. B. Dave. Oct. 1952.
9. Ibid— ,, ,, ,,
10. Sankalia, Archaeology of Gujarat:– p. 214.

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to Daśapura.[11] In the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century Kings Dadda I and II and Raṇagraha of Nāndipurī (in Lāṭa) were called devotees of the Sun.[12] Among the Maitrakas of Valabhī, king Dharapaṭṭa professed to be Parama-Āditya-Bhakta in the copper-plate inscriptions. The grant of the year 292 (611 A.D.) was issued by King Siladitya I alias Dharmāditya to a sun-temple at Bhadreṇīyaka. The Dhānk grant of the king which records the gift of land dedicated to the Mahādeva temple at Vaṭapadra, also mentions a Vāpī belonging to the temple of Ādītyadeva while enumerating the four borders of the plots donated[13] in 290 (609 A.D.). The Ghumli grant of Saindhava King Rāṇaka dated G.E. 555 (874-75 A.D.) refers to a temple of Haridaśva (Sūrya) situated in Western Saurāśtra.[14] In Lāṭa, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Govindaraja made a grant in S.E. 749 (821 A.D.) to a temple of Sun called Jayāditya, which stood at Kavi.[15] An Inscription of Saurāṣṭra also refers to the temple of the Sun called Taruṇāditya built on the bank of the Kaṇavīrikā river.[16] It received the grant of a village from King Balavarman[17] and of another village from King Avantivarman II[18] in 893 A.D. and 899 A.D. respectively. In the Sun-temple at Moḍherā there is an inscription inscribed on a stone reading "Vikrama Samvat 1083". i.e. 1026-27 A.D. An inscription in the sun-temple at Bhāyāvadev, a village, 12 miles far from Porbundar, speaks of the erection of the temple in 1146 A.D. by some Somarāja.[19] Vastupāla, the famous Jain minister, installed two images of the consorts of Sūrya, Ratnādevi and Rājadevi, as known from an inscription dated S. 1291 (1234-5 A.D.)[20]. The inscription on the Sun-icon at Kherālu is dated S. 1293 (1236-37 A.D.)[21]. The Mahāsāmnata of Vardhi-pathaka gave some grants for the maintenance of the temples of Bāla-Nārāyaṇa and Rūpa-Nārāyaṇa according to Kaḍi grant of S. 1317 (1260-61 A.D.). In A.D. 1255 Visaladeva restored a Sun-temple by

11. Sankalia, Archaeology of Gujarat. p. 212; A.S.W.I.; 'Data supplied by the Sanskrit inscriptions of Valabhi period' by Dr. H. G. Shastri p. 171
12. 'Archaeology of Gujarat' by Sankalia p. 212-13.
13. 'Data supplied by the Sanskrit Inscriptions of the Valabhi Period' by Dr. H. G. Shastri. p. 171; Akhand Anand :– K. B. Dave, October 1952.
14. E. I. XXVI p. 216. Dr. H. G. Shastri, op. cit., p. 171.
15. Sankalia, op. cit., p. 213. App. page 5. I. A. V. 144.
16. 'Archaeology of Gujarat' by Sankalia p. 213,
17. E. I. IX. 1. List No. 1379. Arch. of Guj. App. A. p. 22.
18. E. I. IX. 2. List No. 41. Arch. of Guj. App. A. p. 22.
19. Akhand Anand. K. B. Dave, Oct. 1952.
20. Watson Museum Reports 1923–24, 18 List No. 516 Arch. of Gujarat App. A. p. 8.
21. Arch. Rep. of Baroda State 1935–36.

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the name of Mulasthana somewhere at or near Dabhoi[22] (s. 1311). Besides Sūrya, his son Revanta, was also worshipped in certain parts of Saurāṣṭra as is known through Vāmanasthali inscription of Sāraṅgadeva[23] of S. 1346 (1290 A.D.). The inscription at the temple of Chintamani Parsvanatha of the year 1296 A.D. at Cambay speaks of a local Sun-temple, to which a mandapa was added by Vikala, a Jaina, in the reign of Rāmadeva.[24] Thakkar Viśaladeva installed the icon of the sun at Sutrapada in V.S. 1357[25] (A.D. 1300-1). The modern Sun-temple at Than was erected under the supervision of Vinashanker in V.S. 1432 (1375-76 A.D.).[26]

Thus from the epigraphic source we gather that the Sun-cult was prevalent in Gujarat and Saurastra from 5th to 14th century. i.e. from the Maitraka period to the Chaulukya period.

Other provinces outside Gujarat

Here it may also be noted that during this period, we find the Sun-cult prevalent in other parts of India as well. The Indore copper-plate inscription of Skandagupta, dated G. E. 146 (466 A. D.), which records the gift of a perpetual endowment to a temple of the sun at Indrapura (Indore)[27]. During the reign of the Gupta King Jivagupta II, a reference to the solar worship is recorded in the inscription at Deo-Baranark[28]. The Gwalior stone inscription refers to a temple of the sun (भानोः प्रासाद) in Mihurakula's 15th regnal year.[29] The early Puṣpabhūtis of Kanauj were all devoted to Sun. Rajyavardhana I, his son Adityavardhana and his grand son Prabhakaravardhana are all represented in the copper-plate inscriptions of Harsavardhana to have been most devout worshippers of the Sun (परमादित्यभक्त;[30]. It is said that many Sun-icons were carved and installed during theP ala, and Sena kings in Bengal.[31] Traces of the remains of the Sun-temples are also found in Brahmadeśa. The great Koṇārka (कोणारक) temple was erected during 13th century. In the age of Harṣa Mayūra Bhaṭṭa wrote Sūryaśataka and Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa also describes the worship of the Sun and the homage

22. E. I. I. 20. 32. Arch. of Guj. App. A. p. 19. 213.
23. Arch. of Guj. p. 213.
24. Arch. of Guj. Sankalia p. 213 BPSI. 222.
25. Akhand Anand. K. B. Dave, Oct. 1952.
26. Ibid
27. Life in the Gupta age-Saletore p. 510; Select Ins. Dr. D. C. Sircar Part I p. 309
28. Life in the Gupta age- Saletore p. 510
29. Ibid.
30. Life in the Gupta age-Saletore. P. 510 ff.
31. Manilal Mistri-Modherā.

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paid to him. People wore marks of sandal showing Sun-cult are also described[32] Huen-Tsiang described Multan as a great centre of Sun-cult. Martand temple of Sun in Kasmir was erected in 8th century.[33] A temple of the Sun called Bhāsvat existed in 9th century, perhaps at Dholpur, in Rajputana and a temple of Indrāditya at the village of Ghoṭavarsika (modern Ghoṭarsi 7 miles from Partabgarh) in V.S. 999 (A.D. 942).[34] A Sun-temple (Lotarka) is also mentioned in the grant of the Gahadvals of Kanauj dated A.D. 1177[35]. The archaeological and epigraphical evidences prove the existence of Sun-cult at Bhinamāl from 11th to 13th century.[36] In south the shrines on the Ladkhan (circa 450 A.D.), near the Ladkhana, at Pāpnatha (circa 680 A.D.) have Sun-icons in the shrine. Surya temples are found at Vaghli and Lonar.[37] Thus we see that the Sun-cult was in full bloom from 5th to 14th century in India also.

Archaeological Evidence

The real material for tracing the popularity of the Sun-cult in Gujarat and Saurāṣtra lies in the archaeological remains of old temples and icons preserved in different places of Gujarāt and Saurāṣtra. The oldest temple of the Sun is that of Gop. It resembles the early temple of Kasmir in the arrangement of its roof and in having trefoil niches on the outside wall of the inner courtyard. Burgess thought it at least as old as the 6th century A.D. and other writers have accepted his view.[38] But none of the present Kashmir temples is older than the 8th Century. The similarity in fact ends with the motive only.[39] At Gop there is no trefoil. Dr. Sankalia suggests to assign the Gop temple to the 5th Century A.D. on the evidence of the style of its sculpture[40] comparing it with the date of the stupa at Mirpurkhās. According to architecture we can class the temples into three groups (i) Pre-Chaulukyan (2) Early small Chaulukyan (3) Early large Chaulukyan and others. In first group come the temples at Visāvāda Sutrapādā Than Kinderkhedā Pāsthar Kadav. The second group will be comprised of the temples at Parabadi and in the third group will come temples at Modherā, Sun temple on the Hiraṇyā, Bhimnath, Triveni near Somnath and the new temple at

32. Life in the Gupta age-Salatore. P. 510. ff.
33. Indian Architecture by P. C. Brown. Plate CXVII. Fig. P.-192.-3.
34. Arch. of Gujarat-Sankalia. P. 245-6.
35. E.I. IV. P. 128-B. Arch. of Guj.-Sankalia. P. 246.
36. Arch. of Guj.-Sankalia. 246. Bombay Gazetteer. I; pp. 471-488.
37. The Hindu Temples of the Deccan College Bulletin. Dec. 1950. P. 101-114.
38. Codrington & Coomaraswamy have accepted. Arch. of Guj.-Sankalia p.57.
39. Archaeology of Gujarat-Sankalia p. 59.
40. Ibid. p. 59

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Than, Torana at Piludra Bagavadar.[41] The temple at Visāvāda is later than that that at Gop, but the temples at Kadvar Kinderkheda and Pasthar may be put earlier than that at Visavada and later than that at Gop.[42] The Visavada temple departs from the Gop temple in two respects:– (1) At Visāvāda the Sikhara has four steps instead of three (2) The apex was crowned by an āmalaka. Its date may be accepted as the 6th Century. The Sutrapada temple is earlier than the Old Temple at Than.[43] Cousens dates Than Temple earlier than Sutrapada, But architecturally the Than temple is nearer to that at Moḍherā (11th century A.D.). By putting this temple in 7th or 8th century it can serve as an important link with the Chaulukyan temples.[44] At Than (which is on the way from Vadhvān to Rajkot) there are two sun-temples, one is called 'Old' and has its remains existing now and the other is new. This 'Old temple' belongs to a later date than of Sutrapada. The temple is on the Kandola Hill and is also referred to in Triratneśvara Māhātmya of Than Purāṇa. There are navagrahas also at Thān and Sūrya is seated in utkaṭika pose as at Kadvār.[45] This temple may be placed architecturally in the 7th or 8th century.[46] At Kinderkheda the image of Surya is there and the architecture resembles the early 8th century temple of Vijayasvara at Pattadkal[47]. The Pāsthar and Kinderkheda temples are similar in plan and in other architectural details. Pāsthar lies in the valley of Barda Hill and Kinderkheda to the south-west of them, in the Porbandar territory.[48] They may be placed in 8th century. The temple at Kadvar has Sūrya, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Siva from left to right. The style of the sculptures suggests an early date not much later than that of Gop and perhaps contemporary with Visavādā. The first group of temples ranges from 5th to 8th century.

The temple at Parabadi has Sūrya or Brahmā, Siva and Viṣṇu. In north-west it has Sūrya.[49] There is a sun-temple of 10th century at Koṭai.[50]

The temples in the third group are many. The first to be mentioned is that at Modhera. A slab in the temple bears the date Vikrama Samvat 1083. The main image in the shrine is missing, but its form may be inferred from the twelve images of Surya found in the niches in the

41. Ibid p. 59, 73, 37, 98.
42. Ibid p. 60
43. Ibid p. 61
44. Ibid p. 61.
45. Archaeology of Gujarat.–Dr. Sankalia p. 161.
46. Ibid, p. 61.
47. Chaulukyan Architecture–Cousens p. 59; Arch. of Guj.–Dr. Sankalia p.62.
48. Ibid p. 64.
49. Akhand Anand–K. B. Dave, Oct. 1952.
50. A.S.W.I.

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inner side of walls. A big stone slab of 4½ feet in the cella has seven horses carved on it. It must have been used as pīṭha of the image in the shrine. This is perhaps the largest sun-temple exising in Gujarāt and Saurashtra in size and grandeur. It is not yet known definitely who erected it. Architecturally it belongs to the 11th Century. It has architectural similarity with Delwara Temple. Somnātha temple and its kirtitoranas are similar to those at Vadanagar, Kapadwanj and Pipadra. The sun-temple at Triveni near Somnatha also belongs to 11th Century. Burgess believed that it was erected during the reign of Mahipāladeva.[51] It has navagrahas and the figure of sun is seated and the temple faces the east. The Bagavadar[52] or (Bhayavadar ?) temple lies at a distance of 12 miles north from Porbandar. The images therein are of Sūryanārāyana and his wife Rannādevi. The inscription in the temple shows that it was erected by Somarāraja in 1146 A.D.[53]

At Kherālu there is no temple specially constructed for the god but the image is preserved in another temple and is dated S. 1293 (1236-7 A.D.). The sun-temple at Cambay belongs to the 13th Century and that at Dabhoi is also of the same Century. The sun-temple at Thān (new) was erected in V. S. 1432 (1375-6 A.D.). We come across a number of Sun-icons preserved in temples of other deities, as, for instance, the recently identified three icons of the Sun-god preserved in the Kapileśvara Mahādeva (16th century) temple at Pij (near Nadiad),[54] and a sun-icon in Rajkot-museum also. There is a Sun-temple at Baroda of 18th century. Thus we see that the Sun-cult was more prevalent from 5th to 18th century.

Cultural evidence

The sun has also played an important role in the cultural life of Gujarat and Saurashtra. The Sun is the Kuladevatā of Kāthis, Bārots, Chodhvas of Surat and Jethvas. An interesting anecdote tells us how Kāthis adopted Sun-worship. It runs thus :–A Kāthi named Vāloji, who was absconding from Pāvāgadh was helped by the Sun–God in defeating Jām Abdā at Thān. Vāloji and his Kāthis settled in Thān and he, in gratitude repaired the Sun–temple on the Kandolā Hill. The antiquity of the temple is implied by the tradition that it was built by King Māndhātā in Satyayuga. Vāloji left his daughter Sonabāi as priestess in the temple. She married Vālerā Jālu. Sonabāi's offsprings were called Bhagats, who formed a shākhā of the Sun–worshipping Kāthis.[55] Even now the Kāthis worship the Sun. At Kherālu a melā is held every year

51. Akhand Anand–K. B. Dave, Oct. 1952.
52. Arch. of Guj.–Dr. Sankalia. p. 137.
53. Akhand Anand–K. B. Dave, Oct. 1952.
54. 'Sun-icons' by Panu Bhatt, Bombay Samachar Weekly, 1st March 1953.
55. A.S.W.I.

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at the sun-temple where the Barots assemble. The Chodhras of Surat districts take out procession of the Sun, install him below some tree and for a period worship him every year.[56] Shrinagar near Probandar which has a sun-temple in it was the capital of Jethvās before they shifted to Ghumli. These Jethvās are also styled Sun-worshippers.

The frequent name-endings आदित्य, मित्र and अर्क in names of kings, officers and Brāhamaṇas of the Maitraka and other old kingdoms in Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra seem significant in connection with the Sun-cult.[57] For instance the Inscriptions mention names like Bhaṭārka, Keśavamitra, Bālāditya, Viṣṇumitra, Śīlāditya, & Simhāditya. Similarly the affix आत found in the names of certain places in Gujarat, such as खंभात, मलातज, देवातज seems to be a derivation of 'Aditya' and adds to the evidence for the sun-cult in Gujarat.[58] Even now Sunday is called आतवार in villages of Gujarat. Thus the literary, epigraphic, archaeological & cultural sources lead us to conclude that the Sun-cult flourished in Gujarat & Saurāṣṭra from very early times down to the 18th century. But the cult has now gradually merged into Vaishnavism and Sūrya is now worshipped as Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa.

56. Manilal Mistri, 'Modhera'.
57. 'Data Supplied by the Sanskrit Inscriptions of Valabhi period' by Dr. H.G. Shastri, p. 171.
58. 'Purāṇomāṅ Gujarat' by Umashankar Joshi p. 213.

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३४ गुजराती काव्य में द्वारका-रास

(लेखक—श्री जगदीश गुप्त, एम. ए., डी. फिल्)

कृष्णसाहित्य में रास-वर्णन की परम्पराएँ अत्यन्त प्राचीन हैं। विष्णुपुराण, हरिवंश तथा भागवत का रास-वर्णन परम्परा की दृष्टि से ब्रह्मवैवर्त तथा गीत-गोविंद के वर्णन से भिन्न है। पहली परम्परा में शारदीय रास का वर्णन मिलता है तथा दूसरी में वासंती रास का। राधा का समावेश पहले वासंती रास में अनिवार्य रूप से था परन्तु बाद में दोनों परम्पराओं के आपस में मिल जानेसे शारदीय रास में भी राधा को स्थान मिला, इसने अनन्तर और भी अनेक विशेषताए रासवर्णन में विकसित होकर आ गयी परन्तु जहाँ तक मेरा ज्ञान है समस्त भारतीय साहित्य में कहीं भी वृंदावन को छोड़ कर अन्यत्र किसी स्थल पर रास की कल्पना नहीं मिलती। केवल गुजराती कृष्णकाव्य में द्वारका में कृष्ण द्वारा रास करने का वर्णन उपलब्ध होता है।

१५वीं शती के एक कवि नयर्षि, जिनको मुँन्शीजी ने अपने इतिहास में नटर्षि नाम से उल्लिखित किया है, के 'फागु' नामक काव्य में इसी प्रकार का वर्णन है। कवि द्वारकावासी कृष्ण का ही चित्रण करता है किन्तु उसी के साथ उनके गोपियों के साथ नृत्य करने का भी वर्णन करता है। गोपियों के लिये उसने 'अंतेउरी' शब्द का भी प्रयोग किया है जिसका अभिप्राय है कि वे कदाचित् उनके अन्तःपुर में निवास करने वाली थीं। जिन पंक्तियों में यह वर्णन मिलता है वे इस प्रकार हैं—

राज करइ श्रीरंग।.....
....यादवनायकु ए।।
नाचइ गोपिय वृंद...।
पुहता निज पुरी ए।।
सहित अंतेउरी ए।।

—नयर्षि कृत 'फागु'

नयर्षि का यह 'फागु' काव्य जैन कवियों द्वारा लिखे गये फागु-काव्यों की परम्परा में आता है, रचनाशैली और छंद-विधान सभी से यह स्पष्ट है अतएव संभव है कि कवि कृष्ण-कथा तथा कृष्ण-काव्य की परिपाटी से अपरिचित रहा हो और उसने द्वारकावासी कृष्ण के साथ वृंदावनवासी कृष्ण की रासलीला का संयोग कर दिया है। कथाओं के इस प्रकार विकृत अथवा परिवर्तित होने के अनेकशः उदाहरण मिलते हैं। परन्तु

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समस्या के इस समाधान पर प्रश्न चिह्न तब अंकित हो जाता है जब हम रास के अनन्य भक्त नरसी मेहता के काव्य में भी एक स्थल पर द्वारका-रास का आभास पाते हैं। नरसी के सम्बन्ध में यह कदापि नहीं कहा जा सकता कि वे रास की विषयवस्तु तथा परिपाटी से किंचित भी अनभिज्ञ थे। अतएव प्रश्न विचारणीय हो जाता है। नरसीने निम्न लिखित स्थल पर द्वारकावासी कृष्णका रुक्मिणी आदि पटरानियों के साथ नृत्य करनेका वर्णन किया है।

.....मुजने श्री द्वारकां मांहे राख्यो।
...शरदपुनम तणो दिवस तहाँ आवीयो,
रास मरयादनो वेण वाध्यो।
रुक्मणी आदि सहु नारि टोळे मळी,
नरसहींए तहाँ ताल साध्यो।

—नरसिंह कृत काव्यसंग्रह, पृ. ७६

नरसी के उक्त वर्णन में शारदीय पूर्णिमा तथा वेणुगीत का परम्परागत रूप में समावेश हुआ है साथ ही नरसी के अपने रासवर्णन की विशेषता भी इसमें समायी है और वह यह कि वे स्वयं प्रत्यक्षदर्शी की भाँति इस रास में भी भाग ले रहे हैं। रुक्मिणी तथा द्वारका का स्पष्ट उल्लेख इसे निर्भ्रान्त रूप से द्वारकारास मानने के लिए बाध्य करता है। जिस प्रकार दो बिंदुओं को मिलाने से एक सीधी रेखा बन जाती है उसी प्रकार नयर्षि और नरसी के पूर्वोक्त दोनों वर्णनों को एक ही पृष्ठभूमि में देखने से निश्चित रूप से ज्ञात होता है कि गुजराती काव्य में द्वारका-रास के वर्णन की परम्परा अवश्य रही होगी। अधिक शोध करने पर अन्यत्र भी गुजराती साहित्य में इसके प्रमाण मिल सकेंगे ऐसा मेरा विश्वास है।

प्रश्न के समाधान के रूप में अन्त में मैं यह कहना आवश्यक समझता हूँ कि मुझे इस द्वारकारास की परम्परा को देखकर इतना आश्चर्य नहीं हुआ जितना कि इसके अभाव में होता। गुजरात के लोकजीवन में मंडलीबद्ध स्त्री-पुरुषसंयुक्त नृत्य एक विशेष स्थान रखता है। रास की परिभाषा भी है–'मण्डलीभूतः नृत्यविशेषो रासः'। ऐसी दशा में गुजराती लोककल्पना में द्वारकावासी कृष्ण के द्वारा रास कर नेकी कल्पना अत्यन्त स्वाभाविक है। कदाचित् ऐसी लोक-कल्पना से प्रभावित होकर ही यह द्वारका-रास का वर्णन गुजराती कृष्ण-काव्य में समाविष्ट हो गया।

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